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THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.

Martial law has been declared in Cripple Creek, Colo. The town is in the hands of the soldiery. Captain McClellan occupies the mayor's office. A press censor has been sent from Denver, and no news will hereafter be permitted to reach the outside world unless it has the approval of the militia officers. Fred Wakeman, a militiaman, was arrested as a spy, and will be court-martialed, and may be shot for treason. BECAUSE HE HAD A UNION CARD IN HIS POCKET. At Telluride, Colo., thirty-eight men, members of United Mine Workers and Western Federation of Miners, have been arrested as vagrants, and fined. Sentence was suspended, however, ON CONDITION THAT THEY GO TO WORK. The courts endeavored to force the men to scab.

The women of Cripple Creek have petitioned the present to protect a helpless community against the creature of the mine owners who occupies the executive chair in that state.

The conditions which now exist in the Centennial state are almost unbelievable as those who live to their breasts the fond delusion that the government of Washington and Jefferson still lives.

The founders of the republic strove to establish, in theory at least, a government of the people. To-day in Colorado it is a government of mine owners. As was done in the Coeur d'Alene, so it is proposed to do in Telluride.

The action of the militia authorities in the case of Wakeman shows plainly that they understand the situation, if the working class do not. The possession of a union card, by Wakeman, is to be made the basis of a charge of treason against the government. Who is the government? Inferentially, then, the mine owners are the government.

Was the militia sent to maintain order, or to coerce workmen? If to maintain order, why is not a peaceable union miner entitled to equal consideration with a peaceable mine owner?

Miners have been dragged from their beds without warrant of law. They have been thrown into jail or bull pen without trial and held there in resistance to civil process, and finally the rights of the people of an entire community have been suspended and complete unrestricted power, of life and death, over them has been assumed by a group of persons notoriously in the pay of those whose interest in Colorado is confined to the dividends they get out of it.

Workingmen, we must look the situation square in the face. The determined, blue-printed, western capitalist and against the working class began in Idaho; precedents are being built up to-day in Colorado for use in future struggles.

The fight has not started in Montana, because of political conditions; but the money powers of this state hate the Western Federation of Miners with the malice of hell, and when conditions permit, they overlook no chance to weaken it.

The miners throughout the land, from the Dominion of Canada to Old Mexico, have stood loyally by the heroes of Cripple Creek. Again and again they have responded with a dollar assessment or a day's pay, and not a complaint, for they realize if Cripple Creek dies in defeat a blow will have been struck which will wipe out western unionism and drag the workingman of the Rocky Mountain states down to the condition of a Mexican peon.

CHILD-LABOR AND TRAMPS.

We have a municipal lodging-house in Chicago largely filled with tramps. In addition to housing them, an intelligent effort is made to get them into regular industry. A physician in attendance makes a careful examination of each man who comes to the lodging-house, and last winter a doctor saw what connection could be genuinely established between premature labor and worn-out men. It is surprising to find how many of them are tired to death of monotonous labor and begin to tramp in order to get away from it, as a business man goes to the woods because he is worn out with the stress of business life. This incordinate desire to get away from work seems to be connected with the fact that the men have started to work very early, before they had the physique to stand up to it, or the mental vigor with which to overcome its difficulties, or the moral stamina which makes a man stick to his work whether he likes it or not. But we cannot demand any of these things from a growing boy. They are all traits of the adult. A boy is naturally restless, his determination easily breaks down, and he runs away. At least this seems to be true of many of the men who come to the lodging-house. I recall a man who had begun to work in a textile mill quite before the present legal age in New England, and who had worked hard for sixteen years. He told his tale with all simplicity, and he was made a motion with his hand he said, "I done that for sixteen years." I give the words as he gave them. "At last I was sick in bed for two or three days with a fever, and when I crawled out, I made up my mind that I would rather go to hell than go back to that mill." Whether he considered Chicago an equivalent for that I do not know, but he certainly tramped to Chicago, and has been tramping for four years. He does not steal. He works in the summer and wanders about the rest of the year, getting something to do when he can; but the suggestion of a factory throws him into a panic and quickly causes him to disappear from the lodging-house. The physician has made a diagnosis of general debility. The man

is not fit for steady work. He has been whipped in the battle of life, and is spent prematurely because he began prematurely.

What does this mean? That the young cannot stand up to the grind of factory life; that they break down under it, and that we have no right to increase the list of paupers of those who must be cared for by the municipality and by state agencies because when they are still immature and undeveloped they are subjected to a tremendous pressure—Jane Addams, in *Charities*.

UPLIFT THE TORCH.

Attend, all ye who would be free
From Capital's omnivorous greed,
And with your fellow man agree
To preach our holy creed—
To preach in street and highway,
To lift the Torch on high
In shop, in mart and byway,
For this cause will never die.

Work while 'tis day with all your strength,
With all your might and main,
Work the garish full day's length,
This mighty truth proclaim,
That Workers have their own just rights,
Full value for their toil—
Uplift the Torch and shed the light,
And to yourselves be loyal.

Maintain your rights at any cost,
Despite injunctions, judges, laws;
Array your ranks on all is lost,
For this our righteous cause.
Hark! they call you, now's the hour,
If ye would all be free,
Uplift the Torch! Proclaim your power,
That all the world may see!
FRANK FISK.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

It is not for better wages, improved capitalist conditions, or a share of capitalist profits that the Socialist movement is in the world; it is here for the abolition of wages and profits, and for the end of capitalism and the private capitalist. George D. Herron.

VICTORY IN CHICOPEE.

Two Socialist Aldermen for Next Year Instead of One—Independent and Aggressive Policy Wins.

CHICOPEE, Mass.—The result of the city election here is very satisfactory to Socialists.

Alderman John J. Kelly, who was elected on the Socialist ticket to represent Ward Six, ran this year as our candidate for Alderman-at-Large and was elected. He got 1,131 votes, to 871 for the next highest candidate, a Republican.

To succeed Comrade Kelly from Ward Six we nominated Franklin N. Graves and elected him. The Republicans and Democrats united on one candidate against him, but Graves got a majority of 45 votes.

Both these men are consistent and uncompromising Socialists. In 1896 four Socialist votes were cast in the city, and Kelly and Graves cast two of them.

Alderman Kelly's work during the last year in exposing municipal corruption had a great effect. In the hope of preventing the Socialist Party from benefiting by their exposure, the "respectable citizens" put up a "good government" ticket—Democratic in disguise. They wanted Socialist support and would gladly have nominated or endorsed both Kelly and Graves. But the comrades declined to have anything to do with such a deal and made a straight Socialist campaign. Kelly's good work in "smoking out" the corrupt politicians was recognized, and the Socialist Party stands by him in the Board will greatly strengthen the movement.

CHRISTIAN CAPITALISM.

The effect of opening stockholders' meetings with prayer was discussed yesterday at a meeting of investors in the defunct Golden Rule Copper Company, held in the offices of Thomas Gilman, 51 Chambers street. About thirty stockholders were present, including four women. Of the one-million-dollar corporation, in which many church folk placed their money, it is alleged nothing is left but a twenty-five-dollar roll-top desk and a number of ore specimens. The outcome of the meeting was the authorization of the chairman to appoint a committee to consider "ways and means that justice shall be done."

Edward J. Moore of 216 Front street was chairman of the meeting. The terms "robber" and "swindler" were freely used. The workings of the Golden Rule Company were reviewed, as far as the stockholders had knowledge, and it soon became apparent that there were two factions present—those who believed that they had sufficient evidence to go before the Grand Jury and those who thought that they should first have an expert examination to find out the nature of their money.

Mr. Gilman told of a meeting held last May, which was called to investigate the actions of the officers. He declared that President Lake asked that it be opened with prayer, and that from being an investigation meeting it became a donation party, at which \$19,000 was subscribed to buy a smelter. He declared that he had a report from Montgomery & Co. of Denver that only a small sum was paid toward a smelter. "Last February," he continued, "the bottom dropped out of the company."—New York Times.

PIANO WORKERS' STRIKE.

John D. Pease, treasurer of the Piano Company, is quoted in the "Music Trades Journal" as saying: "The strikers are still picketing our place, making threats against our employees and trying to interfere with our business. We had a couple of them arrested on Monday. The justice gave them a severe lecture and held them over for a week. We have been well taken care of by the police. He should be firmly held in check, lest they commit some act of lawlessness or violence that may entail serious consequences. I feel that for the strikers themselves, as well as for the protection of our own men, it is wisest to firmly resist their attempts to interfere in our affairs."

The members of the Piano Workers' Union reply that this is pure "bluff and misrepresentation. The charges made against the two pickets in question when they were brought before a magistrate were so flimsy and their straightforward reply so exposed the falsity of the accusations that they were immediately discharged and Mr. Pease and his friend Edward Beck walked out of the court room badly disappointed men.

The strikers are not making any threats or practicing violence. But they are doing all in their power to keep piano workers informed of the facts in the case, and they propose to keep on doing so. The strikers are being well taken care of by the union, and are not going back till they are back in a body as union men. Until this strike is settled, all trade unions should be in mind that the work of the Pease Piano Company is "unfair" and act accordingly.

The Socialist fraction in the German Reichstag consists, on the average, of older men than the last. Of the eighty-one members, Metteler is the oldest, 65 years, and Rosemeyer, 52 years, the youngest. The average is 48. Our fraction has a larger proportion of experienced members than any other.

Some ancients and Moderns say that slaves have no souls; but we as Christians make very much of the slave's soul because we want to make so very much more out of the body.—Peter H. Burrows, in *International Socialist Review* for December.

STAND FOR FREE SPEECH.

Brooklyn Federation of Labor Takes Up Turner Case.

Adopts Resolutions Condemning Government's Reactionary Course and Will Hold Public Protest Meeting on Jan. 3—New York Central Federated Union Will Also Act.

The Brooklyn Federation of Labor, at a special meeting on Dec. 20, adopted the following resolution: "Whereas, John Turner came to the United States to assist in educating the American wage-workers and to effect a closer relationship with their European brethren; and

"Whereas, The Administration of the United States has detained John Turner under the pretext of the immigration laws and the so-called anti-Anarchist clause; be it

"Resolved, That we, the Brooklyn Federation of Labor, emphatically protest against the action of the Government of the United States and brand it as a lawless act in favor of the ruling capitalist class who are running the present administration and who by all means endeavor to oppose every effort that would lead to the emancipation of the working class and enlighten and educate the wage-workers; and be it

"Resolved, That we demand that the governing powers obey the Constitution of the United States, which means that the expression of opinion and freedom of speech must not be checked by a few who do not represent the will of the majority."

It was also resolved to hold a public protest meeting in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949-953 Wiloughby avenue, on Sunday, Jan. 3, at 2 p. m. Alcega Lee will preside and Benjamin Hanford and others will speak.

The New York Central Federated Union at its regular meeting of Dec. 27 also considered the Turner case and resolved to hold a protest meeting, of which the place and date have not yet been announced.

CAPITALIST LIBERTY AND WORKING CLASS SLAVERY.

"Follow worker, they tell us since the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man, all men have been free. Are you yourself free?"

"I am sure that I am free!"

"Let us think a little; who grants you the right to work?"

"The employer."

"Who fixes the day upon which you shall work?"

"The employer."

"Who fixes the produce of your toil, and pockets the profits?"

"The employer."

FOR THE DAILY.

An Appeal to All Locals of the Party.

Annual Meeting of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association Will Be Held Jan. 5—Herron Will Lecture on "Parisian" for Benefit of Daily Globe.

The below appeal is being sent to all local branches of the Socialist Party in the United States. If any local does not receive a copy, on account of misarrangement of mails or other reason, it is suggested that this be read at the meeting of next local and acted on accordingly. All locals should realize the importance and necessity of the Daily Globe and help make the returns ample enough to warrant its early publication.

To the Secretary of Local—, Socialist Party.

Dear Comrade—For the past year and a half the Socialists of New York City and vicinity have been at work trying funds to establish the first daily Socialist and Trade Union Newspaper in America, to be called "The Globe."

Such a paper will be of widespread service to the movement throughout the country. A great metropolitan newspaper fighting the battle of Labor from day to day in all the little details of the class war, constantly exposing the hypocrites and infamies of capitalist politics and pointing the way to Socialism, would attract national attention. It would publish the news of our movement in all localities and thus strengthen and unify the Socialist forces everywhere. And it would furnish the example and the experience for the establishment of Socialist dailies in other cities as the movement grows.

The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, formed for the purpose of publishing this paper (an organization which any member of the party, and only party members, may join), has raised and now has on hand about \$15,000 cash, and a number of thousands of dollars more has already been pledged. It will require a capital of at least \$50,000 to establish and maintain a daily newspaper in New York City in accordance with metropolitan standards and requirements; indeed, to start a newspaper on that amount as an ordinary profit-making venture would be a hopeless enterprise, and will be possible for us to do so only by reason of the peculiar bond which the paper will occupy and the devoted energy with which the Socialists of New York will push its circulation when once it is published.

We therefore appeal to your local to give financial aid toward the achievement of this great purpose. We fraterally suggest and confidently hope that in response to this appeal and opportunity to help our common cause you will, without postponement, at the first meeting at which this is read, do one of three things:

Either (1) make a cash contribution out of your treasury; or (2) take up a silver collection; or (3) assess each member 25 cents; and forward the funds thus raised to Wm. B. Butcher, Financial Secretary, "Daily Globe," 270 Hooper street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

This appeal is sent to all locals as organizations, and should be so considered, apart from the independent contributions of individuals. Let no comrade who puts his mite in this local contribution think that he is thus absolved from the duty of giving aid, ever more he can as an individual; and let no member who has already made his individual contribution think that a valid reason why he should not do a little more now. Yours fraternally,

WORKINGMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION.
New York, Dec. 20.

Subscription lists for contributions to The Globe are now ready and may be had on application.

The annual meeting of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, at which election of officers will take place, will be held on Tuesday evening, Jan. 5, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York.

At the meeting of the Board of Managers last Monday a committee was appointed to make arrangements for a lecture by George D. Herron on "Parisian," at which Mr. Herron will make selections on the piano from Wagner's much talked of opera. An admission fee will be charged and the proceeds will swell the fund for the establishment of the first American Socialist daily newspaper. Date of this lecture and recital will be announced later.

HOW PROFIT-SHARING FAKES WORK. DERRY, Conn., Dec. 15.—The Rock-Well Woolen Company of Rockville, in accordance with a promise made a year ago, has distributed \$1,150 among its 500 employees as their share of the company's profits for the past year.

This sum represents a percentage of the company's earnings and is divided among the men according to their terms of service. THE LARGEST AMOUNT RECEIVED BEING \$5 AND THE SMALLEST 14 CENTS.

The company's purpose is to reward workers of long service and stimulate their zeal by allowing them to share in the profits which they help to make.

THE SITUATION IN COLORADO.

Reign of Terror Instituted by Capitalist Authorities.

The Cripple Creek Trades Union Send Resolutions to President Roosevelt Stating the Outrageous Conditions in the Strike Field.

The Cripple Creek District Trades Assembly has adopted the following resolutions in protest against the outrages of military despotism in the region affected by the strike of the Colorado metal miners:

"Whereas, James H. Peabody, of Colorado, has proven himself a weak-minded man. First—By accepting the office of governor of the state of Colorado without having the least knowledge of the duties of that important position. Second—By appointing an equally weak-minded man (one Sherman Bell)—a man with no military knowledge—to the important office of adjutant general. Third—The governor has shown his lack of judgment in sending the state militia to Colorado City on request of one or two men. Fourth—By hiring the state militia to the Mine Owners' Association of the Cripple Creek district, at the request of a few mine owners, and under the protest of over three thousand citizens of the district, including the sheriff and a number of other county officials. Fifth—The governor has made himself the laughing stock of the whole country by one day offering two thousand well equipped and drilled men to the United States government and a few days later asking the President of the United States to send regular troops, when there was no need of them anywhere in the state; and

"Whereas, The state troops that have been and are now here under General Bell and Chase have taken more than that of well disciplined soldiers, by dragging peaceful citizens from their beds at dead of night and holding them in the military bull pen, without warrant of law and without any charge being preferred against them. The soldiers have held men in the public road and fired at men on the public highway. The sheriff has been prevented from doing his duty as a civil officer. The militia has intimidated the civil court by surrounding the court house, with sharpshooters and Gatling guns, and stationed soldiers with fixed bayonets in the courtroom. The military officers have openly defied the court by refusing to obey the mandate of civil authority. The soldiers have insulted women and arrested children. They have gone so far as to arrest county officials. They have entered places of business and without warrant of law arrested the whole crew, proprietor and workmen. They have not even respect for the dead, but have entered the death chamber and without warrant arrested men engaged in paying their last tribute of respect to a departed brother.

All this and much more has been patiently borne by the peace-loving people of this district; and

"Whereas, It will be readily seen that neither the governor of the state of Colorado or the military officers are fit for the positions they now occupy; therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Cripple Creek District Trades Assembly, that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, together with a request that if we must have military rule, that he (the president) send some military officer here to take charge of the state troops, so that military mob rule will cease, and soldiers and officers may learn that wearing shoulder straps and soldiers' uniforms is no license to be an outlaw."

Chas. Moyer, a member of Local Denver and President of the Western Federation of Miners, was taken out of his bed at a hotel in Pueblo at 11:30 p. m. last Friday night by the police, at the instigation of the Citizens' Alliance, escorted to the depot, put aboard a train for Denver, and told never again to return to Pueblo. Comrade Moyer has been organized in a union of the W. F. of M. among the residents of Pueblo. Query: Where is Pueblo, anyhow? Is it in Colorado or in Russia? Comrade Moyer returned to Pueblo Saturday to finish his work, and, like a brave man, take the consequences.

Last Monday John M. Glover, formerly a Congressman from Missouri, was arrested at Cripple Creek by the military, after being shot through the left arm. The circumstances are interesting.

The military authorities have ordered everyone in the district to report any weapons he may have and give them up unless he can get a special permit from Gen. Bell to retain them. Permits to carry arms are, of course, distinguished from men workingmen—that is to say, to business men and sympathy with the circle owners or to roughs and "bad men" in their employ.

Mr. Glover, who is a lawyer, addressed to the military authorities an open letter, of which we quote a part: "I observe that Col. Verdeckberg is issued still other proclamations calling for more arms and detailing the strenuous things he will do if they are not so surrendered."

"Tell the Colonel there are two guns in my office; they are not registered; they are mine; the Constitution gives me the right to carry them; they are loaded to the brim."

"The Colonel can have them when the Supreme Court ratifies his criminal usurpation against the liberties of the people of this county and before that whenever he is bold enough to do murder under his illegal orders."

"A disorderly and lawless Governor, who prostitutes the military arm to crush one side of an industrial controversy—I don't care which side—is the chief anarchist in the state. Where agitators make single Socialists he makes them in flocks. Tell 'em to come to the head of his squad."

"If, whenever a Governor is wicked enough to tell a transparent and wicked lie about a community, he can by virtue of that lie take away all my constitutional rights and put me under a government of a 'Sanhedrin of wild asses,' colts like Bell, Chase and McClelland and company, I am ready to pass in my chips at any time."

When the squad came to arrest him, Glover used himself in his office and refused to surrender. The soldiers fired through the glass door of the office, wounding Glover. He returned the fire, but without effect. They then broke in the door and took him to the Bell Prison.

"WHAT'S THE CONSTITUTION?"

"What's the Constitution between friends?" asked a Tammany leader. But it is not only Tammany that thinks thus.

The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, adopted in 1791, says:

"THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS SHALL NOT BE INFRINGED."

The military authorities of the state of Colorado, in a proclamation issued at Victor on Dec. 5, say:

"All persons in possession of arms, equipments and munitions of war of any description are required to surrender same on or before 12 o'clock noon Tuesday, Dec. 8, 1903, to the military district commander, taking his receipt for same. ANY PERSON OR PERSONS FAILING TO SURRENDER THE SAID ARMS AND EQUIPMENTS AND MUNITIONS OF WAR, WILL BE ARRESTED AND CONFINED IN THE MILITARY PRISON, AND FURTHER PUNISHED AS OCCASION MAY REQUIRE."

The Constitution of Colorado, Article II, Section 22, says:

"The military shall ALWAYS be in strict subordination to the civil power."

General Bell, in the proclamation of Dec. 5, says:

"It becomes necessary to suspend *** by the occupying military authority of the criminal and civil law and of the domestic administration and government."

The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States says:

"Congress shall make no law *** ABRIDGING THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH OR OF THE PRESS."

But what Congress may not constitutionally do, General Bell has done, with the approval of the Governor of Colorado and of Bell's former patron, President Roosevelt. In the proclamation quoted, General Bell says:

"No publication, either by newspapers, pamphlets or handbill REFLECTING IN ANY WAY UPON THE UNITED STATES AND THE STATE OF COLORADO OR ITS OFFICERS, or tending in any way to INFLUENCE THE PUBLIC MIND against the government of the United States and the state of Colorado, will be permitted; and articles of news or editorial comment or correspondence making COMMENT UPON THE ACTIONS OF THE MILITARY FORCES of the state of Colorado or of the organization above referred to, WILL NOT BE TOLERATED."

Moreover, what Congress may not constitutionally do, Congress has done and the Administration is now, without waiting for judicial decision, carrying out its unconstitutional decree.

Congress has decreed that any alien who has been in this country less than three years whom the executive authorities may deem guilty of DISBELIEVING in government shall be deported from the country BY EXECUTIVE ORDER AND WITHOUT TRIAL by jury or even by a Judge.

John Turner has been arrested for to do murder under his illegal orders. ***

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DISBELIEF. It is alleged that in England he has expressed his disbelief in the necessity of government. In this country he has expressed his belief in THE NECESSITY OF ORGANIZED ACTION BY THE WORKING CLASS TO FREE ITSELF FROM THE TYRANNY OF CAPITALISM. This is actually the offense for which he is held. The other is only the pretext.

If anything could at present justify the position of those Anarchists who advocate the use of physical force to resist the aggressions of the exploiting and ruling class, the action of President Roosevelt, Secretary Cortelyou, Governor Peabody and General Bell would do so.

If anyone had deliberately tried to devise means to provoke violent reprisal or resistance as a pretext for the overthrow of civil rights and the establishment of out-and-out military despotism, to prevent peaceful and orderly development and to precipitate bloodshed, he could not have done otherwise than as these high Republican officials have done.

If—as we hope it may not—violence and public disturbance does result, the SOLE RESPONSIBILITY will rest upon these officials and their CAPITALIST BACKERS.

The Socialist Party—the Social Democratic Party, as it is called in New York—stands for peace and order. But it stands also for freedom and progress as the necessary condition to peace and order.

It does not stand for passive and timid submission.

It calls upon YOU, workingmen, to think and speak and act. It warns you that as these outrages have been committed in Idaho and now in Colorado, so they will be repeated in New York and in every other state if YOU SHOW THE TEMPER OF GOOD SLAVES; that as individuals like Turner have been victimized for bravely speaking the truth, so the great mass of the workers will soon be forbidden to meet or to speak or print their thoughts, unless NOW you protest in such tones as Morgan and Rockefeller and their tools in the White House and Capital will be compelled to respect.

Better to think and speak now, better to organize and agitate now, better to educate yourselves now, better to prepare now to vote right next November, than to wait until you have the value of civil liberty taught you by its denial, until you have to defy the law instead of USING it, as is now possible.

Is it not so? Reply through your trade unions, through the labor press, through every organ of expression at your disposal.

LABOR LAW FARCE.

An Ohio Incident Showing How Futile Are Labor Laws Whose Enforcement Is Left to Capitalist Officials.

The Canton, O., "Craftsman" publishes a remarkable statement showing what a farce are the so-called labor laws, so long as their administration is left in the hands of representatives of the capitalist class.

It appears that the Aultman Company last July imported seven iron molders from Canada, in violation of the United States' Contract Labor Law, to break the resistance of the Molders' Union. Two of the men so brought in afterward made affidavits to the facts. The union put those affidavits, with much other evidence, before the United States District Attorney and called upon him to bring action against the Company. The official showed great interest until he had got full information on the case. Then he allowed it to drop and took no action whatever, and it has been impossible to get from him even a statement of his reasons for not acting. He admitted, however, that he had talked the matter over with David B. Day, the attorney of the Aultman Company, and it appears that he privately gave the latter all information that had been put in his hands for the purpose of enforcing the law. The most significant thing in the whole case is that Mr. Day, who gave such favors from the United States District Attorney, is a brother of the Judge Wm. R. Day of the United States Circuit Court, and that W. A. Lynch, president of the Company, is a former law partner of Judge Day.

The "Craftsman" very rightly says: "Labor Laws? What mockery. They are as the chloroform of the burglar. They are used to put the working man to sleep while capitalism robs him."

With capitalists in judicial and executive office, labor laws have little terror for the capitalist class.

—Have the literature agent of your local or branch get a supply of the New Year's Greeting of The Worker for sale to members. In quantity, 5 cents a copy. Single copy, 10 cents.

A HERETICAL POLICE MAGISTRATE.

C. C. McHugh, Socialist Police Judge of Anacostia, Mont., in ordering portraits of Karl Marx and Mother Jones, says: "Those pictures may look out of place in a police magistrate's office, but they are the only sort I have any use for." We venture to say that a police magistrate who keeps such an inspiration before him will do justice to the disinherited of the earth and help to hasten the day when police will be unnecessary.

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VOL. XIII.—NO. 41.

AN OPEN LETTER TO GOMPERS.

President of A. F. of L. Asked to Explain His Disgraceful Course.

Editor of St. Louis "Labor": Protests Against Gompers Wining and Dining With Mark Hanna at Civic Federation Harmony Feasts—His Speeches and Activity in the Civic Federation Being Used Against the Unions—A Policy of Peace Toward Men Who Are Organized to Fight the Regular Demands of Unionism.

To Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor:
Dear Sir and Brother:—The time has come when your unauthorized participation in Mark Hanna's Civic Federation champagne banquet must stop. It must stop, because the interests of Organized Labor demand that it be stopped. Remember, Brother Gompers, you can no longer make your Civic Federation banquet speeches without injuring the trade union movement throughout the country. As president of the A. F. of L., you are not authorized to represent Organized Labor in Mark Hanna's fake harmony federation. During the two weeks' session of the Boston convention I have not heard any report made on the Civic Federation, nor do I remember that you were entrusted with one iota of authority to represent the A. F. of L. in said organization.

As chief executive officer of the A. F. of L., you have no longer the least moral right to sit in the Civic Federation, and to wine and dine with the general manipulator of said Civic Federation, Mark Hanna, who was openly declared as one of the worst enemies of Organized Labor at the Boston convention of the A. F. of L. You were present, Brother Gompers, you were in the chair and were listening carefully when Brother Furness, of the Legislative Committee, reported as follows:

"There is in the Senate of the United States a party without a name that is taking step by step, from the working-man any right he now has, and is making his legislation of no use. It is creating conditions which will make all your legislation in other directions of no use. There are certain men that you want to watch. You want to watch Platt of Connecticut, Lodge of Massachusetts, Hanna of Ohio, Morgan of Alabama, and others."

The correctness of Brother Furness's statement was not questioned by you nor any other delegate. And yet you are defying the opinions and sentiments of the rank and file by continuing to drink and eat out of the cup of Mark Hanna's brotherly love at the Civic Federation champagne banquet.

This must be stopped, and it will be stopped by the rank and file of the trades unionists.
Our trade union movement is seriously injured by your unauthorized affiliation with Mark Hanna's Benevolent Assimilation Society, known as the Civic Federation. Your feast and banquet phrases are being used by the capitalists against our trade union movement. Here is an example: In St. Louis we now have a "Citizens' Industrial Alliance," a branch of Parry's National Manufacturers' Association. Frank N. Johnson, former traffic manager of the boycotted St. Louis Hardware Co., is secretary. This local "Citizens' Alliance" secretary, Mr. Johnson, published the following statement in the St. Louis daily press of December 28:

"MR. GOMPERS' VIEW."
"At a banquet given to the executive committee of the National Civic Federation in New York city a week ago, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, was a speaker and said:

"We want to discourage wrong where we find it, and encourage right and bring it about with the least possible discord. No man can be engaged in a better effort than to avoid conflict."
"On the same night E. T. Behrens, president of the Missouri Federation of Labor, made a speech in Topeka, Kas., and is reported as saying: 'Boys, this is no midsummer night's dream, this struggle between the laboring man and the capitalist; but it is a war, war. I believe in sympathetic strikes, not only in industrial fields, but in political fields as well.'"

"So the supreme head of the American Federation of Labor counsels against conflict in the solution of labor troubles, while the head of the Missouri branch declares that union labor is for war."

"As between these two views of labor leaders, the Citizens' Industrial Association joins heartily with Mr. Gompers in a policy of peace. In fact, the Christmas motto of 'Peace on earth, good will to men,' is the doctrine of the Citizens' Industrial Association the whole year round."

Your banquet speeches may please Mark Hanna, but they can not please the union men of St. Louis and Missouri. Your phrases are being used to cause discord in our ranks. The prestige of your name and your colorless remarks are being used by the "Citizens' Industrial Alliance" to create opposition to our leading trade union officials, like our brave and honest President Behrens of the Missouri Federation of Labor.

Secretary Johnson says that his Citizens' Industrial Alliance of St. Louis "JOINS HANDS HEARTILY WITH MR. GOMPERS IN A POLICY OF PEACE."

What is your policy of peace, Brother Gompers? Let me inform you what "policy of peace" this local Citizens' Alliance is attempting to inaugurate—certainty not a midsummer night's dream, but a policy of war, war, as Brother Behrens correctly says, as a branch of Parry's national association, the alliance members are pledged to the following rules:

First—Open shop.
Second—No restriction in number of apprentices.

Third—No restriction in output.
Fourth—Walking delegates not to be recognized.
Fifth—Appeal to congress to kill eight-hour bill.
Sixth—Not to place union label on any of their output.
Seventh—Favoring law against boycott.
Eighth—Establish bureau with list of lawbreaking and undesirable workmen, to be a blacklist system.

How is this for a policy of peace, Brother Gompers? Don't you believe that it is time to change your policy? Instead of wine and dining and champagne-making at Mark Hanna's banquet, pay a little more attention to the rank and file of organized labor. If you will not listen to such advice, you will have to take the consequences. Do not be deceived by the "votes of confidence" at conventions, and remember that in the public life of statesmen the "vote of confidence" usually precedes their downfall. Personally, I do not wish that you should leave our great union movement, like Terrence V. Powderly and others. Powderly's fate should teach men of such responsible position a lesson.

We congratulate you for the sympathy which your latest C. F. banquet speech has planted in the heart of our St. Louis Parryite, Mr. Frank N. Johnson. It is your duty to come out plainly and openly, and state to the trade unionists of Missouri whether you wish to enjoy the Citizens' Alliance's praise and endorse their attacks on President Behrens, or whether you endorse the fearless and unequivocal words of the president of the Missouri State Federation of Labor. We are on the eve of serious labor troubles in St. Louis, and we can not permit the president of the American Federation of Labor to make Mark Hanna banquet speeches in New York that can be used advantageously against our movement by the Citizens' Alliance.

This struggle between labor and capitalists is no midsummer night's dream, Brother Gompers, it is war, war! It is a class war, a war for the emancipation of labor. It means war on the economic and on the political field. If you can not see this, it is not our fault. If you see it and are not man enough to recognize it and act accordingly, you will share the fate of the reactionist that tries to check the progressive labor movement.
This question is up for discussion, Brother Gompers, and we shall see if that you will not shut us off by your bugaboo of Socialism. It is a question of labor's rights and labor's duties which can not be solved at capitalist banquet tables, with Mark Hanna's benevolence and grace. Fraternally yours,
G. A. HOEHN.
St. Louis, Jan. 1.

LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK.

Lectures for the week under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party and auxiliary organizations, whether by Socialist or non-Socialist speakers, and by Socialist speakers before other organizations, are listed below. Unless otherwise stated, lectures are called for 8 p. m.

FRIDAY, JAN. 8.
Mr. Morris Educational Club, 134 East 110th street. Algonquin Lee: "The Capitalist System."

West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue. Leonard D. Abbott: "The Socialist Struggle in Literature and Art."

SUNDAY, JAN. 10.
Colonial Hall, 101st street, near Columbus avenue. John Spargo: "Voice of Labor, Women's Auxiliary, 217 Henry street. Courtney Lemon: "What the Class Struggle Really Is."

Social Democratic Educational Club of the 5th A. D., 280 Broome street. Algonquin Lee: "The Capitalist System."

Verein für Volksbildung, Labor Lyceum, 41 E. Fourth street. Henry L. Robinson on the poet Shelley. Admission to non-members, 10 cents.

FRIDAY, JAN. 15.
West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue. H. Gaylord Wilshire: "The Trusts and Unemployment."
Mt. Morris Educational Club, 134 East 110th street. Frederick Kraft: "Is Our Country a Republic?"

Brooklyn.
SUNDAY, JAN. 10.
Wurlitzer Hall, 315 Washington street. L. B. Bondin: "Imperialism and What Goes With It."

Buffalo Hall, Buffalo avenue and Fulton street. George D. Herron: "Socialism and Life."

Socialist and Social Democratic are virtually interchangeable terms. The Social Democratic Party of New York and Wisconsin is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. It is the party of the working class against all parties of capitalism. Its emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch.

We are glad to send sample copies of The Worker gratis to all who request them. If you know some persons who ought to be acquainted with the paper, send in their names and addresses for sample copies.

BROOKLYN TURNER PROTEST MEETING.

Federation of Labor Denounces Reactionary Policy of the Government—Suppression of Free Speech Traced to Capitalist Influence—Mass Meeting in Cooper Union on Jan. 14.

In spite of the snow and the extreme cold, the mass meeting in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum last Sunday afternoon to protest against the deportation of John Turner and the infringement on the right of free speech was well attended, and enthusiastic. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Brooklyn Federation of Labor. Joseph Weil presided, Algonquin Lee being prevented by sickness. A. C. Pleydell of the Free Speech League, Moses Oppenheimer, William Schand, Benjamin Hanford, and Dr. C. L. Furman spoke, treating the Turner case and the Anti-Marxist clause under which his deportation is ordered, not only as a governmental outrage upon the primary liberties of the people, but as a part of a general movement inspired by capitalist interests to suppress all criticism of the existing system and to reduce the exploited working class to helpless submission. Hanford referred to the declaration of martial law and establishment of a military press censorship in Colorado as a part of the same reactionary movement. The ruling class and its political henchmen, he said, are taking just the course to prevent peaceful and orderly progress and to drive the workers to the use of violence. It is high time that we should take up the cry of "Liberty or death!" This fight is our fight, the fight of the whole working class. It cannot be avoided. It must be fought out to the end, to the establishment of true liberty by the overthrow of capitalism in all its forms.

According to the decision of the New York Central Federated Union, another mass meeting will be held in Cooper Union on Thursday evening, Jan. 14, to voice the protest of the organized working people of this city against the abuse of the public power in the interest of the capitalist class.

MUNICIPALISM AND SOCIALISM.
With the approach of the elections municipal programs are again being considered, and much that is good, bad, and indifferent is being said and written about the attitude of the Socialists towards municipal action. Of late years there has undoubtedly been a tendency to allow the importance of such action to be magnified not only in the matter of what has been said, but also in what has been said. And it is chiefly in the latter respect that the mischief has been done. Unless we at all times call attention to the very narrow limitations under which the municipalist work within the capitalist state, we are in danger of being misled by the importance of such action to be magnified not only in the matter of what has been said, but also in what has been said. And it is chiefly in the latter respect that the mischief has been done. 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frankly for capitalism, the Democratic party was trying to get votes under false pretenses, posing as the friend of "the common people," while maintaining the system from which the working people's sufferings result.

ISN'T IT ABOUT TIME?

President Gompers writes a very solemn editorial in the January number of the "Federationist" on "The Folly of Wage Reductions." With the utmost gravity and kindness he assures the capitalists that they are making a great mistake—viewing it purely as a matter of business—in cutting down wages.

Does Mr. Gompers really think that he knows Carnegie's business better than the canny Scot himself does or that he can give useful pointers to John D. Rockefeller in the Standard Oil man's specialty of getting something for nothing. Certainly not. Mr. Gompers is no fool. Doubtless he could not restrain a smile as he wrote that editorial at the ridiculousness of his pretending to advise the employers that they would make bigger profits by not cutting wages. But it is absolutely necessary for Mr. Gompers to go through this farcical performance to be consistent with the false principle he has so firmly espoused that "the interests of Capital and Labor are identical." With all the self-conscious pomp of a Napoleon dictating terms of peace to a conquered world Mr. Gompers writes—and puts in big letters—this paragraph:

"We have advised and shall continue to advise our fellow workmen to resist reductions in wages by every lawful means within their power, for as we have said before, 'It is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all.'"

In that last phrase Mr. Gompers gives his whole case away. He knows that, so long as the workmen confine themselves to such methods as he considers "lawful," so long as they neglect to use their political power and bow with him to the great gods of capital, their only alternative is "to resist and lose" or "not to resist at all." Is it not about time to quit playing ostrich, to quit pretending that our enemy is our dearest friend, to quit fighting with one hand tied behind our back, to quit playing the bosses' game for the bosses' profit, and to resolve and act on Socialist lines, not to "resist and lose," as Gompers advises, but to resist and win? Isn't it about time?

Mr. Carnegie has missed a splendid chance of dying undisgraced. By the wage-cut introduced last week the employees of the Carnegie Steel Company, a part of the Steel Trust, lose \$120,000,000 a year and Mr. Carnegie and his associates are "in" to the same extent. Most rich men can talk glibly of the burdens of wealth and the blessing of poverty; but put them to the test, and they will do their utmost to hang onto the burden and leave the blessing to others.

THE LAW OF VALUE.

Some of our readers seem to think that in our editorial entitled "Exceptions that Prove the Rule," last week, we have thrown over the Marxian theory of value, because we spoke of prices falling and rising as a result of the increase or diminution of supply as compared with demand.

For us, we have never been able to see how the theory that supply and demand regulate prices conflicts with the theory that value is determined by cost of production. Suppose we say that the weight of a body can be measured by the extent to which it stretches a certain standard steel spring; and suppose we then say that the weight of a body is determined by its mass and its distance from the earth's center of gravity; is there any inconsistency and are not both statements absolutely true? No more is the supply-and-demand theory of prices, of which our professors of political economy talk so reverently, inconsistent with the labor-cost theory of value which the great orthodox economists once accepted and which their puny successors have rejected only since they saw Marx deduce from it the theory of surplus value and demonstrate the exploitation of labor.

The theory of value is a much broader and deeper theory than the supply-and-demand theory of price, including it and explaining it, not denying it. But the bourgeois thinkers of the age are afraid of large and deep conceptions, in economics as in philosophy, and are inclined to deny the possibility of a law of value and even the existence of value itself—just as some timid occultist of the seventeenth century, afraid of the logical conclusions from Newton's law of gravitation, might have denied the possibility of any such law or even the existence of gravitation and have cried out: "There, look at the scales to see how heavy things are; that is the only way you can find out."

What is value, as compared with price? Value is the norm or standard to which price always tends, sometimes coinciding with it, sometimes fluctuating a little above or below, under local or momentary or accidental or extrinsic influences. Supposing absolutely—not approximately, but absolutely—free competition, actual as well as legal, and absolute knowledge on

the part of each buyer and seller of all the goods in the market, then price and value would always be identical.

It may be remarked here that the term "value," in its economic sense, has no meaning except as applied to commodities—goods bought and sold—and that, accordingly, there can be a law of value only in those stages of society in which goods are commonly produced for sale, produced as commodities—that is, in bourgeois or capitalist societies. The law of value has no more application to savage society, for instance, than the laws of morality have to flocks of wild geese or the law of natural selection to chemical compounds. Economics, and particularly Marxian economics, confines itself to the conditions of capitalist society. This by the way and notwithstanding it may give rise to another question, necessary to be treated at length impossible here.)

To resume, and by means of an example: Suppose that at a certain time and from whatever cause, there are fewer shoes and more gloves in the market than usual. Experience tells us that the price of shoes will go up and the price of gloves down. Very well. But what happens next? The price of shoes being very high, people who have been making too many gloves will turn their attention partly to making shoes, with the result that the price of shoes will come down and the price of gloves will go up. Very likely the movement will go too far and then there will be a swing back to glove-making. Now twenty pairs of gloves of a given quality will command the same price as twelve pairs of shoes of a certain sort, now they will equal fourteen pairs of gloves, now ten; but these oscillations—caused by changes of the weather, by fashion, by a strike, by a bankruptcy and forced sale of stock, by a fire destroying a great warehouse, or by any of many causes—tend always, under competition, to correct themselves. The easier it is to divert labor and capital from one industry to the other, the less will be the fluctuations and the shorter their period—that is, the more nearly will the prices of the two commodities maintain a fixed ratio.

Only in one way, always assuming competition, can this ratio be permanently changed. Let us say the value or normal price of a pair of shoes is now double that of a pair of gloves. Now comes someone with an invention by the use of which gloves can be made with half the labor—including the labor of producing the materials and the machinery and all. While this invention is used only by a few glove manufacturers, the price of gloves will fall only a little and these few manufacturers will make abnormal profits. But very soon other manufacturers, to meet even a slight cut in competitive prices, will introduce the same or an equivalent invention; and when it has become general, the price of gloves will have fallen about half. Under minor influences it will still oscillate, but about a lower mean. Twenty pairs of gloves will never again equal ten pairs of shoes in price; they will equal now four pairs, now six, now five. The value of gloves, instead of being half that of shoes, will be one-fourth of it—until some change is made in the method of producing shoes also.

All this is A B C, of course—but let us see where it leads us.

We see that the interaction of supply and demand in a competitive society tend always (and the more quickly and completely, the more free is competition) to restrain the fluctuations of the prices of each commodity and keep them near to certain normal or mean prices, which are proportionate to the labor-cost of production, and that these change only as the methods of production are so changed as to increase or reduce the labor-cost. In other words, the law of supply and demand defines the process by which the slightly varying prices paid in multitudinous transactions express the value of the things sold; and the labor-cost theory explains how this value is fixed and changed.

When we speak of a single transaction or a momentary or local condition of the market, we have to take into account the fact that prices may for the time and at the place be somewhat above or below values. But when we speak of larger things, when we are concerned with a considerable field for any considerable period of time, we may disregard these fluctuations of prices, as generally balancing each other, and regard only values. Especially may we and must we do this when we discuss the capitalist system as a whole, study its development and examine the relations of classes in it—just as the biologist, describing an animal species and its development, disregards individual "sports" and "freaks" and describes a type, although it is likely that no two animals of the species ever existed that exactly resembled each other in every particular.

The Marxian law of value does not exclude the law of supply and demand, but includes and extends it. But the law of supply and demand, by itself, furnishes no measure of value and does not explain the larger movements even of prices.

As a sort of footnote, we may add that, capitalism having developed to

the point where competition has produced "anarchy" and to a great degree extinguished itself, the fluctuation of price away from—and especially above—value may be much greater and more lasting than when Marx wrote. Monopoly prices, if it is a subject that Socialist economists have not yet adequately treated, is likewise a subject that the supply-and-demand automatons in our bourgeois instruction mills will never try honestly to expound—for the excellent reason that such audacity would cut off their supply of donations and create an effective demand for the vacating of their professorial chairs.

A VETERAN'S BUGLE-CALL.

To the Editor of The Worker:—Now that the New Year 1904 is ushered in, I think it the proper time to push the movement for a daily paper. I am sure there are fifty thousand Socialists in the states outside of New York who can contribute one dollar each between now and March 1. My dollar will be sent to The Worker office by Jan. 15, and it is my earnest desire that every one of the fifty thousand comrades throughout the land will cheerfully do the same. We will call it the Dollar Brigade, with a brigadier in every state or in every county if necessary. There is nothing impossible with Socialists. Now comrades, let the dollar roll in with all speed and the daily will be assured by the time the Presidential campaign opens. The continuous slanders by the capitalist press can then be met by daily reply.

On Jan. 1, 1903, just forty-one years ago, I was a soldier in the Union Army stationed at Newbern, North Carolina. In that awful struggle, lasting four long years, I witnessed the horrors and devastation of war. I saw men dying of wounds and thirst on the field of carnage. I saw one hundred and fifty dead buried in a trench they themselves had dug. Others crawled to fence-corners to die alone. What a pleasing change for me to see the peaceful Socialist army now growing so rapidly!

I have now passed the sixtieth milestone on life's journey. The infirmities of old age are coming upon me, and as the shades of the evening of life will soon be closing around me I want to see the Socialist movement forge ahead to victory in my time.

R. Y. WEAVER.

Camden, N. J., Jan. 1.

MASSEY'S POINT OF ORDER.

To the Editor of The Worker:—The following proposition to amend the national party constitution has been submitted to the membership:

"Whereas, Under Section 1, Article 2, of the national constitution, a National Committee from a state having only one hundred party members, has equal power with that of a National Committee from a state having one thousand party members; and

"Whereas, Such a condition makes it possible for a National Committee representing only one hundred members to nullify majority rule, in that it permits the instructions or wish of one hundred party members to counteract the instructions or wish of one thousand party members; and

"Whereas, In order to have a party organization in which each member will have equal representation with every other member, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the first division of Section 1, Article 2, of the national constitution be amended to read:

"There shall be a National Committee, composed of one member from each organized state or territory, each Committee member having one vote for every one hundred members of his state or territory; and the number of members to be determined by computing the average dues-paying membership per month for three months prior to time of voting."

As a National Committee member from North Dakota, moved to have it declared out of order, which, according to the editorial in The Worker of Dec. 27, seems to have wonderfully astonished the editor, I think your editorial committee, whether so intended or not. Evidently you try to befog the issue. You must admit that each and every "whereas" is a clever argument in favor of its adoption, while the constitution in Section 2, Article 1, states: "All propositions or other matter submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without comment."

Does the editor deny that the above "whereas" are comments? They are not. I am not commenting. I am merely stating facts. After reading them I at first favored the adoption of this amendment, and many others were deceived by this apparently plausible reasoning who are now unalterably opposed to it.

The one point you make that I am free to admit is: "The members of that body (the National Committee), including Comrade Massey, had three full weeks in which to consider it. Not one of them objected to its submission to the membership."

At that time I was very busy and did not give it the time or thought I now see it deserved, and not being as clever as some of our New York comrades, I did not notice either its contents, or its objectionable feature of proxies or plural voting.

It is not a question, however, whether the amendment should be adopted, but should it be submitted on one side of any question or amendment and not on the other? If this is not declared out of order, cannot any length of argument and comment favoring its adoption be submitted with any amendment proposed, while denying the right of any reply to appear on the referendum? Does the editor say that is Socialist, democratic or fair?

Does the editor think that was intended to be the meaning of that clause in the constitution which says it "shall be presented without comment"? Some comrades think that the constitution is not binding on the membership. This is sure to lead to serious difficulties. Abuses have a habit of coming home to roost. The membership should be governed by the constitution. If Socialism stands for any

A WEIGHTY WARNING FROM HISTORY.

George D. Herron in "From Revolution to Revolution."

There is a sense in which most of the world's great battles have been abashed, fought by the orders and for the interests of the possessing class, with the real human battle forever unfought among the shadows. Already in past history overflowing into the present through all sorts of efforts to confuse the real issue and struggle before us. On every side a proposal, political and industrial, based upon an assumed identity of interest between the possessing and working classes. There are boards of arbitration, municipal ownership, direct legislation, tenement house committees, social reform leagues and plans for social betterment, and innumerable large and small schemes for exploiting the revolution while seeking to blind it.

As ever, the owning class is preparing to fight the people for more crumbs of what is theirs, in order to prevent them from demanding that which they must in the end demand, if there is ever to be freedom and right in this world—namely, the whole produce of their labor, and the common ownership of its materials and machinery. Compromise and apathy, servility and mediocrity, are having their day in every walk and work of life; and these are leading to poison and drain the Socialist movement.

Great initiatives and revolutions have always been robbed of definition and issue when adopted by the class against which the revolt was directed. Constantine destroyed Christianity by adopting it; the pope did the same for St. Francis and his Christian revolution; the nobles and priests did the same with the Reformation in Germany and England. The capitalist

thing it is law and order. When the constitution towards the will of the party it should be changed to conform to their wishes, but while we have a constitution let us live up to it. It is not so sacred that it cannot be changed. If it is so doubtful of interpretation that the decision rendered by the National Committee is unsatisfactory, a referendum by the membership on the proper interpretation should be the court of last resort. I yield to no man my allegiance to majority rule, but I want it to be in order, not mob rule.

The editor of The Worker knows it is wrong in principle to submit argument one side of any question and then deny the same right to the other side. The editor of The Worker, like the writer, upon reflection, knows the "whereas" in the above referendum violate the letter and spirit of Section 2, Article 1, of the national constitution, as well as of justice. The writer is sorry he did not see this as clearly when the amendment was first proposed. The writer is sorry he did not see the abuses of the capitalist system earlier in life, but he did not, and can now only make amends by fearlessly standing for right and justice as he sees it.

You say, "It is quite impossible for us to attribute the act (Massey's motion) to any but a factious motive. For personal slurs, care but little, but I do care for the effect it might have on the final decision on said motion."

On Dec. 14, another amendment was proposed providing that no proxies or plural voting should be allowed in any conventions, committees, or other deliberations of the Socialist Party of America; and while I favor the amendment, I moved that it be declared out of order because it contained arguments or comments similar to those contained in the above. Comrade Massey asked that this later amendment be submitted, but without any "whereas," comments or arguments; just the naked amendment.

Now just an idea or two on the first amendment. If it were feasible to have a Committee from each 100 votes, that would be fair, just, Socialist, and democratic. Ten Committeesmen from New York would not vote as a unit on all questions, nor might one Committee member vote the wishes of the majority of the members, and yet one Committee member with ten votes, as a unit all the time, and his own individual opinion where unopposed. For the results of such a system I would refer you to the report of J. Mahlon Barnes' account of the late A. F. of L. convention as reported in the above. Comrade Massey asked that this later amendment be submitted, but without any "whereas," comments or arguments; just the naked amendment.

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class reaped the harvest of the French Revolution, and of the matchless martyrdom of the Commune of 1870-71. By the time the American Revolution had come to its final issue and government, by the time the fruits of the Declaration of Independence and of Valley Forge were ready to be reaped, it was not the ideals of Rousseau or Jefferson or Paine that prevailed, but the material and comprehensive deceit, deliberately devised for the purpose of preventing the people from governing themselves, and of keeping the affairs and issues of government in the hands of the possessing class. It is only a few years ago that Wendell Phillips was mobbed on this platform, and that William Lloyd Garrison was dragged through your streets with a rope around his neck by the thugs and ruffians of the commercial classes who were enraged and murderous because of the interference of agitators with their trade in the South, and who represented all that was respected or respectable in Boston. Yet these same commercial classes reaped much of their wealth from what Garrison and Phillips sowed, and through the process of the Civil War. And we are probably the last to find in Boston to-day a son or grandson of the commercial classes that set hired assassins and ruffians upon the heels of the early abolitionists who are not so easily accredited as a descendant of one of the old abolition families. The so-called higher life of Boston to-day practically a parasite upon the glory of the men whom its fathers outraged, imprisoned, reviled, mobbed, and hired shot.

Let Socialists take knowledge and warning.

When it is remembered that the National Committee had three weeks to consider the form in which the proposition was to be put and that the point of order, instead of being raised in time to prevent the putting of the question in improper form, was raised only when the general vote was nearly completed and, moreover, was raised at the same time and emanated from the same general quarter as the purely negative "Referendum C" (whose effect, if adopted, would only be to abrogate the present "Referendum B" if adopted and to perpetuate the present admittedly inequitable system of representation)—when all this is remembered, we think we may be pardoned for suspecting a factious motive, if not for asserting them.

The time is past for discussing the merits of the amendment in question, for the vote is closed; we do not, therefore, reply to Comrade Massey's argument from the A. F. of L. though it seems to us not altogether a parallel case. We have supported the amendment, not as being a perfect arrangement, but as being, in our judgment, an improvement on the present system. Much more heartily would we have supported the plan of having the number of National Committeesmen proportioned to the membership, had we been given a chance to do so. Unfortunately the comrades of Montana, North Dakota, and elsewhere, who say that they also would favor such a plan have moved something quite different from it.

This whole affair, as well as that of the headquarters referendum of last spring, shows that our present provision for putting questions to general vote is absolutely loose and clumsy, resulting in misunderstandings, confusion, and delay. It is to be hoped that our next convention will incorporate in the constitution an article—it need be but a very short one, if carefully drawn—regulating the proceeding in such a way as to avoid this constant switching-off on technicalities.—Ed.]

THE STORY OF A LABOR AGITATOR. By Joseph H. Buchanan. New York. The Outlook Company. 1903. Cloth, 44 pages. Price, \$1.25.

It is hardly correct to say that Mr. Mitchell's book is disappointing. Rather it is the author himself who has proved so and disappointed. Through whatever psychological processes and under whatever influences, the John Mitchell who filled so large a space in the public eye and whose name was a rallying cry for the best elements of the working class in 1902 became quite a different person in 1903, a man whom the most astute respectable enemies of human liberty could forgive for his past indiscretions and receive into their councils as harmless and possibly useful, a man who, instead of inspiring the workers to action serves to introduce among them doubt, hesitation, and self-distrust. Few men have had such the opportunity to show the true greatness that shines brightest in hours of adversity as was presented to John Mitchell a year and a half ago; few of those given such an opportunity and looked to by millions of eyes with such high hope and sympathy have so utterly thrown it away. "Organized Labor" is just such a book as we should have expected from the later John Mitchell.

We are right in this criticizing the author rather than the book, for the simple reason that it is the author's name and not the matter or manner of the book that has given it any note. It is not before the public primarily as "John Mitchell's book," and only

secondarily as a book on the greatest question in current history. As "John Mitchell's book" it is sold and as such it must be regarded by the critic. Had the name on the title-page been an unknown one, "Organized Labor" would never have been mentioned by a serious student of the labor movement in the same breath with the work of the Webb or even Ely's or Howell's, although, as a popular sketch of the history of trade unionism and a formal and rather unoriginal exposition and defense of its purposes and methods in detail, it might have been of considerable service. But just because of the author's personality—as well as because workmen now generally feel, and rightly, that the labor movement needs no defense—most readers will look to the book for something more than this, will look for a statement of position on the fundamental relations of capital and labor, and it is by this that the book must be judged.

Mr. Mitchell begins by saying that "the average wage-earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage-earner, has given up the hope of a kingdom to come where he himself will be a capitalist, and asks that the reward for his work be given to him as a workman." This is very well, if we know what it means. But we do not, and the rest of the book does not enlighten us. That the change of economic conditions is driving out of the workers' heads the old delusive hope that each might individually rise out of his class into the class of masters is a fact and an encouraging one. But Mr. Mitchell seems not to distinguish between this actual and gratifying disillusionment and the supposed abdication of the workers to their lot as wage-workers. As a matter of fact, just in proportion as individual workers cease to dream of becoming capitalists

NEW-YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

JOHN A. McCALL, President.

BALANCE SHEET, JANUARY 1, 1904.

ASSETS.		LIABILITIES.	
Government, State, City, County and other Bonds (market value, \$250,140,939), cost value, Dec. 31, 1903. (The Company does not include in its Assets the excess of total market value of Bonds over total cost value.)	\$247,994,383	Police Reserve (per certificate of New York Insurance Dept.), Dec. 31, 1903	\$300,090,347
Bonds and Mortgages (435 first liens),	24,531,774	All other Liabilities on Policies, Annuities, Endowments, &c., awaiting presentation for payment,	545,654
Deposits in Banks, at interest,	22,126,134		
Loans to Policy-holders on Policies as security (reserve value thereof, \$40,000,000)	28,503,073		
Real Estate, 24 pieces (including twelve office buildings, valued at \$10,990,000),	12,275,000		
Loans on Bonds (market value, \$6,522,560),	5,280,000		
Quarterly and Semi-Annual Premiums not yet due, reserve charged	3,603,777		
Premium Notes on Policies in force (Legal Reserve to secure same, \$5,000,000),	3,139,384		
Premiums in transit, reserve charged in Liabilities,	2,503,950		
Interest and Rents accrued,	2,185,672		
Total Assets (No stocks of any kind owned or loaned upon),	\$352,652,047	Total,	47,105,046
		Total Liabilities,	\$352,652,047

INCREASE IN ASSETS DURING THE YEAR, - - - - - \$29,811,147

INCOME, 1903.		DISBURSEMENTS, 1903.	
New Premiums,	\$16,335,782	Paid for Death-Claims (\$16,860,082), Endowments (\$4,305,941), and Annuities (\$1,686,696),	\$22,852,719
Renewal Premiums,	57,146,392	Paid for Dividends (\$5,339,292) Surrender Values (\$6,412,236) and other Payments (\$65,767) to Policy-holders,	11,817,295
TOTAL PREMIUMS,	\$73,382,174	Commissions and all other payments to agents \$7,164,180 (on New Business of year \$326,658,236); Medical Exam- ers' Fees \$748,418, and Inspection of Risks \$164,004, - - -	8,076,601
Interest Receipts from:		Home and Branch Office Expenses, Taxes, Legal Fees, Advertising, Equipment Account, Telegraph, Postage, Com- missions on \$1,418,554,663 of Old Business and Miscellaneous Expenditures, - - -	10,136,844
Bonds owned,	\$9,915,238	TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS -	\$52,833,459
Mortgage loans, - - -	1,069,639	Balance for Reserves—Excess of Income over Disbursements for year,	35,385,072
Loans to Policy-holders, secured by Policies,	1,578,488	*The New Business of 1903, which was \$23,830,007 more than that of 1902, was secured at a lower expense rate.	
Bank Deposits and Collateral Loans,	806,999		
TOTAL INTEREST RECEIPTS,	13,370,364	Total Disbursements and Balance for Reserves	\$88,269,531
Rents from Company's properties, - - -	939,947		
Profits realized on Securities sold during the year,	274,454		
Deposits on account of Registered Bond Policies, etc.,	311,592		
Total Cash Income,	\$88,269,531	Total Paid-for Insurance in force (312,711 Policies),	\$1,745,212,899
New Business Paid for in 1903 (171,118 Policies),	\$326,658,236	CAIN IN 1903 (193,441 Policies) 191,534,873.	
CAIN IN 1903 (13,678 Policies) \$23,860,007.			

The Detailed Annual Statement of the Company, giving list of securities held, etc., will be supplied on application. Address,

NEW-YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

246 & 348 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

BANDLOW CONTESTS' CALDWELL'S ELECTION.

To the Editor of The Worker—Will you kindly give space to the enclosed communication, which was forwarded to the "Ohio Socialist" for publication?

I should not have considered for a moment to take this means of protesting the election of Caldwell as National Com. Atty. Gen. for Ohio, if it had not been manifest that former State Secretary Critchlow was doing what lay in his power to promote Caldwell's candidacy by resorting to methods far from honorable.

I believe that the only way to remove all doubt is to declare the election null and void through a referendum vote and to proceed with a new election. It rests with the comrades of Ohio, however, if they wish to have the stigma removed. Fraternally,

ROBERT BANDLOW,
Cleveland, O. Jan. 1.

To the Editor of the Ohio "Socialist"—Through your medium I wish to acquaint the members of the Socialist Party of Ohio that I have protested against the election of Comrade Howard Caldwell on the ground that methods were apparently employed by former State Secretary Critchlow to influence the election of National Com. Atty. Gen.

Comrade Lavin of Local Canton informed me that they had no opportunity to vote, because they were not supplied with ballots.

I have notified Acting State Secretary Gardner, demanding that the election be declared null and void and a new election be ordered. I also request through the Ohio "Socialist" that the State Committee investigate to what extent methods were employed to secure the election of Howard Caldwell who, a week before the close of the ballot, informed Comrade Cowen in Chicago that he was elected National Com. Atty. Gen.

I can take defeat gracefully and have no ambition to gratify, but I do not intend to be made the victim of any scheme and deem the matter of sufficient importance to place it before the members of the party in our state. If they are satisfied that our movement shall be thus controlled, I acquiesce.

ROBERT BANDLOW.

SOCIALIST GAINS IN GERMAN CITIES.

The month of December brought a good harvest of Socialist victories in municipal elections in Germany. As already reported, our comrades in Berlin won five additional seats in the city council, and in the neighboring city of Charlottenburg, they elected four councillors while the old parties elected but two. At Weissenfels we elected four municipal councillors and and go to second ballot for three more

At Longenberg we won five out of the six places to be filled. At Dürren-Eberdorf we carried the whole ticket. This was one of the few places which we lost, keeping but one out of three seats formerly held; at Unterhausen we lost two out of five. At Hargersdorf we increased our delegation from three to four. Two Socialists were elected at Oetsch, two at Heissen, two at Helmarshausen. At Baut in Oldenburg the party elected all its candidates, with 1,000 votes against 1,200. At Johannisberg, Saxony also the whole ticket of eight candidates was successful. At Falkenstein in Saxony two Socialists were elected. At Doebeln a Socialist was elected for the first time. In Wirttemberg two comrades were elected at Cannstadt and two at Reilingen.

The Socialists have contested the election of the Anti-Semite Graefe, the only one of the twenty-three Saxony members of the German Parliament who is not a Socialist, on the ground that illegal acts were committed at his election in the third district of Saxony.

THE FUTURE DANGER.

In order to save itself capitalism will go into partnership with Socialism, making Socialism its political pack-horse. Already in capitalism prepared with its program of "benevolent" designs for its own firm establishment—city waterworks, municipal milk wagons, boards of arbitration, art museums, and good government clubs. Carefully worked out and docketed, ready at hand for each emergency, are the treaties of peace by which capitalism will undertake to destroy Socialism by befriending it. By the wit of its highly hired retainers in legislative halls and in church councils and academic chairs, and by the lack of wit and spiritual nerve in the Socialist movement, a shorn and blinded Socialism may be bribed and saddled by capitalism and made to carry to its own long death. The coming class may thus wither by which favors the movement which it cannot withstand by its mightiest weapons of defence. In all of this, the capitalist instinct will be the identical instinct of the ruling class in all crisis. When the early Christian movement was well on its way to undermining the empire with Jesus' idea of life and property, the Roman robber class engrafted itself upon that movement so securely that Rome, to this day, rules the world, rough the laws and class-consciousness of these robbers whose chief aim the Caesar always was. So completely did the Roman upper class blind and ride the essentially proletarian and class-conscious party of Jesus, that official Christianity has performed capitalistic police services ever since, from the day that the monstrous Constantine decreed the orthodoxy of the church down to this Sunday morning's sermons from American pulpits. In like manner, when the beautiful Franco-

can movement menaced the world with a renaissance of apostolic ideas of the Christian life and of property, the Church destroyed the soul and the meaning of the movement by adopting it and thereby breaking the heart of it and thereby breaking the heart of St. Francis unto death. By such method did the matchlessly cruel band-lords of England, under the lead of Henry VIII as their supreme fit chieftain, ride the Lollard movement to the greatest capitalistic depredations of history. In the name of the movement which Wyckliffe and John Ball thought to lead to communist democracy, practically the whole of England was stolen from its yeoman owners, or from the communist monks who were also robbed of the fruits of centuries of free co-operative labor. Upon every high tide of Democracy the institutions of capitalistic despotism came into renewed power, floating on their enemies the catchwords of the self-governing idea. The American constitution, the mangled and snobbed thing which England calls democracy; the grotesque French republic; the stripped and shackled "unity" of Italy; the Prussianized German Empire, are all alike conscious and deliberate devices for preventing the common life from coming to a consciousness of the self-governing idea.—Geo. D. Herron.

EIGHTEENTH Annual Ball
to be held by
BREWERS' UNION No. 1
of NEW YORK,
Saturday, January 9, 1904,
at Turn Hall,
Lesington Ave. and 93th St.,
for the Benefit of the Out-of-Work Members.
TICKETS, - - - 25 CENTS,
admitting Gent and Lady.
Gent's Hat-Check, 15 Cents.
Lady's Hat-Check, 10 Cts.
Dancing to commence at 9 P. M.
The Committee of Arrangements.

FOR ITALIAN WORKINGMEN.

Comrades who have an opportunity to reach Italian workingmen and wish to make propaganda for Socialism among them will do well to use the new pamphlet
"Che Cosa e il Socialismo?"
(What Is Socialism?)
By SILVIO ORIOLO.
Single copy, 5 cents; 100 or more, at the rate of 2 1/2 cents a copy.
Socialist Literature Co.,
184 William St., New York.

New Year's Greeting : : : : : : of The Worker.

A beautiful allegorical picture, typifying the present struggle of the working class for freedom and its coming victory and emancipation, which should adorn the walls of every workingman's home.

Single copy, 10 cents. In quantity, 5 cents a copy.

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SHALL THE UNIONS GO INTO POLITICS?

By JOHN SPARGO.

The two articles which Comrade Spargo contributed to The Worker of Nov. 15 and Nov. 22 attracted great attention and their release in pamphlet form was demanded. They have now been incorporated in a neat pocket-size pamphlet of 32 pages as a number of the Socialist Library.

This pamphlet should be widely distributed, especially in the trade unions, where the questions being discussed. Price: 2 cents a copy; 10 copies for 25 cents; \$1.25 a hundred.

Socialist Literature Co.,
184 William St., New York.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

BROOKLYN ORGANIZATIONS, Attention!

For the convenience of the members of the Brooklyn organizations affiliated with the Labor Secretariat, a branch office has been opened on Sunday, Dec. 14th, in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 429 Williamsburg Avenue. Office hours are from 2 to 6 p. m. week days. All Brooklyn cards can from now on be submitted at the above branch.

The Labor Secretariat,
R. E. KENTZLE, Asst. Secretary.

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PHILIP DIAMOND

210 STANTON ST., bet. 14th and 15th.
The finest selection of DRESSES and other SHIRTS, COLLARS, HOSIERY, etc., at the lowest prices.

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WARNING!
Piano and organ workers are urged to request to stay away from the works of the Piano Piano Company, Forty-third street, between Eighth and Ninth Avenue, New York City, as the men are on strike.

By order of The Executive Board of the Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of Greater New York.

WORKMEN'S CHILDREN DEATH BENEFIT FUND
of the United States of America.

The address of the Financial Secretary of the National Executive Committee is: WILLIAM SCHWARTZ, 110 Broadway, Room 42, Astor Place, New York City.

DR. MATHILDA SINAI, DENTIST.
200 E. 4th St., NEW YORK.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other bodies, are issued under this heading at the rate of \$1 per line per annum.

LABOR SECRETARIAT—Office, 320 Broadway, Room 701; office hours on week days, from 9 a. m. to 6 p. m. Delegates' meeting every last Saturday of the month at 64 E. Fourth street, at 8 p. m. Board of Directors' meeting every second Monday of the month, at 320 Broadway, Room 701. Address all correspondence to the Labor Secretariat, 320 Broadway.

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INT. UNION No. 90—Office and Employment Bureau, 64 E. 4th St. The following Districts meet every Saturday: Dist. I (Boheman)—331 E. 71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)—60 E. 1st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—Clubhouse, 296 E. 96th St., 7:30 p. m.; Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.; Dist. V—3200 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VI—1507 Third Ave., 8 p. m.; Dist. VII—1432 Second Ave., 8 p. m. The Board of Supervision meets every Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF NEW YORK meets first Sunday of every month, 10:30 a. m., in Link's Hall, 233 E. 38th street, New York. All Scandinavian workers are welcome. Admission free. Meetings every third Sunday, at 7 p. m. Secretary, G. Skjoholm, 321 E. Ninth street, New York.

Arbeiter-Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse fuer die Vor. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength at present composed of 100 local branches with 23,700 male and 4,900 female members is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workmen between 18 and 45 years of age are eligible for membership. The second class receives under the same circumstances and length of time \$4.00 and \$2.00 respectively. Initial fee of \$2.00 is guaranteed for every member, and for the second class, \$1.00. Monthly assessments are levied for the three different classes of members of \$1.75 cents and 22 cents respectively. Members at large are not accepted, but candidates have to join existing branches in cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 15 working men in good health, and upon adhering to the above principles are invited to join.

Address all communications to HENRY STRAHL, Financial Secretary, 14 Third Avenue, Room 5, New York City.

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Kangaroos are welcome.
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300 Broadway, Room 905. 50 Union Sq.

DR. MATHILDA SINAI, DENTIST.
200 E. 4th St., NEW YORK.

PARTY NEWS.

National.

The lecturers and organizers from national headquarters are working as follows: John W. Brown in California; Gaylord in Florida; McKee in Northern California; James P. Carey begins lecture tour Jan. 1, Newark, N. J.; Wilkins in Montana.

Arkansas, Wisconsin, and Missouri report the election of L. W. Lowry, Victor L. Berger, and Geo. H. Turner, respectively, as National Committee-men from these states. J. P. Miller has resigned as National Committee-man from Idaho.

Referring to the method of conducting election of National Secretary, National Committee-man Berlyn of Illinois writes: "I agree with Comrade Critchlow of Ohio that this function belongs entirely to the new National Committee, which according to the constitution should be elected by referendum. And right here I desire to enter my protest against anyone acting as National Committee-man who has not been elected by a referendum vote in such state or territory. I am credibly informed that Comrade Talbot of Minnesota was not elected by a referendum vote of his state as required by the constitution; and I therefore protest against his acting as National Committee-man. I have this protest upon the following clause of the constitution: The members of this committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the states or territories, which they respectively represent by referendum vote." The National Secretary has made inquiry of the State Secretary of Minnesota regarding the election of Comrade Talbot.

F. W. Evans, Corresponding Secretary of Local Union No. 1, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, Salt Lake City, Utah, reports to the National Secretary that the local union has adopted the Socialist platform.

State Secretary Cooney of Montana reports as follows to the National Secretary: "The following members of the Socialist Party of Montana have been tried and found guilty of the charge of 'having taken part in the political convention of another party' and were duly expelled from the party: Robert Ellis, Butte; Wm. R. Peppworth, Bozeman; L. J. Caldwell, Red Lodge. The party in Montana will stand no monkeying with the capitalist bandwagon." Comrade Cooney also writes: "Comrade Wilkins spoke to two big meetings here and we were well pleased with him. His analysis of the class struggle was the best ever heard here; also his treatment of the tax question was superb. Wilkins has organized four new locals in this state: Stevensville, Victor, Rochester, and Frontadale." Wilkins will work in Montana until Jan. 28, when he will enter Idaho.

State Secretary Holman of Minnesota reports the organization of three new locals in Carlton County by State Organizer Klein, at Carlton, Wrenshall, and Scanlon.

Referring to Missouri reports the referendum for the election of state officials for the ensuing year as follows: Secretary, Hallock, 118; Palmer, 251; Rathbun, 67; Garver, 102; Hoehn, 108. Total, 627. T. L. Palmer elected, National Committee-man; Turner, 338; Hansen, 31; Bohrens, 25. Total, 673. Geo. H. Turner, Kansas City, re-elected. The state headquarters will be removed to Kansas City, where Comrade Palmer resides.

State Secretary Dal of Kentucky reports the re-election of Charles Dobbs, Louisville, as National Committee-man for the ensuing year, by "practically a unanimous vote."

State Secretary Will of Kansas reports the result of canvass of election of National Committee-man as follows: Mills, 131; Lowther, 48; Ricker, 49; McAllister, 76; Wayland, 88; Mitchell, 27. Total, 410. The State Committee declared Walter Thomas Mills duly elected for the year 1904.

State Secretary Thomas of Wisconsin reports Victor L. Berger re-elected National Committee-man for the year 1904, by a vote of 455 for 3 against. The three votes against were cast in Milwaukee.

State Secretary Healey of Florida reports the organization of four new locals by National Organizer Gaylord, whose work in that state will conclude Jan. 7.

John C. Chase will begin work as National Organizer Jan. 15 in New Hampshire under the direction of State Secretary Arnstein.

James P. Carey's lecture dates arranged so far are as follows: Jan. 3, Newark, N. J.; Jan. 4, Philadelphia; Jan. 5, Reading; Jan. 6, York; Jan. 7, Lancaster; Jan. 8, Wilkes-Barre; Jan. 9, New Castle, Ohio; Jan. 10, Toledo; Jan. 11, Fremont; Jan. 12, Akron; Jan. 13, Cleveland; Jan. 14, Cincinnati; Jan. 15, Portsmouth.

John W. Brown will lecture in California until the end of January when he will go several dates in Oregon on his way to Washington.

John M. Ray will not begin his three months' work in Wisconsin until Feb. 1.

Local Fargo and Valley City, N. D., have requested the National Secretary to lay before the Quorum and, in case of its failure to approve, bring the National Committee a proposition that the rule requiring that national organizations be approved by the state organizations of the states in which they are to work be suspended in the case of Carl D. Thompson.

In response to the resolutions of Local Lakona, Wash., asking for a referendum on a proposition to establish a daily under the control of the national party organization, the National Secretary calls attention to the constitutional clause prohibiting the National Committee from publishing or designating an official organ.

National Organizing Fund. The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report: A. L. New York City, 30 cents; Local San Diego, Cal., \$4.90; M. Hillquit, New York City, \$10; Local Kings County, N. Y., \$5; Local Corona, Cal., \$1; Branch 1 (German), Providence, R. I., \$1; W. D. Altman, Rosenthal, Pa., \$5; total \$24.22.

National Convention. The National Committee of the Socialist Party has voted to hold the national convention in Chicago on May 1. The motion providing for a National Committee meeting on June 10, in case motion calling for convention in St. Louis on June 15 should be adopted, was also carried, but as the motion upon which it was qualified was defeated the action of the committee is therefore void. Motion providing for election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress by the national convention was carried. The preliminaries for the convention will be considered by the Quorum at its next meeting.

Correspondence Between Caldwell and Mailly. On Dec. 14, the National Secretary received notification that Howard H. Caldwell had been endorsed for appointment as National Organizer by the Ohio State Committee, and he was recommended by the Ohio State Committee. Critchlow as the best organizer that had worked in Ohio. Having been notified by the Territorial Secretary of Arizona and the State Secretary of California that the services of an organizer or lecturer could be used to advantage in those states, the work done by Comrade McKee and Brown, the National Secretary concluded that Caldwell would be a capable man for the position. Receiving notice by postal card from Caldwell at Kansas City under date of Dec. 22 that he would be in that city for a week, the National Secretary addressed him there the first letter, dated Dec. 23. The first letter written by Caldwell was also dated Dec. 23, the same day upon which the National Secretary had sent his proposition to Caldwell, whose second letter, dated Christmas, was received at the National Secretary's office Dec. 26, during the National Secretary's absence.

L-MAILLY TO CALDWELL. Howard H. Caldwell, General Delivery, Kansas City, Mo. Dear Comrade:—I have your card stating that you will be in Kansas City for one week. I received from Comrade Critchlow last week your name for appointment as a national organizer or lecturer, and I wish to write you now about same. The prospect I have for using you within the near future is to send you into Arizona and California on an organizing and lecture tour. The Territorial Secretary of California and the State Secretary of California both write me that a national organizer can work in their respective territories for some time. I am pretty sure from what I know of Arizona that a man could stay there for five or six weeks if not two months, and Secretary Helfenstein of California writes me that he is prepared to make from 40 to 50 dates for a national organizer beginning in March. This would ensure from three to four months' work.

I have not submitted the proposition of sending you on this trip to the Quorum and would not like to do so unless I knew that you were available. Should you decide to accept this appointment you would receive the regular rates paid our organizers, namely three dollars a day for each day in the field and all traveling and hotel expenses guaranteed. It is probable that I would charge a fixed sum for your services, but only just enough to ensure expenses.

I should like to hear from you about this right away, as the Secretary of Arizona states that he should have at least thirty days' notice to arrange dates on account of the peculiar geographical conditions.

Upon hearing from you whether you can accept or not I shall immediately submit the matter to the Quorum, and I have no doubt that the Quorum will agree to the appointment.

Should you favor this proposition I would try to arrange dates for you in the states between here and Arizona, so that you could start in there about February. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible about this, so that I can get arrangements under way.

WILLIAM MAILLY. National Secretary. P. S.—Of course it is probable that if you go into California I will also arrange for you to cover the coast states before returning east again.

H-CALDWELL TO MAILLY. Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 23, 1903. Comrade Mailly—Since coming to Kansas City on a trip I was making out this way, I have seen some things here that have changed my opinion toward a very important (to him) man who lives in Kansas City. Would like to have a little talk with you.

Could you arrange to get me a date or set of dates in Omaha that would cover my expenses going and returning. Let me know at once. Remember that this letter is not for publication. Your comrade.

HOWARD H. CALDWELL.

H-CALDWELL TO MAILLY. Kansas City, Mo., Christmas, 1903. Dear Comrade:—Would be pleased to take the trip to Arizona and California. Must go to Ohio first and can be at your service after Jan. 15. Would advise route through Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, returning along the coast to Washington and then home by way of Montana, North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, into Ohio.

Would get large crowd in New Orleans as I organized that town from trade union standpoint. Have written you letter which you have probably received by this time. This outfit here in Kansas City is worse than I expected. Have brought pressure to bear that will result in Mills not being on next year's committee. He will probably withdraw from political activity in the party. Remember all this is strictly confidential. Better keep his name out of print as much as possible.

WILLIAM MAILLY. National Secretary.

Mailly's December Report. National Secretary Mailly's financial report for December shows larger receipts for dues than in any previous month of the party's history and larger total receipts than in any month except September, 1903. Total receipts for the month were \$1,560.89; balance, Dec. 1, \$165.27; expenditures, \$1,563.77; balance, Jan. 1, \$108.40.

The sum of \$1,234.10 was received for dues, as follows: From organized states—Arkansas, \$25.10; Arizona, \$0; California, \$25.25; Colorado, \$15; Connecticut, \$25; Florida, \$15; Illinois, \$112.50; Indiana, \$15; Iowa, \$25; Kansas, \$68.05; Maine, \$25; Massachusetts, \$50.50; Michigan, \$15; Minnesota, \$20; Missouri, \$100; Montana, \$20; Nebraska, \$15; New Hampshire, \$16.25; New Jersey, \$100; New York, \$97.40; North Dakota, \$18.25; Ohio, \$25; Oregon, \$14.15; Pennsylvania, \$15; South Dakota, \$25; Tennessee, \$25; Washington, \$44.75; Wisconsin, \$24.40; from local unorganized states—District of Co-

lumbia, \$3; Georgia, \$4.70; Indian Territory, \$0.10; Louisiana, \$0.50; Maryland, \$12.10; Rhode Island, \$5; New Mexico, \$5; North Carolina, \$3.50; South Carolina, \$1.10; Tennessee, \$10.50; Utah, \$2; Virginia, \$2.40; Wyoming, \$8; from members-at-large, 30 cents.

The principal items of expense were: Salaries, \$305.05; office help, \$128; printing, \$20.00; agitation and organization, \$611.98; Lecture Bureau, \$50.55; Quorum meeting, \$31.50; on old debts, \$105.05.

During the last three months of 1903 the dues paid to the national office amounted to \$3,191.55, which would indicate a party membership of 21,277.

New York City. The General Committee of Local New York will meet Saturday, Jan. 9, at 8 p. m. in the last hall of the W. E. A. Club House, 200 E. Eighty-third street. This meeting will be of great importance on account of the amount of business to be transacted, which includes nomination of officers and committees for the ensuing term, nomination of National Committee-men, nomination of State Committee-men in place of Wood Jones, and the first meeting, the delegates are requested to be present promptly at 8 p. m., with credentials, if same have not been sent to the Organizer, and membership cards in good standing. No delegate will be seated whose assembly district has not sent to the Organizer its semi-annual membership report.

Assembly district branches desiring lists of enrolled voters or other information in the recently published "City Record" can get copies from Organizer Solomon, who has bought a sufficient quantity to supply all districts.

The second lecture in the Friday evening series at the rooms of the Mt. Morris Educational Club, 134 E. 110th street, will be given by Frederick Krafft of Jersey City, on the question, "Is Our Country a Republic?" Admission is free and general discussion is invited after each lecture.

The Brooklyn Daily Globe Conference will meet next Thursday evening, Jan. 14, 8 p. m. sharp, at the Brooklyn Lyceum. All delegates should attend.

The 28th A. D. will hold a general meeting on Thursday evening, Jan. 14, at 147 Avenue A. The regular meetings of this district take place on the first and third Tuesday in the month. All arrangements have been completed for the entertainment and ball of the Downtown Young People's Social Democratic Club on Jan. 16 and the affair will undoubtedly be a pronounced success. A handsome twelve-page journal will be published for the occasion. A first class entertainment program will be provided; John Spargo will deliver an address; and for the dancing the best music of Local Union No. 310 has been engaged.

On Sunday evening, Jan. 10, Henry L. Slobodin will lecture on the port of Shelley, in the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, under the auspices of the Downtown Young People's Social Democratic Club. The lecture will be given by Miss Dahme and Miss Iben, and several musical selections. The evening will close with a dance. Admission for non-members of the Verein für Volkshilfsung, 10 cts.

Brooklyn comrades should keep in mind that there will be a general party meeting of that borough on Thursday, Jan. 21, at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum.

The New York Daily Globe Conference will hold regular meeting on Thursday, Jan. 14, at 8 p. m., in the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, for the purpose of electing officers for the ensuing term. Every delegate is urged to be present.

At the last meeting of the 6th and 10th A. D. delegates to the General Committee, Second Agitation District Committee, and to the Daily Globe Conference were elected. Comrade Broach was re-elected financial secretary, and the election of recording secretary was postponed till next meeting. A Hungarian branch of the district will be organized. In behalf of the agitation committee, Comrade Tazzer reported having engaged Progress Assembly Rooms, 28 Avenue A, where a most successful ratification meeting was held during the campaign, for a series of agitation meetings, the first meeting to be held during the week beginning Jan. 4. Next meeting of the district will be held in Labor Lyceum, New York, on Friday, Jan. 15.

The fourth anniversary of the Social Democratic Women's Society, Branch 21, will be celebrated Friday, Jan. 8, at the Grand Assembly Hall, 7-9 Second Ave. Entertainment will be provided by a quartette under the leadership of Mr. Morris Nite. Mrs. Geo. D. Herron will render some musical selections and Geo. D. Herron will be the speaker of the evening. Tickets are only 15 cents.

The next meeting of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Women's Society will be held Jan. 14. All branches are invited to be present as it is the annual meeting where officers are to be chosen and other important business to be transacted.

Further applicants who desire to connect themselves with the proposed English-speaking branch of the Social Democratic Women's Society should communicate with Mrs. J. Murdoch, 608 E. Twelfth street.

Comrade Charles Dobbs, formerly of Louisville, Ky., has removed to New York. He has given up his position on the Louisville "Times" and has accepted a position on "Wilshire's Magazine." He is about to send in his resignation as editor of the National Committee of the Socialist Party and as a member of the Local Quorum.

West Side Lectures. Following is the program of Friday evening lectures for January and February at the West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, New York.

Jan. 8—Leonard D. Abbott: "The Socialist Spirit in Literature and Art."

Jan. 15—H. Gaylord Wilshire: "The Socialism of the Future."

Jan. 22—Margaret Haller: "Hansen's Social Philosophy."

Jan. 29—Dr. G. F. Clarke: "The Influence of the Trade Union on Social Evolution."

Feb. 5—George D. Herron: "Socialism and Life."

Feb. 12—F. Schuler: "The Purpose of Life."

Feb. 19—Mrs. Alex. Fraser: "The Workers and Their Masters."

Feb. 26—Morris Hillquit: "The Character of the Socialist Movement."

Colonial Hall Lectures. Socialist lectures will be given in Colonial Hall, 101st street, near Columbus avenue, New York, on Sunday evenings as follows:

Jan. 10—John Spargo.

Jan. 17—Henry L. Slobodin: "The Ideal Communist."

Jan. 24—Peter E. Burrows: "Towards Socialism."

Jan. 31—Courtney Lemon: "The Socialist View of the State, State Interference, and State Capitalism."

Mt. Morris Lectures. Socialist lectures will be given under the auspices of the 53d and 53d A. D. S. P., at the Mt. Morris Educational Club, 134 E. 110th street, every Friday evening, as follows:

Jan. 8—Algeron Lee: "The Capitalist System."

Jan. 15—Fred. Krafft: "Is our Country a Republic?"

Jan. 22—C. C. Streeter: "Socialism as a Theory of Government."

Jan. 29—Mrs. Bertha M. Fraser: "The Tragedy of the Machine."

Wurster's Hall Lectures. Lectures will be given at Wurster's Hall, 315 Washington street, Brooklyn, as follows:

Jan. 10—L. R. Boudin: "Imperialism and what goes with it."

Jan. 17—Peter E. Burrows: "Towards Socialism."

Jan. 24—J. A. Behringer: "The Union Label, its Possibilities and Limitations."

Jan. 31—Adolph Benery: "Aristocracy and Democracy as Mental States."

Feb. 7—George D. Herron.

New Jersey. A series of free lectures will be given under the auspices of the 11th and 12th Ward branches of Jersey City, on Sunday evenings at 8, in the lecture hall of the Socialist Party, 375 Central avenue, Jersey City. The program for this month is as follows:

Jan. 10, Chas. Ufert: "Poverty a Social Curse"; Jan. 17, James M. Kelly: "Industrial Freedom"; Jan. 24, Geo. Headley: "The Sword, the Pen, and the People"; Jan. 31, Frederick Krafft: "Life and Times of Thomas Paine."

In West Hoboken, on Tuesday evening, Jan. 12, H. Gaylord Wilshire will lecture at the Socialist Party headquarters, 511 Hackensack Plank Road, on "Let the Nation Own the Trusts."

On Monday evening, Jan. 11, Morris Hillquit will lecture on "The Nature and Character of the Socialist Movement," at 118-120 Market street, Newark, under the auspices of Branch 7. Admission is free and general discussion is invited after the lecture. Comrade Krafft will be the speaker and audience at the meeting of Jan. 21, Comrade Gabel presided. The fact that the collection came with \$14.47 of paying all expenses indicates that the crowd was enthusiastic.

Pennsylvania. At Monday's meeting of the State Committee, Comrade Shelly in the chair, a charter was granted to Local Mt. Pleasant, Westmoreland County. A request was received from Galeton, Potter County, for information how to organize a local.

On Monday night, Jan. 4, one of the coldest nights that has been known in Philadelphia to several years, a large audience gathered in the Labor Lyceum to hear Comrade Carey explain the proposition of the Socialist Party that wealth should belong to those whose labor has produced it. The witty illustration of the many points he made against the dividing-up system instructed as well as amused the audience. In closing, Comrade Carey said: "We are asked why we throw away our votes for candidates who have no chance of being elected. They are like rocks thrown away. They are like rocks thrown into the harbor on which the arches of a bridge are built. I remember standing on the shore of a bay and seeing workmen on a scow throw rocks into the water. Then the waters rolled on as before. To one who did not know what the men were doing, their action looked like the action of lunatics. After a time the foundation rose above the highest mark the highest wave could reach. The bridge was built across the bay and the people traveled from shore to shore in safety. Our votes are like these rocks. We throw them into the sea of capitalism. They make a splash, bubbles arise, and then the sea of capitalism rolls on as before. But one day above the sea of capitalism the rocks of the Socialist Party will appear. They will be higher than any wave of the sea of capitalism, and we will build the bridge across which humanity will pass in safety into the Republic of the Co-operative Commonwealth."

The Twentieth Ward Branch of Local Philadelphia has contributed \$1 toward paying the State Committee's debts.

On Sunday, Jan. 10, at 3 p. m., Jacob Gordin of New York will lecture in the Yiddish language at Garrick Hall, 507 South Eighth street, Philadelphia.

Jan. 17, Alexander Jonas will lecture at the same place on "The Materialistic Interpretation of American History," speaking in German.

Jan. 24, George D. Herron will speak on "Socialism and Life" and on Jan. 31, Morris Hillquit on "Some Popular Misconceptions of Socialism"—these two lectures being in English.

At Jefferson Hall, Ninth street, below Dickinson, Philadelphia, a discussion will take place on Sunday, Jan. 10, at 8.15 p. m., upon "The Modern Wage System; Is it to Continue?"

New England. The Boston Socialist Speakers' Club, which was organized on Dec. 28, 1902, with our late Comrade F. O. MacCurran as director, has begun its second season with very good attendance. Mrs. Goodwin has volunteered to instruct the class in election, and she is doing justice to that part of the work; the comrades are appreciating her aid. The class has adopted for its text-book the "Communist Manifesto," and this part of the work is directed by Joseph Spargo. Every member of

the party who desires to gain an education in the principles of Socialism and in oratory should avail himself of this opportunity. The Speakers' Club meets every Sunday at 4.30 to 6.30 p. m., at state headquarters, 690 Washington street. For further information apply to Joseph Spargo, 30 Wayland street, Boston.

John Spargo of New York lectured for Local Naugatuck Conn., on Dec. 27. The audience was comparatively small, on account of the severe storm, but, as Comrade Hull writes, "those who braved the storm considered themselves amply repaid for the effort." The Naugatuck "Daily News" gave a pretty full and fair report of the lecture. The impression which Comrade Spargo made was so good that many who had failed to attend resolved to go to Waterbury to hear him the following Sunday.

Minnesota. The state convention of the Socialist Party of Minnesota will be held at St. Paul or Minneapolis Feb. 21 and 22, for the purpose of nominating candidates for presidential electors, state officers, delegates to national Socialist convention, electing a State Committee and state secretary, and transacting such other business as may come.

The dates, Feb. 21 and 22, were selected on account of better holidays (Sunday and Washington's birthday), so that the delegates would lose as little time as possible from their work, and to insure a larger attendance. Each local will be entitled to send as many delegates as they see fit. Every member of each local in good standing is entitled to a vote in the convention, and each delegate who is not a proxy for another member must have credentials duly signed by each member whom he is to represent. For example, a delegate having credentials properly signed by ten members of his local, will be entitled to ten votes on all matters to be laid before the convention. No delegate will be admitted to the floor of the convention without credentials signed by the chairman and secretary of his local. No local will be entitled to send delegates unless in good standing at the time of the convention. A local to be in good standing at that time must send in its dues for the month of January prior to the opening of the convention. Members will kindly take particular note of this. The committee of St. Paul and Minneapolis will endeavor to look after the welfare of the delegates from outside the Twin Cities while attending the convention, so that the expense of the delegates will only be railroad fare. Locals should take this matter up at their next regular business meeting, and decide in regard to the number of delegates they will send, and notify the State Secretary, who, so as to give ample time to prepare for their entertainment. This state convention should mark an epoch in the history of Socialism in this state, and there ought to be a large representation. The campaign for 1904 will be a momentous one for Socialism, and every comrade in Minnesota should put forth his best efforts to be equal to it.

Here and There. State Secretary J. P. Roe of Nebraska writes under date, Dec. 24: "There have been two significant occurrences in Omaha this week. On Sunday, Dec. 20, Carl D. Thompson held a secret conference with the following members of the so-called Propaganda Club: P. H. Alexander, T. Smith, J. B. Randolph, J. L. Burke, Wm. Wardlow, and I. Think four others, including two women. Following immediately upon that caucus, P. H. Alexander withdrew his application for membership in Local Omaha, saying that he had been in correspondence with prominent members of the National Committee, under whose advice he was acting, and that he had their assurance that he would be in the party within six months."

A copy of the appeal for funds for the Daily Globe, published last week, has been mailed to every Socialist local in the state of New York, except New York City. It is to be hoped that comrades will not consider this appeal lightly when it is read at branch meetings, but that every local will take immediate action and mail the resulting contribution to William Butcher, Financial Secretary, 277 Hooper street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Comrades, make your returns so large that they will be an encouraging and inspiring help to the cause. The Socialist Party needs money to establish a Socialist daily newspaper of national prominence. All moneys received for this purpose will be acknowledged in The Worker.

The Socialist press of the United States has been strengthened by the addition of an Armenian paper, "Ertssard Hayastan" ("Young Armenia"), published weekly at 63 Harrison street, Boston. This is the Armenian organ of the Menchikist or Social Democratic wing of the Armenian revolutionists, as distinguished from the Alafists, or physical-force party. Socialism is being rapidly among the Armenians both in their native country, now growing under Russian and Turkish rule, and among the thousands whose oppression has driven into other lands.

Leon Greenbaum and James R. Roche have issued a pamphlet on "The Trade Union Movement and the Socialist Party," criticizing the party and contending that trade unionism and, eventually, political action in a Union Labor party will achieve the emancipation of the working class. Comrades who wish to get a copy for five cents from Leon Greenbaum, 4044 Evans avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

Bolton Hall, the well known Single Taxer of New York spoke for Local Washington, D. C., of the Socialist Party last week. There was a large and attentive audience, and although the daily papers of the capital had announced his coming with the mearest insinuations as to his association with John Turner, the Anarchist, there was no interference with the meeting. Comrade Wood writes: "Though differing with us politically, Mr. Hall made it clear that we were in harmony in rebelling against the Russian methods now employed by the national government. Such a speech would have been an impossibility in Washington a year ago. The police have evidently decided that the Social-

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

[Notes: In New York and Wisconsin this party is officially recognized under the name of the Socialist Party. The party name in New York is the A. A. and T. C. H. The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its policy to be the emancipation of the working class and those of the oppressed and exploited by the power of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were owned and used by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an instrument, is owned by the capitalist and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalist to control the producer and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is the cause of the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the suffering and poverty of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalist and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The workers are alienated from the products of their own labor, and the capitalist class is enriched by the exploitation of labor.

The economic interests of the capitalist class and the wage-workers are irreconcilably opposed. The capitalist class is enriched by the exploitation of labor, and the wage-workers are impoverished by the exploitation of labor. The capitalist class is enriched by the exploitation of labor, and the wage-workers are impoverished by the exploitation of labor.

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"GRAFT" IN BUSINESS.

Private Business More Corrupt than Government.

So Says a Great Manufacturer of Long Experience—Public Corruption Soon Detected and Stopped, Business Corruption Shielded and Encouraged—Confirms Socialist Contentions.

"The World Today," in its January number, presents an article on "Graft in Private Business," by the president of a well-known manufacturing corporation. For obvious reasons, the writer does not wish his name to be known, but the editors vouch for his truth and accuracy. So completely does the evidence of this large capitalist, drawn from practical experience, verify the Socialist contention that "graft" and corruption, public or private, is a natural concomitant of the profit system, that we quote extensively from the article:

"Ask the average man whether private or public business is more corrupt and he will at once decide that public business is the worse. . . . The reverse is, I believe, the truth when the business is of equal volume. . . . The management of public business is public, open to inspection; private business is private, not open to inspection. . . . The result is that corruption in public affairs is almost sure to be unearthed sometime with a great hullabaloo. But in private affairs it may be hidden for years even from the owners of the business, and should they find it, they will not reveal the disgrace. The people rarely hear of private but are almost sure to hear of public corruption."

"There was a time when . . . private business was carried on by small concerns managed directly by their owners or under the eye of the owners. That day is rapidly passing. . . . It is the size of the business and the fact that it is not under its owner's eye and is not public that permit these noxious growths."

"I have sold goods for over a quarter century. During that time I have traveled at least fifteen thousand miles a year and in one year I was over forty thousand miles. I go only to the large cities and see only the large trade. There are railroads and large companies to which I can not sell because I will not buy the purchasing agents. How do I know? By many little things which make me morally sure of it, so sure that there are large men whom I never call on. This has culminated in one or two rare instances by buyers asking me for a commission."

Purchasing Agents' Graft.

"My friend Tom Jones (of course that is not his real name) has sold over a million in goods for the large manufacturing, importing and jobbing concerns he represents. He is a keen, quick, bright, companionable, pleasant fellow. Once out west he had the buyer for a large concern to supper at his hotel and afterward they strolled into the bar and sat talking over the drinks. The buyer had bought considerable in the past and had begun as a small order that afternoon which promised to be a good one. It was to be finished the next day."

"Jones," says he, "I'm hard up. I went into a little speculation and I must have \$500 by three o'clock tomorrow. Can you loan it to me?"

"Why, yes," I guess so," replies Tom. "I haven't that amount in my clothes just now, but I can go to — in the morning and get it."

"Before noon the next day Tom had handed his friend \$500 in bills. No receipt was either asked or given and about midnight the next day the order Tom sent in amounted to nearly \$20,000."

"Here is another of his stories, showing just how it is done. In the Southwest is a large jobbing house which had always given Jones small orders, but nothing at all commensurate with the size of the business they were doing, and try as hard as he could, Jones could not get a foothold. At last he suggested to the buyer, whom we will call Fred Smith, that if he wanted any personal favors to hint at them, and Smith replied: 'I'm full of goods now, but we'll see on your next trip.' On the next trip Jones had a special price to offer and he got Smith into the bar-room of the hotel where, sitting over the drinks, he expatiated on it. When through, Smith said:

"Tom, I have a payment of \$1,000 to make soon; could you raise it for me?" Tom replied:

"Oh, yes; but you know, Fred, we haven't had much more than a small of your business. Are you going to give us a good slice this time?"

"Yes," Smith said. "You get me that \$1,000 and we'll fix it."

"This time Jones did not quite trust his man, and somehow could not get his draft cashed till the order was made out, but fifteen minutes later the cash was obtained and handed over to Smith without receipt. The order amounted to \$47,000, and on his return to New York the millionaire head of the house remarked to Jones that he got that order cheap."

"It has been a common remark in the West that the purchasing agent of a railroad would become rich on a salary of \$2,000 or \$3,000. They have been known to build \$25,000 houses out of the surplusage of one year's income. The vice-president of a car manufacturing company told me a few

REVIEW OF THE CITY CAMPAIGN.

Work Done in Greater New York in 1903.

Campaign Secretary Gerber Reviews the Municipal Contest and Urges Immediate Preparation for New York's Share in the Great Conflict of 1904.

Comrades—As the Campaign Committee in charge of the last campaign has adjourned without setting a date to convene again, and as there is the opinion among some of the comrades that not only has the committee failed to fulfill its duties, but that such a committee is not necessary at all, I think that a report of its work in 1903, in order, so that the comrades may see what the committee has done. Notwithstanding all the difficulties the committee had to meet, it will still show that considerable work was done, and that with sufficient preparation and in absence of such difficulties, much more can be done in the next campaign. I shall also make a few suggestions at the conclusion of the report. I would request the comrades to read the report and my recommendations and discuss them, and if they agree with me to see to it that such instructions are given to the delegates of their respective General and County Committees as will tend to accomplish what I recommend."

The Campaign Committee came into existence through a resolution adopted at the City Convention on July 4, and was composed of five members of Local New York, three of Local Kings, two of Local Queens and two of Local Richmond County. Four of the New York members attended regularly; the Brooklyn delegation was always in attendance; only one of the Queens County members attended the meetings of the committee at all; of the Richmond County delegates only one attended the meetings twice."

Primarily the committee was to have charge of the general campaign work only (what the comrades who may know and not have anything to do with the small meetings, which were left to the left to the various county organizations, which should carry on the campaign, in their respective counties. But the committee found it necessary to take charge of all the campaign work in the whole city of New York. This work divides itself into four parts, each needing attention and all equally important: First, the purely political work, such as arranging prizes and conventions, filing nominations, getting watchers, issuing certificates, filing affidavits of candidates' expenses, and so forth; second, arranging meetings, in and out doors, procuring speakers and the like; third, leaflets and the distribution thereof; fourth, the most important matter, without which a campaign cannot be carried on, gathering the necessary funds. Now let us see how the committee accomplished these duties."

As to the first, the purely political work: For the first time, not only in the history of the Social Democratic Party, but in the history of the Socialist movement in this city, we had a full ticket in every district in Greater New York. That this was no easy task, only those who ever had anything to do with this kind of work know."

We did not dare so well with our watchers, and that was due to our system of organization being too loose. The Campaign Secretary had no direct control of the party members, and could reach them only through the assembly district organizations. The result showed itself at the official canvass by the Boards of Canvassers. Were it not for the representatives of the party present at the meetings of these boards in the different counties, our vote would have been smaller than it actually is, as the inspectors in a good many instances failed to record our vote."

As to the candidates' affidavits of election expenses, while it is in the interest of the comrades to attend to it promptly, many waited until the last minute, thereby adding labor and trouble for those who had the work in charge."

As to the second item, the committee assumed full charge of the whole campaign about the beginning of September. The first meeting under the direction of the Committee was held on Sept. 10, and from then until Election Day, about six weeks, 429 meetings were held. Of these, 388 were held in the open air and 41 indoors. Of the 388 open-air meetings, 10 were in Westchester County, a territory not under the jurisdiction of the Campaign Committee, but as they had no speakers, the Secretary of the Campaign Committee thought it his duty to assist them. This leaves 378 outdoor meetings in the city of New York. Of these, 236 were held in New York County, 128 in Kings, six in Queens, and eight in Richmond. In addition, many meetings were arranged by subdivisions directly. This is especially true in Queens County, where they had the services of Comrade Frost for two weeks speaking at meetings arranged by the County Campaign Committee. Of the 41 indoor meetings, 16 were in New York County, 20 in Kings, and five in Queens. Moreover, Socialist speakers addressed about 20 labor organizations during the campaign."

As to the third point: The following leaflets were printed by order of the Committee: "What Workingmen's Votes Can Do," 200,000 copies

MR. GOMPERS ANSWERED.

Prints Garbled Statements in the "Federationist."

Reporter of the "Volkzeitung" Brands as False the Federation President's "Convincing" Story as to Reports of Boston Convention.

President Gompers, in the January issue of the "Federationist," writes as follows:

"Perhaps the following incident, which occurred during the convention, may furnish an explanation of the love of 'fair play' and truth which these Socialist political party sheets display in their attitude towards the trades union movement and its advocates."

"Mr. Ludwig Jablonski reported the proceedings of the convention for the New York 'Volkzeitung,' a Bohemian-German paper. The president of the American Federation of Labor read these reports, and reproved him, saying that while a paper had the right to criticize, attack, or denounce the trade unionists in its editorial columns, yet while enjoying the courtesies of the convention to be present, to report its proceedings, he was not justified in misrepresenting the delegates or the work which was done. His answer was short, sharp, and to the point. It was: 'Well, you know I am a Socialist. Could anything be more convincing?'"

Any thinking man who reads these words will be inclined at once—unless he be a blind devotee of Gompersism, who thinks that "the leader can do no wrong" and that "what Gompers says goes, whether it's true or not"—to doubt the entire accuracy of the report. It is as easy to quote part of what a man says and give an impression entirely different from that which would be given did you quote the whole."

Gompers' story is not very "convincing," even to those who do not know him and have never tried to follow him in his evocations and tergiversations—to use politically large words. As the "People" remarks: "The expression attributed to Jablonski would be about the very last thing to be said. Were he a truthful man he could not have said it, and were he an unprincipled rascal he would have said anything in the world but that."

But let us give Comrade Jablonski's plain statement, reporting just what he did say when Gompers "reproved" him:

"Although it is not my intention to enter into a controversy with Mr. Gompers about his 'correct' statement, I deem it my duty to enlighten the workmen and especially the Socialists in this matter. After the memorable day at the convention in Boston, when Mr. Gompers ordered the galleries in Faneuil Hall to be cleared, because some workmen had applauded Mr. Max Hayes, he procured a copy of the New York 'Volkzeitung,' containing the report I had wired to New York. It was after the morning session when Mr. Gompers 'reproved' me in his great style. 'You are painting your reports,' he stated. 'In your story you infer that I had ordered the police to clear the galleries, and that is false.' I replied: 'The report does not contain such a statement, but simply says that the galleries were cleared upon your orders, and that the doorkeeper or sergeant-at-arms called the police to their assistance to drive the people from the galleries, which is a fact. Every Boston paper published this, the Boston 'Post' even announcing in big headlines that 'Mr. Gompers called upon the police to clear the galleries.' Mr. Gompers became very abusive after my remarks. Not being friendly to Socialists in general, and Socialist reporters in particular, he said that he would make me tell the truth."

Replying, I said: 'I suppose you desire the truth to be written to suit your ideas and tastes, but I'll tell you that as a Socialist and as a reporter for a Socialist paper, I'll write the truth as I find it and as I see it with my own eyes. It is needless to say that Mr. Gompers simply forgot to publish this statement in his 'Federationist.' Sometimes it's so good to forget. The other statements of Mr. Gompers about the Socialist movement are just as true as a question that he had read all English and German publications on Socialism which have appeared during the past thirty years."

We leave it to our readers to take their choice between Gompers' inherently improbable statement and the Socialist reporter's frank and consistent one. Every month the President of the American Federation of Labor, in the intervals of his hobnobbing with the magnates of the trusts and the capitalist parties, is writing more and more speeches against Socialism. Seldom indeed, however, does he venture to come down to definite statements. "Glittering generalities" are so much safer. Yet Socialism grows and every month there is a larger number of workmen who read Socialist papers for themselves and know that Gompers' accusations are false."

—Don't kick when the boss reduces your wages. That is only his way of showing you that you must do away with the wage system. He can't help showing you, and you can't help learning what he is trying to show you, eventually.—Bend of Brotherhood.

—It isn't necessary for a man to know enough to go in when it rains if he has another man's umbrella.—Erie People.

The revolutionary press never enjoyed such a prestige as at present, or was better served with news, to those who know the difficulties with which this press has to contend, and the dangers to which all connected with it are hourly exposed, the ability of its articles and the accuracy and extent of its information are a marvel. The most secret documents of the various government departments find their way into their hands, as well as accurate reports from the disaffected districts. That Russia is rapidly ripening for revolution is clear."

The capitalists are uniting because they have a dread to lose.—Erie People.

IN COLORADO.

Socialists Organize Monster Protest Meeting.

Local Denver Leads the Agitation Against Capitalist Militarism—Mino Owners Raising Fund to Control Elections.

DENVER, Colo., Jan. 5.—A monster meeting was held in the Coliseum on Sunday evening, to protest against the military despotism now prevailing in Colorado. Fully five thousand people were present, and many went away who were unable to get into the hall.

The idea of the meeting originated with Local Denver of the Socialist Party. The labor organizations were invited to participate, which they did, and in the end it was decided to make it a great people's demonstration, the Socialists, however, being back of the movement and directing it and giving it inspiration. This was the more easily done, as nearly all the labor leaders in the city are Socialists and worked splendidly with the Socialist committee."

Hon. J. Warner Mills, the attorney who so ably conducted our side of the fight with the police authorities for free speech last summer, was chairman, and in his speech on taking the chair made a splendid appeal for the maintenance of the constitutional rights of the citizens. Frank Hantz, attorney for the Western Federation of Miners, who has had charge of the defense of the Bull Pen prisoners at Cripple Creek, made a stirring address. William Wardlaw, a coal miner from Trinidad, gave a brief sketch of the great coal strike in Colorado. Mrs. Grace Hazlett, State Organizer of the Socialist Party, made a magnificent address, in which she gave special emphasis to the fundamental principles of the Socialist philosophy, dwelling in particular upon the class struggle and the inevitable exploitation of labor under the capitalist system. Judge Owens of Leadville gave the closing address and read the resolutions, which were adopted with but two dissenting votes."

The resolutions were unique, being in the main a transcript of the Declaration of Independence, with the name of James H. Peabody, Governor of Colorado, substituted for that of King George III and some resolutions added demanding the impeachment of the Governor."

While all the speakers were greeted with generous applause, it was noticeable that those who espoused the most advanced thoughts on the line of the Socialist propaganda were the most enthusiastically cheered. The great audience seemed in perfect sympathy with our revolutionary program. The general opinion is that while all the addresses were excellent, that of Mrs. Hazlett was par excellence the address of the meeting."

The daily papers of Monday gave large space to reports of the meeting and the addresses and published the resolutions in full. It is said by everyone that it was one of the largest and most orderly mass meetings ever held in this city."

While five thousand citizens of Colorado were protesting against military despotism, the Governor was issuing a proclamation putting San Miguel County under martial law, his proclamation being printed in the same issue of the daily press containing the demand for his impeachment."

Two other mass meetings are being planned for the near future, one to be a distinctly Socialist demonstration, in charge of Local Denver, the other to be under the direction of the labor unions and to be a demonstration of organized labor. It is safe to say, however, that both will be splendid examples of Socialist propaganda."

J. W. M.

The "Rocky Mountain News," a great capitalist paper of Colorado, in its issue of Dec. 27, printed a circular issued by the secretary and executive committee of the Cripple Creek Mine Owners' and Operators' Association to its members, which is worthy of quotation. The circular begins as follows:

"Gentlemen—Your Executive Committee has been working on a plan to place the Association on a permanent basis. I think it hardly necessary to endeavor to impress upon you the importance of such a move. It is sufficient to say that the work of the next year is as important, if not more so, than that which we have been doing during the past three months, and is certainly much more delicate and trying. Unless energetic measures are taken to preserve the results of our fight, we have been working for nothing. In addition to this, matters such as stopping our stealing, which is going along at an alarming rate, must be taken care of. We should also SEE THAT IN THE FUTURE THE MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS OF THIS COUNTY ARE IN THE HANDS OF MEN WHO WILL CONSIDER THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY, maintain the law, and protect the interests of the men who have made the district. We also have to go before the next session of the Legislature for the purpose of seeing that the funds advanced to the state in this fight are refunded."

"This work cannot be accomplished without absolute co-operation on the part of all the mine owners, to the end that the elements which have been causing the trouble in this district shall not become a dominant factor again."

In the strike trouble of recent months some of the local officials refused to become the servile tools of

GRAFT IN BUSINESS?

Business is Graft!

We print this week liberal extracts from an article written for one of the great magazines by a large manufacturer, telling of the corruption that honeycombs private business from top to bottom.

"From top to bottom," we say advisedly, not "from bottom to top," for an examination of the facts will show that this organized dishonesty begins at the top and spreads downward, so that now it is beginning to infect even the working classes."

This business man maintains—and we believe any man who studies the matter carefully will agree with him—that there is vastly more corruption, the volume of transactions being equal, in private business than in government undertakings. Rotten as is the city government of New York or Philadelphia, shocking as are the recent revelations of graft and boodle in the national administration, they are pure in comparison with the private profit-making institutions which operate under their protection and which constantly clamor for the exercise of governmental power to safeguard property interests."

The writer whom we quote refers only to a few of the commoner forms of bribery and other dishonesty in private business. Every business man, from his own experience and observation, can name others. Even workmen, little chance as they have to peer into the Holy of Holies of business affairs, can point out other illustrations. For instance, it is well known that in many industries it is necessary for the applicant for a job—even as a mechanic or a common laborer—to give a bribe to the foreman, the superintendent, or whoever has charge of the hiring of men."

And how about the corruption that does exist in national, state, and city governments? What is the cause? Go over the record and you will find that ninety-nine times out of every hundred, government corruption takes place in just those departments where government comes in contact with private business interests and that, further, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, the corrupt officials are men who have been trained in private profit-making business."

There is some corruption in the Postoffice Department. Of what sort? Is it that postal clerks rifle money letters? Or is it that other officers embezzle funds and falsify accounts? Very seldom. Far the greater part of the corruption in this department turns on two things—the making of contracts with railway and steamship companies for the carrying of the mails, and the letting of contracts to manufacturing corporations for equipment and supplies. It is from the profit-making business institutions that corruption creeps into the public service."

There is some corruption in the Land Office, some in the War and Navy Departments. Almost without exception it is in selling or letting public lands to business corporations or their agents. In letting contracts to clothing manufacturers or manufacturers of weapons or of armor-plate for warships."

Even in the Fire Department of New York City there are rumors of graft. Is it that the firemen steal valuables, as they often have the chance to do, from burning houses? That hardly ever happens. Is it that the captains

SCANDAL IN HAVERHILL.

Republican City Treasurer Proved a Defaulter.

Republican Auditor Failed to Do His Duty—"Honest Government" as Capitalist Politicians Give it to Us.

HAVERHILL, Mass., Jan. 9.—The "grabbing defunct" of Socialism in this city has been closely followed by exposure of anything but comforting the "honest citizens" who helped to put the Republicans in full power for the current year."

The City Auditor here is elected by the City Council. In 1902, Arthur E. Leach, then a Populist, was elected to this office. He served with credit to himself for eight years. In January, 1901, Leach having become a Socialist, the Republican Aldermen and Councilmen displaced him and elected a gentleman of their own party, Fred R. Howe, better known as a horse-fancier than in any other way."

At the beginning of the present year the Republican City Treasurer, John A. Glines, showed undue anxiety for the re-election of this Auditor. He went around personally asking nearly every member of the Council to vote for Howe. Howe was re-elected, but now feels somewhat shaky, in view of the discovery of the Treasurer's shortage and his failure to prevent or detect it."

For it has been discovered that Glines has stolen bonds to the value of \$43,000 from the city treasury and used the proceeds, as he says, to cover losses in speculation. Glines was put under arrest on Tuesday and has confessed his guilt. The "Gazette" says "the arrest came as a great shock to everyone who heard of it." We should say the biggest shock should be to those voters who have supported the Republican party that put Glines and Howe in office and kept them there."

—OUGHT TO BE TRUE, ANYHOW
Here is a story which ought to be true.

A broker, who trained with the bulls and bears and occasional lions in the Wall Street market, finally left the pit for happier hunting grounds. His soul rose on high, with an eye on a reserved seat in the New Jerusalem as a sure thing. He presented himself at the gate of the Paradise.

"Who are you?" asked St. Peter.

"I am a Wall Street broker."

"What do you want here?" said St. Peter, rudely.

"Why, I want to get in."

"What have you ever done that should entitle you to be admitted?"

"Well, once I saw a poor old woman on Broadway and gave her two cents."

"Gabriel, is that in the book?"

"Yes, Peter, he has been given credit for that."

"What else have you done?"

"Some time ago, while crossing the Brooklyn Bridge, I saw a cold and hungry newboy and I gave him a penny."

"Is that entered, Gabriel?"

"Yes, Peter."

"What else have you done?"

"Well—I—ah—ahem—I—I'm afraid I can't think of anything more just now."

Peter stood puzzled.

"Gabriel, what shall we do with this man?"

"Oh, give him back his three cents and tell him to go to Hell!"

FOR THE DAILY.

On Sunday, Jan. 24, Comrade Herron Will Give a Lecture on "Parisian" for the Benefit of the Globe Fund.

On Sunday afternoon, Jan. 24, at 3 o'clock sharp in Tuxedo Hall, Fifty-ninth street and Madison avenue, George B. Herron will lecture on "Parisian" and "Parisian" and Mrs. Herron will render illustrative pianoforte selections. Admission will be 25 cents, and the proceeds will be added to the Daily Globe Fund. Tickets can be had at the office of The Worker, 184 William street, or of the "Comrade," 111 Cooper square, at the Organizer's office, 64 East Fourth street, or from Comrades Spargo, Butcher, or Mayes, the committee in charge of the arrangements. No comrade should miss this opportunity of becoming acquainted with the life of the great German composer and his greatest work."

The following amounts have been received since the last report:

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.

Carroll, Brooklyn..... \$2.00
J. G. B. City..... 1.00
W. R. Dowler, San Francisco..... 1.50
Alexander..... .50
P. Gutman, Cedar Rapids, Ia..... 2.00
Arbeiter Bewegung, Ulica, N. Y..... 3.00
G. B. Goetz, 224 E. D. N. Y..... .25
C. Classen, ditto..... .25

Total collections previously reported..... \$14,304.43
Contributions for week..... 21.35
Cash on pledges for week..... 7.00
Total collections to date..... \$14,332.78

NEW PLEDGES.

Paul Pintercher, Newark..... \$3.00
Herman Leffer, Newark..... 2.00
Previously reported..... 7,000.00
Total amount pledged..... \$7,005.00

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

Let us repeat these two important facts:

1. Graft is far more common in private than in public business.

2. Graft in public affairs almost always results from the influence of private business."

Need we be surprised at these conclusions? Not at all.

The prevalence of GRAFT IN BUSINESS is the natural consequence of the fact that BUSINESS IS GRAFT."

We repeat: Private profit-making business is essentially a system of graft. "Honest" business is regulated graft. "Dishonest" in business is graft carried beyond the rules of the inherently dishonest game."

What is the motive of private business? To make PROFIT.

What is profit? Profit is a revenue that comes to a man, not by virtue of anything that he DOES, but by virtue of something that he OWNS.

Labor produces wealth. The laborer does not use the means of production. He can work only by the capitalist's permission. For this permission to work and produce wealth he must pay tribute to the capitalist who controls his job. The capitalist gets profit, not because he produces anything, but because he allows someone else to produce something."

Profit-making is GETTING SOMETHING FOR NOTHING. That is graft."

Profit dominates society to-day. Success in business is held up as the ideal of life.

From childhood we are trained to respect the man who has got something for nothing without going to jail for it."

Our teachers and college professors, our preachers, our newspaper editors, our literary men are, with some exception, dependent upon the capitalists for permission to teach and preach and write. They must teach and preach and write in exaltation of the Gospel of Graft, or be cast into outer darkness."

From this results ever increasing corruption, embodying itself in the common saying that "Every man has his price."

Only one force effectively makes head against this torrent of corruption.

That force is the class feeling and class thought of the wage-workers, as best represented in the Socialist movement."

Socialism sets up a noble ideal of human service against the base ideal of getting something for nothing.

Socialism, moreover, leads the way to a system of society in which, profit being eliminated, labor being set free, honesty of life (moral and intellectual as well as financial honesty) will prevail and graft will die out as ill weeds die out in a well tilled field."

Chas. Hertle, ditto..... .25
J. S. Cooper, ditto..... .10
A. Hoid, ditto..... .25
224 E. D. N. Y..... 1.00
N. M. Hanson, Jersey City..... 1.00
Max Hirsch, Pittsburgh, Pa..... 1.00
F. Fendish, Chicago, Ill..... 1.00
Collection at South Brooklyn meeting..... 7.50
Previously reported..... 2,244.50

Total contributions..... \$2,250.51

CASH ON PLEDGES.

A. Kern, Newark..... \$1.00
O. Sorby, Brooklyn..... .50
H. Leffer, Newark..... .50
Ferd. Rahn, Newark..... 1.00
Paul Pintercher, Newark..... .25
Ed. Shaderns, Newark..... .25
Louploff, New York..... .50
N. S. Reichenthal, City..... 1.00
M. M. Lutz, City..... 1.00
John Mullen, City..... 1.00
Previously reported..... 3,200.45

Total cash on pledges..... \$3,300.45

Total collections previously reported..... \$14,304.43
Contributions for week..... 21.35
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(Continued on page 3.)

"CRAFT".

(Continued from page 1.)

years ago that he did the bulk of the selling for his company and that a number of his orders were got by bribing the purchasing agents and occasionally the president or vice-president.

Carnegie's Scheme.

"In a certain eastern city, it was common talk that a now millionaire successful concern got its first start by a judicious distribution of its own stock among purchasing agents and superintendents of car shops. Of course, future dividends depended on sales of surplus and who could so easily influence sales at profitable prices as the men who bought and used surplus, but did not pay for it?"

"Andrew Carnegie, without an apparent thought of the essential dishonesty of it, calmly tells how the stock of the bridge-building company which was one of the earliest of his successful undertakings, was mainly placed with railroad purchasing agents, directors and officials. Nineteen of its sales were made to railroads."

"In the selling of transportation there is a reversal of the ordinary corruption. Here the buyer bribes the seller to make a lower rate. Thus two coal mines are equivalent from a market and it costs each, say fifty cents a ton to mine the coal, as is not infrequently the case in the soft coal districts of Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. The freight rate to the market is another fifty cents a ton. Our shrewd owner goes to the freight agent and says: 'You give me a rate of thirty-five cents and I will give you personally five cents for every ton I ship.' This gives him command of the market. This is actual bribery. The rise of the Standard Oil Company is mainly due to special freight rates obtained by just such bribery, mixed with bulldozing and blackmail. The Interstate Commerce law, with its enforced publicity of rates, has stopped some but not all of this, as secret rebates, underbidding, etc., still prevail."

Why Craft in Private?

Business is Not Exposed.

"The same sort of thing is creeping into the large department stores. The vice-president of one of the largest in the country once told me that he had just discharged the head of his silverware department because he had found out that for at least three or four years, and perhaps longer, this buyer had received a commission often as high as twenty-five per cent. on almost everything he bought. 'How did you find it out?' I asked. 'Our profits,' said the shrewd, kindly old man, 'dropped off in that department and then, when I went over the costs and selling prices, I told Smith that he was selling too close. Smith fumbled in his answer and as I sent to a rival's store and found the prices were not too low. A little later, when in New York, I inquired of a friend who has a store there and found he was buying the same goods much lower. I might have thought Smith was a poor buyer, but just at that time a traveler who sold Smith bragged about his craft, and it got to the ears of another traveler who had been unable to sell up and told me about it. We had Smith up and at first he brained it out, but later confessed. 'Did you prosecute him?' I asked. 'Oh, no,' he replied. 'It would have been almost impossible to prove it, and if we had it would have been doubtful whether we could have convicted him of any crime, as the bribes were nominally money loaned. If we had got a judgment, his property, which wasn't much, poor devil, as he had speculated, would have been in his wife's name. And suppose we had got some money back—we did not know how much—it would have all been in the papers, the worst advertisement we could have had. It would have lost us thousands of dollars of business. No, no; we could not afford to arrest and prosecute him. We let him go.'"

A REPLY TO HIGGINS.

By Fred L. Schwartz.

"The Socialists held their annual field-day at the expense of time, but as usual went down and out by a big majority against their lazy method of advancement and stupid devotion. So says Martin P. Higgins, President of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union in his report regarding the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in the December issue of 'The American Pressman,' the official organ.

Oh, what an argument against Socialism! Wonder if the old-party politicians will use it on the stump next campaign. How proud the pressman can feel to have such a bright light at the end of his tunnel. Mr. Higgins has the welfare of the pressman so much at heart and feels so jubilant over the fact that so-called leaders like himself are able to keep the working class in blind ignorance of their interests.

But by the way, Mr. Higgins, what have YOU to offer for the welfare of the youth-producers? What have you to say about the outrages committed against the working class in Colorado and elsewhere? And how about the pressman that worked on the Victor 'Record' in Colorado, a paper that dared to raise its voice against those outrages?

Now to get down to what you termed a 'utopian' doctrine. I want to ask you some questions. Do you believe that it is better for one thousand people to own the wealth of the nation than for all the people to be owners? If you do, then according to your results, the postoffice ought to be owned by a private corporation and the people ought to pay toll every time they pass a street-car. But if, on the other hand, you believe the ownership of the postoffice and the streets by the people is a good thing, it is just as reasonable to own the mills, factories, railroads, machinery, and, in a word, all those things which we must have to live in comfort and happiness. That is Socialism. Now, Mr. Higgins, are you really opposed to such a program? Do you think it a utopian doctrine, because you think it a detriment to the workers or have you got the price of your opposition in your pocket?

Let me make Socialism a little clearer to you. I will assume that you do not understand it. In a modern printing office the printing of a book is the collective production of the compositor, pressman, and bookbinder. Now, we Socialists say, if we can PRODUCE collectively, it is just as reasonable that we can OWN collectively. Is there anything utopian about that?

In your next report please tell the pressmen WHY you believe Socialism is a utopian doctrine and 'a way to advancement.' If you fail, then the Socialists can count a knock-down for you.

I am a member of the Pittsburgh Printing Pressmen's Union No. 64, and don't forget that I know that you do not represent the intelligence of the

several pressmen's unions. The rank and file will some day be convinced, through their brains and stomachs, that Socialism is not a utopian doctrine, but a practicable proposition.

For years the progressive union pressmen will haunt you with that phrase, 'utopian doctrine and lazy way to advancement.'"

Government Business.

Comparatively Pure.

"How is it with the buying for the government? Is there an equal amount of corruption there? For years my company has sold goods to the United States government. At times it has sold more than any other concern handling like goods, and in some departments more than all others put together. Of late years I have personally managed that business, and during all the time have been conversant with it. We have never given bribes, never been asked for them, never even had a hint of it. Some fifteen or eighteen years ago there was a small amount of corruption proved and eradicated. (Once since, I thought there was a very smoothly worked trick, but on looking into it I came to the conclusion that the government officials were entirely innocent, though it was possible they may have been worked a little."

"The buying is done by published bids, which any one can get, any responsible house can bid and then, quality considered, the bids are awarded to the lowest bidder. I have occasionally thought there was a bias in the minds of the awarding committee. I have often wished they had improved goods or methods. Frequently I have felt that they got into ruts, were too well satisfied and in a small way were tyrannical, but I have not had even small incidents point to any corruption."

"Recently a well-known and successful bidder for the supplies for the New York city public schools told me that probably he had more influence with the awarding committee than any other man, but it was only because he had always furnished good goods and that he absolutely could not get any favors at a higher price or on inferior goods. He showed me this year's printed contract, in which every item was clearly specified and the awards for last year in which the kind of goods, the name of the party to whom each item was awarded and the price were printed. Of course, these prices were closely scrutinized by unsuccessful bidders and if there was anything wrong or that looked wrong, a row was raised. This very publicity prevents corruption."

"There is some governmental corruption, as shown by the recent post-office investigation, but I believe it is sporadic, not of long existence; and that when it is found out a great deal of fuss is made over it, tenfold more than over the same corruption in private business."

NEED OF A JEWISH NATIONAL ORGANIZER.

To the Editor of The Worker.

The Worker of Dec. 27 I read that the State Committee of New York passed a motion to urge Comrade B. Feigenbaum to apply to the National Secretary for a position as Jewish National Organizer.

As a Jewish Socialist I am naturally interested in that branch of the movement and I beg to say that it begins doing some energetic work in the Jewish quarters. What is true of New York city is equally true of all other cities that have a considerable Jewish population.

Not so, however, with the practical politician of the old parties. He has seen the opportunity and been quick to grasp it. He knows that a Jewish vote counts and we see that the old parties are putting forth all their energies to catch it. To our sorrow we cannot do so, for the politician is at- taining his object, too mostly to the neglect. But some will say, do we not hold meetings during the campaign? Yes, we do. But that is not enough. With us the campaign must go on the whole year around and one branch of the movement is just as important as the other.

If the party should engage an able man to devote all his time to the Jewish Socialist movement there is no doubt but we can regain the ground lost.

I am of the opinion that there is not a more fit man for this kind of work than the one selected by the New York State Committee. I sincerely hope the National Secretary will see to it that the matter is acted upon as soon as possible. The time is rather short and there is a great deal of work to be done. Yours for the cause, A JEWISH SOCIALIST.

SOCIALISM IN THE SOUTH.

A comrade in one of the Gulf States who has made frequent contributions to the National Organizing Fund always advised that money be spent in other parts of the country rather than in the South. Being asked to give reasons for opinions, he wrote as follows:

"Yours receipting for my little 'two bits' and challenging me to show cause why our propaganda should not proceed in the South is received. One might fancy that the recent ripple in New Orleans would 'give us pause' and time to stroke our chin-whiskers a 'lede.' It is the irrepressible 'nigger question' among a people who haven't outgrown the superstitious and prejudices burned into them by two hundred and fifty years of domination. I'm so prophet nor essayist, and have neither time nor ability to contribute an elaborate screed upon the subject. I have only my experience (I'm in my third year) and my radical reading of about thirty years. Have been thirteen years in this town trying to clear all the while with trade and books and my jawbone to persuade somebody or other. But it's no use, and I've quit it. We simply don't care a million. We are satisfied with little and glad and happy over the prosperity of the local class. We (workers) believe in class struggle, we content with our position near the bottom. And Socialism was read- ing and study, and we don't want to

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WHAT'S THE USE?

By Edwin Arnold Dranholtz.

1291 W. North street, Canton, Ohio.

It will therefore be noticed that Comrade Randow acted hastily and without cause. This is also an example of the manner in which many of the comrades start unnecessary quarrels in the party and I hope that in the future all will be more careful regarding such matters. Fraternally Yours, W. G. CRITCHLOW, 105 E. Euclid street, Canton, Ohio, Jan. 11.

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LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK.

Lectures for the week under the

auspices of the Social Democratic

Party and auxiliary organizations,

whether by Socialist or non-Socialist

speakers, and by Socialist speakers be-

fore other organizations, are listed be-

low. Unless otherwise stated, lectures

are called for 8 p. m.

FRIDAY, JAN. 15.

West Side Socialist Club, Clark's

Hall, Twenty-fifth street and Eighth

avenue. H. Gayford Wilshire: "The

Trends and Unemployment."

Mt. Morris Educational Club, 134

East Eleventh street. Frederick Kraft:

"Is Our Country a Republic?"

People's Institute, Cooper Union,

Ninth street and Third avenue. John

Spargo: "The Meaning and Message

of Socialism."

SUNDAY, JAN. 17.

Colonia Hall, 101st street, near Col-

umbus avenue. Henry L. Rhoads:

"The Ideal Commonwealth."

Social Democratic Educational Club of

the 8th A. D., 281 Broome street.

Alphonse Lee: "The Development of

Capitalism."

People's Culture Club, 184 Eldridge

street. George D. Herron: "Socialism

and Life."

Socialist Literary Society, 232 East

Broadway. Henry Newman: "The

Tendencies of Modern Education."

FRIDAY, JAN. 22.

West Side Socialist Club, Clark's

Hall, north-west corner Twenty-fifth

street and Eighth avenue. Charles

Dobbin: "The Policy of Reform."

Mt. Morris Educational Club, 134

East Eleventh street. G. C. Streeter:

"Socialism as a Theory of Government."

People's Institute, Cooper Union,

Ninth street and Third avenue. John

Spargo: "Socialism Economically

and Morally Sound."

SUNDAY, JAN. 17.

Wurster's Hall, 315 Washington

street. Dr. C. L. Furman:

"Colombia Hall, 227 Columbia street,

corner of Carroll, 3d A. D. Fred

Schaefer: "Roosevelt's 'Right to

Work,' Gompers' 'Right to Strike' and

the Right Way to Vote."

Buffalo Hall, Buffalo Avenue and

Fulton Street. Mrs. Fraser: "The

Tragedy of the Machine."

THE BASIS OF BROTHERHOOD.

The world constantly tends to the

level of the downmost man in it, and

that downmost man is the world's real

ruler, hugging it close to his bosom,

dragging it down to his death. You

do not think so, but it is true, and it

ought to be true. For if there were

some way by which some of us could

get free apart from others, if there

were some way by which some of us

could have heaven while others had

hell, if there were some way by which

part of the world could escape some

form of the blight and pest and

misery of disinherited labor, then

would our world indeed be lost and

damned; but since men have never

been able to separate themselves from

one another's woes and wrongs, since

history is fairly strewn with the les-

sons that we cannot escape brother-

hood of some kind, since the whole

of life is teaching us that we are hourly

choosing between brotherhood in suf-

fering and brotherhood in good, it re-

mains for us to choose the brotherhood

of a co-operative world, with all its

fruits thereof—the fruits of love and

liberty.—George D. Herron in "From

Revolution to Revolution."

PARTY NEWS.

National.

Michigan has elected William E. Whitford as National Committee member for 1904.

Illinois has elected B. Reilly to the National Committee, receiving 60 votes to 111 for Samuel Block and 40 for Jacob Winick.

Iowa has re-elected John M. Work to the National Committee.

By a vote of 12 to 9 the National Committee has defeated the motion of Massey of North Dakota to declare out of order Resolution B, the vote stood: Yes—Richardson, Florent, Healey, Fox of Montana, Goebel, Massey, Critchlow, Lovett, Kerrigan; No—White, Reilly, Work, Dobbs, Carey, Turner, Christenson, Hillquit, Halbrooks, Barnes, Boomer, Berger.

By a vote of 10 to 7 the National Committee has approved the proposed form of circular for Resolution C, which will accordingly be sent to the membership in a few days. The vote stood: Yes—Richardson, Florent, Healey, Fox of Montana, Goebel, Massey, Critchlow, Lovett, Kerrigan; No—White, Reilly, Work, Dobbs, Carey, Turner, Christenson, Hillquit, Halbrooks, Barnes, Boomer, Berger.

As reported last week, National Committee member Reilly of Illinois protested against the further recognition of C. C. Talbot as National Committee member from Minnesota on the ground that Talbot was chosen by the state convention and not by direct vote of the membership, as provided in the national party constitution. The State Secretary of Minnesota having informed the National Secretary, on inquiry, that such is the fact, Comrade Talbot will no longer be recognized as representing Minnesota.

By a vote of 20 to 3 the National Committee has rejected the proposition that Carl D. Thompson be given a commission as National Organizer for Iowa from Nov. 20, 1904, thus approving the position taken by the National Secretary that the national organization has no authority to send into any organized state an organizer whom the state organization does not approve. Correspondence explaining this whole affair appeared in The Worker of Dec. 27. The vote stands: Yes—Richardson, Florent, Healey, Berger, Reynolds, Work, Dobbs, Fox of Maine, Carey, Turner, Fox of Montana, Christenson, Claffin, Goebel, Hillquit, Halbrooks, Barnes, Kerrigan, Boomer.

By a vote of 19 to 4 the National Committee has defeated the motion of Lovett of South Dakota to strike out of the rules adopted by the Quorum in regard to national organizers the following provision: "But no applicant shall be deemed acceptable for the reserve list until he or she has received the endorsement of the State Committee of the state wherein the applicant resides." The vote stands: Yes—Florent, Goebel, Massey, Lovett; No—Richardson, White, Healey, Berger, Reynolds, Work, Dobbs, Carey, Turner, Fox of Montana, Christenson, Claffin, Hillquit, Critchlow, Halbrooks, Barnes, Kerrigan, Boomer, Berger.

Willard R. Gaylord will conclude his Southern tour as National Organizer at Pineville, Ky., Jan. 15, after filling dates at Atlanta and Chattanooga on his way from Florida. Pineville is in the heart of the coal region of Southern Kentucky and an especially good field is offered for Socialist propaganda.

Dates for Franklin and Marion Craig Westworth have been made at Cincinnati, Toledo, and Cleveland, O., Reading, Pa., Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Md., New York City, and Rochester, N. Y. They will be in Cincinnati on Sunday, Feb. 7; Toledo, Feb. 8 and 9; Cleveland, Feb. 10.

John W. Brown will conclude his tour of California on Feb. 2 and will fill his last date in Oregon, Feb. 5. The Eastern lecture tour of A. M. and May Wood Simons will last four weeks, beginning March 27. They will go as far as Massachusetts.

James P. Carey's lecture dates for January so far arranged include Cincinnati, O., Newport and Louisville, Ky., Memphis, Tenn., and Ayer, Mo. He will probably fill two dates in Arkansas, between Memphis and Thayer, and begin in Missouri in February.

The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report: Chas. A. Nelson, St. Louis, Mo., 50 cents; Louis Chrysenne, Wyo., \$1; Louis Holroyde, Mass., \$10; Mike Fink, Macou, Ga., 25 cents; A. L. New York City, 25 cents; M. H. New York City, \$10; total to date, \$22.50. Previously reported, \$2,580.01; total, \$2,602.51.

Now that the comrades throughout the country are waking up from the usual apathy following upon the state campaigns, they should keep the National Organizing Fund in mind. With the advent of the German, Bohemian, Italian, and French organizers in the field in addition to the English ones, all of whom should begin work in February, will come an increased need of money for the national office work. Toward this good work the comrades are asked to continue contributing. Every little helps, and the more little helps there are the larger the mount of help given altogether. Address the National Secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb.

Further Caldwell Correspondence.

The National Secretary submits the following additional correspondence from Howard H. Caldwell and himself.

Y.—CALDWELL TO MAILLY.

Dear Comrade—Yours of Dec. 30th received and contents noted.

Not only have you most thoroughly misinterpreted me, but you have misinterpreted my motives.

For the past year not only myself, but many others of the comrades have been worried about the appearance of personal controversies inside the party and to one who has seen

the troubles of the S. L. P. it probably looks very much more serious than to one who has not gone through that stormy period.

The part I have taken in these quarrels has been a neutral one. Have read some of the letters you have given out between yourself and Mills and also Critchlow and did not think it did the party any good to bring personal affairs or personal controversies before the party membership as it broke them up into factions and they did not use the same energy in fighting the common enemy.

Before I went to Kansas City last month I had a very good opinion of Comrade Mills as he had nearly always in the past been on the right side of a question that was before the National Committee.

Of course, he made some mistakes and I was always ready to excuse a man's mistakes if I believe he can and puts the party's interest before his own interests.

Since stopping in Kansas City a short time my opinion of Mills changed and I could see that there was another side to the story. I also concluded that Mills was out of place in the National councils of the party and that the party would not profit by his presence there as it would lead to continued trouble.

You had thought that I went over to Kansas and electrified against him, but I did something altogether different. I went to him personally and advised him to withdraw his name. I also went to one of his friends who does not live in Kansas and asked him to try and persuade Mills to withdraw his name, but never spoke to one Kansas man against him. My object in wanting to see you was to clear up a lot of misunderstanding. I wanted to get you to use your personal influence to stop this washing of dirty linen before the public.

Since my eyes had been opened on coming to Kansas City to something in regard to Mills that I did not know before I also saw that many comrades over the country had been driven to fight among themselves that were not only useless but absolutely harmful so I wanted to do what I could to stop further bickering and thought a personal talk with you would bring a better understanding and save a whole lot of lost time.

I had no plot that I wanted to involve you into or involve you in any way and had nothing to tell you about Mills that I have not told him to his face and before several people.

An old friend of the opinion that Mills is not a desirable man on the committee as his presence causes discord and we need harmony.

You are located in one city and so do not come in contact with the comrades personally in the different localities and so do not probably appreciate the damage that a personal controversy stirred in the party press does to the activity of the comrades over the country. A speaker on the road sees this very clearly.

I had thought that a private talk with you with the knowledge of the facts on both sides that I could persuade you that it was to the best interests of the party to simply drop these controversies like they had never happened.

Mills has gained rather than lost prestige by the fact that he has been condemned by some locals in the party and it seems to always result the same way. Attack a comrade and the party membership rewards it.

When I find a man in the party who I believe is not good for the party he generally hears from me in a hurry, but I do not give him free advertising by publishing him in the papers. I settle with him in his own neighborhood. Without the prestige he gains by being advertised over the country he can do little harm.

I can easily see as I think over the wording of the letters sent you that you would be very likely to misconstrue them, especially as you would not know the motives that were working me.

Now as to going to Arizona, if you still hold the same opinion of not submitting the letter to the National Quorum for appointment, as we could not work in harmony, if you are still of the opinion that my opinions have changed in regard to Mills on account of being offered a position on the national circuit, you do me a great injustice, as is known by all those who know me.

I have left many jobs in the past on account of my convictions and do not think that the National Committee could afford to pay the wages paid by capitalist bosses that I have left as a matter of principle.

Now I hope you will not publish this correspondence or any other of a similar nature as it not only makes trouble but it does no good.

Now these are facts:

1. All I have told you in my letters or wanted to tell you I have already charged Mills in public with, so I am not doing anything underhanded.
2. I have not told you that Mills for election in Kansas and know that they have a perfect right to elect anyone they please.
3. The "pressure brought to bear" on Mills was to him personally and by asking a friend to try to persuade him not to run in the interest of harmony and good-courtesy in the party.
4. My object in seeing you was to bring about a better understanding by a full explanation of my impressions received in various localities on the road. I believe that the washing of dirty linen in public is wrong.

Now, comrade, I hear you no ill will on account of the letter you wrote as I can see in the light of the letter you have written how the letter must have struck you.

Hope you will carefully consider the advice given here and not get mad and get up on your high horse (which is one of your failings), and not a good way to bring about an understanding of either.

With the exception of your shortness of temper and sometimes the habit of "being things" that don't exist I have been very much pleased with your work in the past year and believe that the experience you have gained in the past year will be of use to the party this year. If I have a kick coming I shall write you personally and will not publish the correspondence, either; what is more, I will do it in the spirit of comradeship.

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Y.—CALDWELL TO MAILLY.

Dear Comrade—Yours of Dec. 30th received and contents noted.

Not only have you most thoroughly misinterpreted me, but you have misinterpreted my motives.

For the past year not only myself, but many others of the comrades have been worried about the appearance of personal controversies inside the party and to one who has seen

and will not publicly accuse you of anything till I have first heard your explanation as I might have made a mistake and a little talk usually resolves a lot of the misunderstandings.

I have probably said half as much as I should to make myself clear but I will have correspondence in the future and we will get better acquainted. Hoping to hear from you soon and wishing you a happy New Year, I remain,

HOWARD H. CALDWELL.

Louisiana, Mo., Jan. 2.

VI.—MAILLY TO CALDWELL.

Comrade—Your telegram of the 2d inst., requesting me not to publish anything until I received a letter from you, and your letter of the same date, both from Louisiana, Mo., were received and noted. As the correspondence between us had already been sent to the Quorum, National Committee, state secretaries and press, I could not observe your telegraphic request.

Your last letter differs so thoroughly from your two previous ones, and was so evidently written for publication, that it only confirms me in the belief that the course I took in making our correspondence public was the only one I could take. I had good reason for protecting the national office from any attempt to identify it with any faction or any side in any controversy, a policy which I have tried to follow ever since assuming my present official position. I had in mind also that the only charges, open and secret, that have been made against the impartiality and integrity of the national office and myself have come from those with whom you have hitherto been identified, and against whom you now write. Your correspondence from Kansas City, therefore, if acquiesced in by me, would either have made the national office a party to intrigue or laid it open to the charge of assisting in such. It is impossible to dissociate my official from my private capacity.

This office has not attempted to advertise Comrade Mills either to his advantage or disadvantage. Whatever has gone out from here about him has been purely official, except a brief personal note of my own on a personal matter concerning myself. When I first entered the office I almost immediately felt the necessity for keeping the membership fully informed of all matters affecting the party welfare. There should be nothing concerning the party with which the party membership should not be fully acquainted. Whenever there is anything taking place in the party which anyone desires the membership not to know then the party membership should know it. There will not be dirty lines to wash when proper sanitary arrangements are provided to keep him clean. Publicity in all party affairs is the safety valve that will prevent the party boiler from becoming congested by intricate and unwholesome intrigues. Only those who have something to hide need object to nothing being hidden.

Disabuse yourself of the idea (if you possess it) that any official act of mine during the past year has been the result of "short temper" or my getting on my "high horse," as you elegantly term it, although I can quite understand how you would like to make it appear so. I have too much concern for the party interests to allow myself to be betrayed by anger or a sense of personal injustice into any action which might result injurious to the party. I have not forgotten that I am an official, first of all. But I have observed the right to defend and clear myself as an official from such charges as have been made against me—by Comrade Critchlow, for instance, in connection with Comrade Mills, of whom you write so disparagingly now. And realizing fully that it was Mills the official and not Mailly the individual, whose charges and aspersions were directed at me, I have attempted to keep my official character clear of blemish for the party's sake. Were I to consider the situation from a personal standpoint such consideration would not extend over a moment's space. But I am jealous of the party's honor and integrity, and for that reason anything I have said or done as an official has been carefully weighed beforehand with an effort to appreciate the difference between personal interests and the party's interests.

I have reason to believe that this course has resulted in a much better understanding than would otherwise have been the case. And I believe that if the complete story of my experience in this office were to be told publicly there would be a still better understanding of the amount of patience and forbearance necessary to fill this position. But only that which has been absolutely necessary to tell for the membership's benefit has been told, and in nearly every case, not by my initiation.

There is nothing you could say to me privately about anyone which you could not write me. I have had no difficulty in reaching an understanding with those who cared to reciprocate with me. I will therefore leave you to adjust what you have written about other comrades with those most directly concerned.

Fraternally yours,

WILLIAM MAILLY.

National Secretary.

Omaha, Neb., Jan. 4.

To the foregoing may be added the following from Howard H. Caldwell to the Editor of The Worker, under date of Jan. 2, 1904: "I see that mention was made in your last issue (Jan. 3) that I had taken part in a conference at Kansas City. I wish you would correct the statement, as the use of my name was not warranted. I had left Kansas City the day before this conference, and had refused to allow the use of my name in connection with it. I had been proof of call for such conference while in Kansas City, and knowing that it contained my name, I refused to have it removed, but do not know whether they sent it out that way or not. It was against my wish if they did."

Now York City.

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New York Socialist Literary Society are to have an entertainment and package party it has therefore been laid off till Jan. 22, and a large gathering is expected. The lecture for Sunday, Jan. 17, at the New York Socialist Literary Society clubrooms, 232 E. Broadway, will be by Henry Newman on "The Tendencies of Modern Education."

At the last meeting of the Downtown Young People's Social Democratic Club all committees for the entertainment and hall of Jan. 16 were appointed. Judging from the sale of tickets and with the assistance received from progressive organizations, the affair will be very successful. Three hundred copies of The Worker were ordered for the occasion for propaganda and the program will be made up of first-class talent who render their services gratis. The address which will be delivered by John Spargo, "Hopes and Ideals for Youth," will just fit the occasion. Every member has worked hard for the affair. The affair will be held at 60 West 10th Hall and Casino, 67 and 69 St. Mark's place. Admission is 25 cents for lady and gentleman; extra lady, 15 cents. The entertainment begins at 8 p. m. sharp. Tickets of monthly meetings will be held at the new clubrooms, 834 E. 86th street. The lectures and subjects will be announced next week. Comrade Spector has presented the club with a handsome crayon portrait of William Liebknecht for the clubroom.

All members and sympathizers of the 10th A. D. are requested to attend the next meeting on Thursday, Jan. 21, at Lafayette Hall, 8-10 Avenue D, 8 p. m. sharp, as very important business will be transacted.

New York State.

Local Youkers has arranged for public lectures by Courtney Lemon on "What the Class Struggle Really Is" on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 17, and by Algron on "Prosperity and Hard Times" on Feb. 21 and will probably have also a lecture by Comrade Frost in the near future. The local has nominated Frank Silverman for National Committee. A plan is being worked out to raise funds for the Daily Globe.

New England.

At the General Massachusetts Clubs Committee meeting in Boston the State Auditing Committee reported that the books of the State Committee were in a chaotic condition and a special committee of three was elected to investigate various discrepancies. The following State Executive Committee was elected for the ensuing year: W. J. Coyne of Boston, Chas. E. Lowell of Whitman, Herbert Mosman of Houghton, Squire E. Putney of Somerville, Timothy R. Spillane of Boston, Bernard W. Gidney of Lynn, James A. Wilkinson of Lawrence, John B. Boklund of Worcester, C. G. Hitchcock of Ware. W. J. Coyne was elected treasurer out afterwards resigned and Chas. E. Lowell was elected to fill the vacancy. In regard to the election of State Secretary it was decided that

WHAT LABOR MUST DO.

The Path of Emancipation Pointed Out.

President Behrens of the Missouri State Federation of Labor Voices the Real Interests of the Workers in His Annual Address.

President E. T. Behrens annual report and address to the convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor makes plain the path of trying to better the condition of the working class through the old political parties and points out the path to emancipation through political action in the only party of their class, as the following extracts will show:

What is denominated "the labor problem," is a world problem. It is the problem of life, of human existence. It cannot be partly solved, neither is a solution possible for a part of the workers to the exclusion of all the other members of the working class. It is essentially a working class problem and must be solved upon that basis.

The labor problem is the working class side of a world struggle for industrial and political supremacy. Arrayed on the other side in this struggle is the ruling class which today controls the means of life—the land, a chinery, tools and implements of production and distribution. Possession of these by the ruling class gives that class the power of life or death over those who must use them.

Now since wealth can only be produced by applying labor power—human energy—to natural objects, and since all the tools, machinery and implements of production are but the stored-up wealth of past labor, the ownership of these, of right, should be vested in those whose labor brought them forth. And again, since the foremost method of individual production has been supplanted by social production, ownership of these must necessarily be vested, not in the individual or in a set of individuals, but in the collectivity. A solution of the labor problem, therefore, must be predicated upon the workers, as a class, gaining possession of the things so essential to their very existence.

We have in the Missouri State Federation of Labor a vast machine capable of not only protecting but also of advancing the interest of the organized workers in this state. It must be used, however, by those in whose interest it was created. It must not and should not be used as a political machine to advance the political fortunes of any one, even though he be a member of organized labor. The advancement of one of our members to political preferment does not solve the great problem which confronts the laboring masses. It may temporarily solve the problem for him, who is thus advanced, but for the rank and file it means only further degradation and renders them even more helpless in the hands of capitalist politicians.

Trade unions, and the M. S. F. of L. in times past, have been used by some as a stepping stone to political positions. That kind of politics I am gratified to say, has been eliminated from this body. We are no longer hampered by the audacious place hunting politicians. We do not want political jobs for a few of our officers and members, but will strive to capture all political power and make it serve only the interest of the wage-working class.

Disgrace it as we will, the great issue now confronting the workers is not so much that of a slight increase in wages or a shorter workday, but the complete overthrow of the system which makes the struggle for these a necessity. Disputes between employer and employees may be temporarily adjusted by arbitration or force of strength of either side, but these do not, cannot end the conflict. The employer may grant an increase in wages today and tomorrow the worker will demand more. He will demand ever more and more until he perceives all he produces; and so long as he is deprived of even the smallest possible share of the wealth his labor creates there will be industrial strife. The emancipation of the working class, the ultimate aim of all the trade unions, can never be achieved so long as there is another class which exploits the labor power, the complete emancipation means that labor shall receive and enjoy not merely a larger share but all it produces. Mastership over one class by another class must cease forever. The complete overthrow of the wage system must be our goal. Though we may be tempted by stress of circumstances to sign an occasional protocol or a temporary truce, a permanent treaty of peace with our masters never!

If we are not totally uprooted to manhood, if we still retain our reasoning faculties, we will convert our defense funds into educational funds; educate our fellows to strike at the ballot box; take possession of all the powers of government; die a bit of damages for unpaid labor; issue a writ of attachment on all the tools, machinery and implements of production; vest the ownership of these in the collectivity to have and to hold in perpetuity for those who labor.

Perhaps if we analyze the complexion of the Forty-second General Assembly and ascertain the interests that were represented we will not have occasion to marvel at the results of its deliberations. By referring to the official roster of that body we find that the Senate was composed of 22 lawyers, 2 political farmers, 7 merchants, 1 physician, 1 banker and 1 clerk. In the House there were 48

lawyers, 45 political farmers, 22 merchants, 22 teachers, doctors, editors and journalists, 9 wage-earners and 1 placatorialist. Now if the number of such one is capable of stringing in any evidence of placatorial ability, every one of the members comprising the House and Senate of the Forty-second General Assembly should have been written down as followers of Isaac Walton. Undoubtedly they displayed marvelous placatorial ability on election day.

But the nine wage-earners. Whose interest did they represent? Did they represent the interest of their class? Did they thunder forth the demands of organized labor? Did they provide in season and out of season the rights of the working class? No! Elected through the operation of political machines run solely in the interest of the employing class, they were bound by the caucus rule of their respective parties. They became a part of the party machine the moment they accepted a nomination. No man can rise above his party and retain his influence with the party machine. And no man elected through a party which does not unequivocally declare for the overthrow of the present wage system can truly represent the interest of the working class, any more than that, the party itself must be controlled by that class.

A political party must be either for or against the working class. There can be no equivocation.

In the last two decades we have tried every political expedient known to politics. We have had our legislative committees. We have begged and petitioned the legislature to pass laws in the interest of labor. We have elected members from our ranks on capitalist party tickets only to see them become the political tools of our masters. We have supported this candidate for office and that candidate; this party and that party. We have thrown the balance of power into the political scale to force concessions from the powers that be, but the other fellow always got the power while labor got only the balance. We have numbers, and numbers count. We have the ballot, and the ballot counts. Why then do we beg? Why petition? Ours is the power, let us use it.

We cannot divorce our economic class interests from our political class interests. They are inseparable. Nor can they be harmonized with the interests of the exploiting class—our masters. It is just as treacherous to his class interests for the worker to align himself politically with the capitalist class, as it would be for him to align himself industrially with that class. He would commit no greater crime against his class by joining the Employers' Association than he now does by voting the employers' party ticket.

It is this failure on the part of the workers to distinguish working class interests from capitalist class interests that keeps them divided politically. Once the workers become thoroughly conscious of their class interests, once they realize that there is an irreconcilable conflict between their class and the capitalist class, once they awake to a consciousness of their own power, once they comprehend the necessity of simultaneously waging battle with their exploiters upon the political and industrial field, the rule over their class by another class will cease and wage-slavery be abolished forever.

In compliance with a request made upon our Secretary-Treasurer by the President of the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Board of the Missouri State Federation of Labor petition the several Congressmen from Missouri, before the opening of the Eight-Hour and Anti-Injunction bills, your President, upon the solicitation of Brother Smith drafted the following petition or memorial, which, since no action has been taken thereon by the Executive Board, I now place before this convention, with the recommendation that said memorial be adopted and the same submitted to a special referendum.

"To the Honorable," "Sir—We desire to call your attention to two very important measures now pending before Congress, viz., the Eight-Hour and the Anti-Injunction bills. These bills have the unanimous endorsement of every local, state and national organization of wage-earners in the United States.

"The necessity for legislation covered by these measures must be obvious to you if you have given any thought to the degrading economic conditions of our country. Improved machinery and labor-saving devices, the concentration of the means of wealth production and distribution, the marshalling of vast armies of workers in the production of commodities, the specialization of industry, the multiplied powers science and invention have wrought in economics, which have not only increased the productive power of labor, but have also intensified competition, thereby forcing an ever greater quantity of human energy to be expended in each day's labor performed, make it imperative that the hours of daily toil of those who produce the wealth of the world be lessened.

"We are fully cognizant of the fact that those who possess the means of life—the land, machinery, tools and implements of production—the employing class, our masters—are loath to grant us, their slaves, a shorter workday. Neither will they permit their government to extend the eight-hour workday so that it shall apply to government contracts; nor are they likely to consent to the enactment of a law which will deprive them of the use of the injunction, the most powerful legal weapon yet devised to protect their interests and to keep us, their slaves, in subjection.

"The fate of these measures in former Congresses figures still fresh

in our memory, nor has our confidence in those presumed to legislate for all the people been strengthened thereby; but on the contrary the conclusion forces itself ever stronger upon us that our hope lies not so much in convincing Congress of the justice of our cause, but rather in changing the complexion of the Congress itself.

"The failure of bearing and petitioning a Congress whose personnel reflects only the interests of the wealth absorbing class, has long since become apparent. Neither are the other departments of government less hostile to our interests, but all are alike dominated by the employing capitalist class. Whatever laws are enacted in our interest by the legislative branch either become of no effect for lack of enforcement by the administrative branch of government, or are declared unconstitutional by the judiciary.

"Government as constituted today is distinctly a class government, and no other kind of government is possible so long as one class is economically dependent upon another class. Those who control the means whereby we live—the means of employment—also control the government. Hence our political system, that reflects the industrial system and both are dominated by the same class.

"Through efficiency, fraud and deception our masters have ever succeeded in keeping our class, the working class, divided at the polls. They have purposely blinded us with false issues. We have voted for this candidate for office and that candidate. We have supported this party and that party, only to find that ours was not the victory but our masters'. Hoping against hope we believed that some day, some time, a champion of our cause would arise, but he arose not. The Steel Trust has its agent, the Sugar Trust its tool, the Railroad Trust its retainers, the Money Trust its councilors, the Canal Trust its delegates, the Meat Trust its abettors, and every other interest which exploits our class has its enforcers, but the twentysix million wealth producers of the greatest republic on earth have not a single representative in the national Congress to plead their cause.

"Others may beg and petition for legislation in the interest of the working class, but such is not our purpose. We beg no longer. We petition no more. We demand the complete overthrow of the industrial system which makes our class dependent upon another class.

"To gain this end we shall try to educate ourselves and our fellow workers in the necessity of united political action, to the end that we may ultimately capture the powers of government and through them take possession of a world our labor has made."

ANOTHER FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH.

Oregon Comrade Arrested Twice—Police and Politicians Back of Them, Seeing that Socialists Are Not to Be Scared, Give Up Interference.

PORTLAND, ORE., Jan. 13.—We are having our period of persecution by the police and municipal court of this city. On Sunday afternoon, Jan. 3, while he was speaking on Third street near Third street, the police ordered Organizer J. D. Stevens to "move on." The streets and sidewalks were not obstructed, but the policeman said the speaker was "talking nonsense," and told him to "go hire a church." The Salvation Army, the Volunteers of America, a "Holiness" man, two women preaching from the Bible, and one man opposed to the Volunteers' methods had spoken without interference and some were speaking when Comrade Stevens was arrested. But the police are afraid that Socialism will draw votes away from the old parties next spring, and hence the arrest.

The comrade demanded a jury, but the Municipal Judge was so eager to convict that his charge and instructions were notoriously against the accused. The jury found him guilty and a fine of \$10—the limit was imposed.

The trial took place Friday, Jan. 3. On Sunday afternoon Comrade Stevens was "back at the stand." His language being too radical, the police again arrested the speaker, and took him to jail. The first charge was for "refusing to move on," but this second arrest they could not bring that, so the captain after talking over the matter with the two policemen, concluded that no charge could be entered. Comrade Stevens told them, while waiting in jail, that no police force, municipal judge, or mayor should, could, or would prevent him from speaking on the streets and sidewalks; they quit interfering with the constitutional rights of an American citizen the better it would be for the police, municipal judge, and mayor, for we would appeal to the United States District Court, if necessary, to secure the right of free speech.

The next morning Comrade Stevens saw Chief of Police Hunt, who told him, he would see we were molested no further.

The comrade collected a defense fund for the present and future emergency, but it will probably not be necessary.

The contest has been the means of enlarging our membership and will undoubtedly add a great deal to the prestige of the Socialist Party here. The old-party politicians know we are here to stay and are of course alarmed, but what can they do about it? We will keep right on and talk and vote and if necessary go to jail, but we will win all right.

M. F. Z.

GOMPERS AND GREENBAUM.

Hoehn Replies to Some Misrepresentations.

President of the A. F. of L. Having Last Word in Debate, Cites Greenbaum to Prove Socialist Party Opposed to Unions—Pertinent Facts Regarding this "Unionist at Heart."

[The following is a statement by Comrade G. A. Hoehn in reply to certain points in President Gompers' attack on the Socialist Party. As Mr. Gompers in his official capacity controls the "Federationist," through which he publishes his attacks, and will not allow a reply to be made in its pages, it is necessary that the reply be given the widest possible publicity through the Socialist press and such trade-union papers as put fairness above personal considerations.]

We are in possession of the official minutes of the recent American Federation of Labor convention in Hoehn. The typographical make-up of the report is excellent. The report itself is one-sided and partial, and especially care is taken that the "opinion" shall not take away from the administration any of the glory heaped upon them by their adulating surroundings. The discussion on the "Socialist Issue" takes up about nine pages of the report. At least thirty-two delegates took part in this discussion. We see that President Gompers' closing prayer—the Socialist funeral speech—his almost two and one-half pages, while the other thirty-one speakers' remarks are squeezed into less than seven pages of the official proceedings. President Gompers prints his speech in full, although he closed the debate and knew full well that the union delegates known as Socialists had no chance whatever to answer the unending and unwarranted attacks made upon them by the President of the American Federation of Labor.

Gompers' Statement.

The fact that we had no opportunity to answer some of Brother Gompers' assertions on the floor of the convention compels us to take up at least one of his "points" and show what kind of flimsy and untruthful arguments against Socialism were used by the man in the A. F. of L. presidential chair. On page 107 President Gompers reports himself as saying: "The Secretary of the Socialist Party has severed his connection with the reformed (7) Socialist Party, because of his being opposed to the trade union tactics of that party to the trade unions; and, being at heart a trade unionist, he was forced out of his position. Since that time he has given to the world the real reasons why he was forced out—because he dared to stand up in defense of trade unions and against the policy of antagonizing the trade unions and holding up the American Labor Union."

"The Secretary of the Socialist Party" referred to by Brother Gompers is Leon Greenbaum. How he secured his information we don't know. Undoubtedly, he got it directly from G. A. Hoehn. The same information was given to the Democratic Hearst papers and used against the Socialist Party by capitalist politicians and the Martha Moore Avery-Dave Goldstein-Gordon trinity during the recent New England campaigns. Indeed, President Gompers is to be envied for the enjoyment and bliss he derives from the Leon-Martha-Dave-Gordon "protectorate."

We have not paid any attention to Greenbaum's work in the past year, I. e., since he left the Socialist Party. We have had more important work to do, and did not feel like going into a discussion of personal matters. However, since repeated attempts are being made to have him appear in the labor movement of America as a victim of Socialist persecution and a martyr to trade unionism, and since even the president of the American Federation shows himself in his full greatness by an open, public, peaceable assembly called by the people of that city for Friday evening, Dec. 18, to protest against the operation of a portion of the Federal statute of March 3, 1903, regulating the immigration of aliens and to seek a redress of that grievance—

"Does hever denounce said act of Mayor Hinchcliffe as a violation of his official obligation and a breach of his solemn duty to maintain the constitutional right of free speech and free assembly as guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and by Paragraphs 5 and 13 of Article I of the Constitution of the State of New Jersey, and as provocative of and inciting to secret meetings, conspiracies, and disorders, and as an act constituting malfeasance in office;

"And we call upon the citizens of Paterson and of the State of New Jersey and of the whole United States to join in rebuking this tyranny;

"And we call upon the Governor of New Jersey to fulfill the duty imposed upon him by Paragraph 6 of Article V of the Constitution of the State of New Jersey and to require that the fundamental law thus violated shall not be violated but shall be faithfully executed."

Why Greenbaum Got Out.

First—Leon Greenbaum severed his connection with the Socialist Party because he lost his \$1,000 a year job.

Second—He was not forced out of his position for "being at heart a trade unionist." His term of office as National Secretary having expired, and not being re-elected, not even recommended, he had no further use for the Socialist Party.

Third—Leon Greenbaum resigned from the Socialist Party early in March, 1903, and his letter of resignation appeared in the capitalist daily press before it reached the Secretary of the Socialist Party of St. Louis.

Fourth—Greenbaum published his letter of resignation in the capitalist press about three weeks before the election, thereby rendering valuable services to the capitalist parties against the Socialist Party.

Fifth—Greenbaum's martyrdom for trade unionism is indeed heart-rending. The first sacrifice Leon Greenbaum made for unionism was in 1900, during the great street car strike, when he held a well-paying job on the strikers' Bus Committee. Tremendous sacrifice for unionism when a man gets paid at the rate of \$18 per \$20 a week for service in a strike movement involving 8,000 suffering, half-starving wage workers!

A Unionist at Heart.

Sixth—Greenbaum's pathetic assurance that Leon Greenbaum is "at heart a trade unionist" is certainly an eternal truth. To prove this we need only refer to the fact that Greenbaum had hardly joined the union movement in St. Louis when he was managed to get a commission as A. F. of L. organizer from President Gompers and started on extended lecture tours "in order to make a living."

Seventh—Since Greenbaum lost his \$1,000 a year secretaryship in the Socialist Party, he has been looking for another job. "He dared to stand up in defense of trade unions" by sending out circulars to the miners' unions of Illinois offering his services as lecturer on Chinese exclusion, labor legislation, etc., at the rate of \$15 for one lecture, \$25 for two, etc. It is certainly a most heroic work to lecture on Chinese exclusion to trade unions for \$15 a night! That is "unionism at heart."

Unionists in Fact.

Eighth—It is not true that Greenbaum lost his \$1,000 a year job for opposing the A. F. of L. The author of the resolution stating the attitude of the Socialist Party National Committee towards the American Labor Union was G. A. Hoehn, the writer of these lines. Hoehn, William M. Brandt and L. E. Hildebrand—the majority of the Quorum membership—voted for that resolution, and these three comrades are today not only members of the Socialist Party, but also of the trade unions, and even members of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, while Greenbaum is neither a member of the Socialist Party nor of any trade union.

Ninth—If President Gompers had had any desire to get at the truth about Greenbaum's "trade unionism at heart" and his connection with the Socialist Party, he could have secured all desired information by applying to representative union men in St. Louis. However, the truth was not wanted by our friend Gompers. Mr. Gompers had to play his constitutional remedy fars. "The Bureau of Socialism," at old Fannin Hall, and in order to get the cheap and questionable applause of Mark Hanna and the capitalist press he had to engage the Greenbaum-Goldstein-Avery-Gordon Comedy Co., Limited, to furnish the necessary material for the amusement between the acts of the chief comedian.

We publish the above for the information of the union and Socialist movements. We wish to inform Mr. Gompers and his official comrades that our present National Secretary, William Mailly—as good and solid a trade unionist as ever sat at a trade unionist's still claims the right to elect competent men to office and refuse to re-elect men whose incompetency was proved beyond a shadow of doubt.

G. A. HOEHN, Delegate to the Boston Convention of A. F. of L., Delegate of the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union to the Springfield Convention of the Missouri Federation of Labor, and also a Member of the Socialist Party.

RESIST TYRANNY.

New Jersey State Committee of Socialist Party Calls on All Citizens to Join in Defending the Right of Free Speech.

At the last meeting of the New Jersey State Committee of the Socialist Party the following resolution, in regard to the prohibition of the meeting to protest against the deportation of John Turner, was adopted and the Secretary instructed to furnish Socialist papers with copy and request publication:

"The State Committee of the Socialist Party of the State of New Jersey, being informed of the action of Mayor Hinchcliffe of Paterson in unreasonably and of his own whim, and notwithstanding objection, preventing an open, public, peaceable assembly called by the people of that city for Friday evening, Dec. 18, to protest against the operation of a portion of the Federal statute of March 3, 1903, regulating the immigration of aliens and to seek a redress of that grievance—

"Does hever denounce said act of Mayor Hinchcliffe as a violation of his official obligation and a breach of his solemn duty to maintain the constitutional right of free speech and free assembly as guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and by Paragraphs 5 and 13 of Article I of the Constitution of the State of New Jersey, and as provocative of and inciting to secret meetings, conspiracies, and disorders, and as an act constituting malfeasance in office;

"And we call upon the citizens of Paterson and of the State of New Jersey and of the whole United States to join in rebuking this tyranny;

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Cigar-makers will take note that the employees in A. Slag's shop at 162 East Fifty-second street, corner of Third avenue, New York City, are on strike for improvement of their conditions. No self-respecting cigar-maker should apply for work at this shop or answer its advertisements till the strike is settled.

THE COLORADO COAL STRIKE.

Mrs. Mailly Writes of Struggle About Trinidad.

Mother Jones Has Been Dangerously Sick, but is Recovering—Her Education Work—Shameful Wrongs Have Driven Miners to Spirited Revolt.

[Not much news of the strike of several thousand coal miners in Southern Colorado has reached the outside world. Mrs. Bertha Howell Mailly, wife of the National Secretary of the Socialist Party, went to that district from Omaha last week to be with Mother Jones, who was dangerously ill in Trinidad, but who is now happily recovering. With in the strike district, Mrs. Mailly will write a special series of articles for the Socialist press, the following being the first:]

The miners' strike of Southern Colorado has for its chief center, Trinidad, a town set in a ring of coal mines at Starville, at Ingelville, Sopria, Teece, Segundu, Primero, and other places. Here is the headquarters for the officials of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., which is the chief master and owner of this mining region.

The main "tent town" is in Trinidad, and at the headquarters is a community department which is fast being organized. Here are heaped quantities of provisions, bags of potatoes, of sugar, of carrots, boxes of macaroni, of canned goods, of tea and coffee, and great sides of beef. They are fast getting into shape to stand a six months' strike. Each striker, on presenting his union card, is given an order for an amount of provisions proportioned to his family, the maximum being \$4 for a family of six. Further relief is given by two meals a day served the men in a soup kitchen. Here you must study the faces if you want to see the results of centuries of slavery.

The strike began on Nov. 9 and not only the mines closed, but the coke ovens, smelters and blacksmith shops, whose workers were not called out. One union traveled 250 miles to be sure that his nephew, who works in the blacksmith shop at Starville, came out. The start and conduct of the strike have so far been splendid, and no name receives such high honor as that of Mother Jones, whose untiring work in the cause has exalted her vitality, and who now lies ill in a hospital here, having narrowly escaped the fatal pneumonia. She is now recovering, and her one thought is to be in the fight again.

She has done what it is universally conceded no man could have done by organizing the northern district of Colorado, and added thereby thousands to the army of men and women who lovingly call her "Mother." These days men in Trinidad are asking on every hand, "How is Mother Jones?" or from the poor Italian, "Mr. Modder Jones, she well?"

At every turn one hears stories that show the unflinching loyalty of both men and women to their class in the present struggle. One story is worth telling.

A Catholic priest who was accustomed to hold mass in Segundu and Primero, camps owned by the C. F. & I. Co., and surrounded by armed deputies, had received very strong assistance from the C. F. & I. Co. in building a beautiful church in Primero.

This priest was said to be urging Italians to go to work. He would write recommendations for the men to the Company. The strikers found it out and sent two men to get their recommendations. These men brought them direct to the Union. It was further ascertained that at confessional he would refuse absolution to the men unless they would promise to go to work for the Company. One day he took two such poor intimidated Italians in his carriage across the "dead line" of the camp at Primero. The woman in Segundu who boarded these two men was informed of it and told to watch for the Father. Finally she saw him enter a Mexican's house opposite. She left her house and with a light whistle and a snap of her fingers she summoned two or three of her country women. "The blackbird's in there," she said. They waited until he appeared. She strode up to him, a tall, handsome muscular woman of forty, and seizing his neckcloth, wrenched it from his neck and cried: "You are unworthy to wear this."

Then, quite unaided, she treated the priest's face anything but gently. It is said she left him with two black eyes, minus three teeth and with a badly scratched cheek.

He made his way to the train and it is said was sent to Mexico for an indefinite vacation.

The conditions obtaining here are summed up in the words of one miner: "Yes, it was slavery back East, but nothing like this. It's the scrip and the unfair weighing, the terrible hours, the pluck-me stores, and worst of all, our honor. The men who can pay the superintendent \$10 or \$15 can get a good job. The man, especially the Italian, who has a handsome wife can get a good job, too."

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"LOYAL, CONSERVATIVE, SAFE."

The Democratic party is at last to have a Moses to lead it to unaccompanied victory. So we are assured on the excellent authority of the would-be candidate himself.

Mr. Hearst allows no false modesty to restrain him from telling all who will listen that he is by all odds the ablest, wisest, bravest, most upright, politically purest, morally clearest, most generous, most popular, and in every way most fitting candidate that the Democrats could possibly agree upon—if, indeed, they can agree upon him, which remains to be seen.

Mr. Hearst is not "in the heads of his friends"—though a great deal of his money is. The trade of organizing Hearst trade-union clubs is booming just now. The work is arduous, but it is paid "way 'above the scale." Any number of "labor leaders" who for years have been earning a living by the sweat of their jaws shouting "No politics in the union" when it was a question of voting for workmen nominated by workmen and pledged solely to workmen's interests, have changed their tune and blossomed out in unexampled prosperity on the new cry, "The unions must go into politics—for Hearst."

But Mr. Hearst is not depending on that game alone. Oh, no. He is not going to be the candidate of a class—assuming that he is going to be a candidate at all. He is going to be the candidate of all classes—union workmen, non-union workmen, farmers, merchants, manufacturers, and what not. So there must be Hearst farmers' clubs, too, and Hearst business men's clubs, and Hearst clubs of any old sort, so long as they are for Hearst.

A year ago we were informed by Mr. Hearst that "Labor is Democracy's natural ally." Not that the Democracy should be Labor's representative, mind you. The Democracy is to be the senior partner in the concern and Labor is to be its ally—to do its work and give it the votes and hope for a return therefor. A few months later Mr. Hearst began to talk about the "Democratic-Labor party of the future." That phrase has been dropped again of late, and we venture to guess that we shall not hear much of it in the future. It is a dangerous phrase for one who would fain be the candidate of the Democratic party of today—a good phrase to juggle with for a little while, then a good phrase to forget.

Mr. Hearst, be it clearly understood, doesn't want to be recorded as "also ran." He quite well understands the art of the politician, to "be all things unto all men that he may by all means"—get votes. Hearst Biglow described for us, sixty years ago, the candidate, "facing South by North." The species is not extinct. Mr. Hearst wants the support of the radicals, but he also wants the support of the conservatives. He wants the support of the wage-workers, but he also wants the support of the profit-takers. He sees no reason why he should have both.

Mr. Brisbane, who writes editorials for Mr. Hearst in the most skillful manner, set forth his pre-eminent qualifications for the presidency, last

Monday, in a very impressive manner. These qualifications are many and various.

First, Mr. Hearst "has been a loyal Democrat for twenty years," and "supported Cleveland three times and Bryan twice." The Democratic party has turned, some queer somersaults and executed some startling contortion acts in the last twenty years, but Mr. Hearst "has been loyal through it all." Cleveland, who absolutely condemned Bryan's ideas, Bryan, who declared Cleveland an enemy of the public welfare—Mr. Hearst "loyally" supported both. Ought he not to be rewarded?

Second, Mr. Hearst "is NOT a violent radical." (The "not" is in big letters in the original.) No, indeed; Mr. Hearst is anything but a radical. He calm, gentlemanly. Mr. Hearst just believes in "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

"I stand upon the Constitution," "Ex-president statesman say, who've planned."

"A way to get the most profound," "O' chances are to war they'll stand."

Let the workmen pursue happiness in the form of a "living wage" and let the capitalists pursue it in the form of "legitimate profits" and let Mr. Hearst preside over the exhibition, and what have you to fear, gentlemen? For—

Third, Mr. Hearst is not "an enemy to business interests." How could he be? Consider: Mr. Hearst owns four very valuable newspapers, he owns several large wheat farms and cattle ranches, he is a large stockholder in various companies. "Where a man's treasure is, there will his heart be also." The people who own things and live on profits from their ownership must recognize that Mr. Hearst is one of their class and quite "safe." This is Mr. Brisbane's logic. Of course, it must not be carried too far. The fact that a candidate is a capitalist, argues Mr. Brisbane, is a good reason why capitalists should support him; but you must not infer that the fact of a candidate being a working-man would be a good reason for workmen to support him. No, that would be "arranging class against class," which Candidate Hearst would never dream of doing—whatever may have been his indiscretions in that line before he became a candidate.

In a word, Mr. Hearst is everybody's candidate. He says so and Mr. Brisbane, who writes his editorials, endorses the statement. He is a Democrat. What more do you want? He is a Jeffersonian. Now you know, is he a radical Democrat or a conservative Democrat? Both. If you must be told more definitely, he is a "loyal" Democrat.

But what is the Democracy? What does it stand for? What are the principles that a "loyal" Democrat pledges himself to support? Ask us something easier. No Democrat knows. Mr. Hearst, wisest of Democrats, doesn't know. No one else knows. No one can know till the politicians who have "laid their ears to the ground" get together at St. Louis and fix up the eternal principles of Democracy on which this year's campaign is to be run. But whatever they were, are, or shall or may be, Mr. Hearst will be loyal to them.

SPARGO'S LECTURE IN COOPER UNION.

John Spargo's lecture in the large hall of Cooper Union last Friday evening on "The Message and Meaning of Socialism" was followed with interest by a large audience. This Friday, Jan. 22, he speaks again in the same hall on the subject: "Is Socialism Economically and Morally Sound?" Comrades should attend and take their friends along. These lectures are held under the auspices of the People's Institute. Admission is free.

HERRON'S LECTURE ON "PARSIFAL."

This Sunday afternoon, at 3 p. m., George D. Herron will lecture on Wagner and "Parsifal," at Tuxedo Hall, Fifty-ninth street and Madison avenue. Mr. Herron will give illustrative selections from the opera on the piano-forte. Doors open at 2:30 p. m.

An admission fee of 25 cents will be charged and the proceeds will go to the fund for a Socialist daily newspaper. Every Socialist and sympathizer should therefore strive to make this lecture and recital such a success that reputation will be necessary. Comrades and organizations holding tickets are requested to make settlement not later than the day of the lecture as the committee wishes to make a complete report immediately after the lecture if possible.

FOR ALBANY SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

A conference of Social Democrats of Albany, N. Y., will be held at 119 State street on Tuesday evening, Jan. 26. Every party member should be present and all sympathizers with the party are cordially invited to attend.

NEW JERSEY'S VOTE.

Official Figures at Last Produced—Show Slight Net Gain for Socialist Party and Loss for S. L. P.

TRENTON, N. J., Jan. 15.—The full official figures for the election of November, 1903, are at last available. They show a slight gain for the Socialist Party and a slight loss for the S. L. P. What was concerned with the results in 1902. As there was no state election in either year, we may take the vote for Assemblymen as representing the party strength.

In 1902 the total vote of the Socialist Party for Assemblymen, taking the highest in each county, was 4,880; in 1903 it was 5,040. Taking the average in each

MODERNIZED
APOSTLES.

By A. L. Byron-Curtiss.

"How are the mighty fallen" is an expression oftentimes used to describe the descent of some great person in the scale of social or wealth reputation. Even after death this has been applied. When the mummy of a once mighty Pharaoh was brought to this country, the custom officials were at a loss to know how to treat the dried down as "dead flesh." "Immortal Caesar, dead and turned to clay, may stop a hole to keep the wind away," occurs to us as appropriate to quote from the classics, in such an instance. But consider the whole thing reversed. Instead of "How are the mighty fallen," think of the weak, the meek, the lowly and obscure, elevated in the social scale. We are inspired to think in this way, in this strain, as we read the description of a baptismal font by Bishop Matthews. The font is described in to go into the "national cathedral," yet on paper, but to be built, it is planned, in Washington. It is to be a wonderful piece of church art, to judge from the description. The font is to be lined with stones gathered from the River Jordan, under the special direction of some devotee, whose sanctity and enthusiasm we do not question. Then the font has been studiously designed to cater to sacerdotal bigotry still existing in society. It will admit of dipping, pouring, or sprinkling, just as the person to be baptized desires—a fact which the good bishop very diplomatically meets. In these facts we haven't much to find fault with, though we do wonder how the refined "capitalistic Christian" conscience can find it logical to spend so much money to get a few cobblestones from the River Jordan, while without doubt children cry for bread within a radius of the cathedral site, and the sacerdotal bigotry enters to and perpetuates by the arrangement for baptism by immersion or pouring is probably a necessity, as far as the bishop and his fellow enthusiasts can see.

But the crowning stumbling block to this comedy, it seems to us, is the attempt to make out of the poor apostles of the meek and lowly Jesus "arrest men." The font is to have figures in relief around the baptismal font, and the description says one is to be the figure of St. Peter, who was a fisherman, which is true. But the attempt to make great men out of the rest of the group reaches the height of absurdity. Thus the bishop in speaking of St. Paul says he is like many moderns who travel extensively. He describes and goes on to say that the figure of St. Joseph of Arimathea represents the modern statesman. He says the figure of St. Matthew is to represent the modern business man, and that of St. Luke, the modern doctor. Thus the bishop goes on to speak of the apostles whose offices are to go on the base of his font as a lot of refined gentlemen, as measured by the twentieth century standard of greatness.

Well, we know St. Paul was an extensive traveler, but we had no idea he was of the same character as those whose money admits of their traveling in princely style, curiously seeking. We never supposed St. Paul traveled for the benefit of his faith, but thought he was a wealthy foot-loose prisoner, traveling third-class, and all for the glory of God. St. Joseph of Arimathea we knew was a man of wealth; but we did not suppose he was a trickster of a statesman legislating for the wealthy ones and for the benefit of the towns. Indeed, we are still firmly convinced that if Joseph really and truly worked as a follower of Jesus, he washed his hands of any such dirty work as our modern statesmen are pledged to—such, for example, as those whose entrance into the Senate is merely "an incident of their railroad career." St. Matthew we thought of always as a "shaver" instead of a banker, who when he went to follow the Savior, gave up his business of usury. St. Luke, of course, is mentioned as a doctor in the New Testament; but we never thought of identifying him with the modern practitioner of refined manners and environments, as the bishop would have us believe by describing him as a Greek. Anyway, we feel pretty sure St. Luke gave up medicine as a lucrative calling when he became an apostle and died a martyr.

No, bishop. You may seek and you may obtain a few paltry dollars for your font and your cathedral from the rich sons of "good society," who may be pleased at your placing the holy apostles in their class. But the fact remains that the apostles were very different men, actuated by very different motives from those you describe. You may "elevate" them, to your own way of thinking, but be sure the poor, the downtrodden, the despised will continue to recognize the saints in their original character, together with Him whom they followed and whose teachings of social regeneration in this world they accepted. They will continue to recognize Christ and his apostles as of their class, as they were, while they will spurn your cathedral and the ministrations therefrom, because you have perverted both the apostles and their master.

It is said that on occasion of a visit of St. Francis of Assisi to the pope, the latter showed him the valuables of the Vatican and remarked that the time had passed when the successor of St. Peter was obliged to say, "Silver and gold have I none." And it is further said that St. Francis replied: "Ah, yes, your Holiness; and the time has also passed when his successor can say to a lame man, 'Rise up and walk.'" Let the authorities of the cathedral of Washington and, for that matter, the whole church leave for the time being when they cannot say to an enlightened proletarian with the voice of authority: "Rise up and walk."

—Wage reductions and prosperity are not contradictions if you can only distinguish between the recipients of each.—Erie People.

WHY SOCIALISTS
SHOULD EDUCATE.

The recent election returns clearly indicate that even the Socialist party is not free from the apocalyptic conditions that disturb other political parties. Gains and losses from different parts of the country admonish us that eternal war and vigilance is the price we must pay for permanent growth, and that it is poor tactics for us to lay too much stress upon the logic of events and too little upon education. While it is true that the evolution of industry, the perfecting of machinery, the centralizing of wealth, the tyranny of the trusts, the usurpations of authority and the violation of the most sacred rights of citizenship are objective lessons and educators of the people, it is also true that these evils are the outgrowth of industrial misadjustments that can not be rectified under an industrial system based upon an ownership that is continually throwing the economic machinery out of gear.

These maladjustments all point to an injustice and an inhumanity that demoralizes and afflicts the social organism to such a degree that conservative men in all political parties are forced to admit that something is fearfully out of joint, and it is the easiest part of the Socialist propaganda to convince a majority that this is an all-aroundly wrong. But how are these wrongs to be righted? There is the rub.

The Socialist believes he has a remedy and in fact is the only individual who has advanced any rational theory of government that will lift society out of its present dilemma—a theory founded upon the scientific principles of social and industrial evolution, but, unfortunately, to explain that theory requires a terminology that sounds like so much Greek to the ordinary mind. The average working man to whom it appeals thinks through his atomists. That is why the capitalist can buy him with a crumb. That is why he is not a student and will not pay the price he must pay in order to grasp the full meaning of the Socialist philosophy, and until he does understand it he cannot be depended upon at the proper time.

We who accept the Socialist philosophy should always bear in mind the tremendous issues involved in the Socialist program and prepare ourselves for the colossal struggle that will try men's souls when the final battle is to be fought and won, and the new era of industrial freedom ushered in. Few of our best Socialists seem to realize the job they have on their hands, the mountains of prejudice to be removed, the dead mass of ignorance to be fitted up, the well-nigh impenetrable citadels of special privileges to be overthrown, the time-serving pulpits, the venal press and all the hired agencies that wealth and privilege can command to strengthen the present system of exploitation and robbery. These obstacles, but themselves like so many mountain barriers, are the highway of a better civilization and how shall we remove them? That is the question.

The question as to how we shall construct the co-operative commonwealth does not trouble us so much now as the question of obtaining the tools and materials to do the building. Yet even if we were possessed with the power of government and attempted to build according to our ideal, we are not sure but that the great mass of the people who intrusted the power into our hands would not take it from us at the first opportunity. Here, then, arises the necessity of continual education and education of the right sort. All principles should be set forth in clear and unmistakable terms and no evasion of the revolutionary aims and purposes of the movement should be tolerated. We should be sure to make it clear that the movement should be ever kept in view and instilled into the minds of the entire party membership. In no other way can we safely prepare for the impending crisis and be masters of the situation when the culminating point is reached. I believe there is no better way to lay broad and deep the foundation of the new co-operative commonwealth than through schools of political economy whereby the fundamental principles of Socialism, as taught by Marx and Engels, could be so simplified as to be readily understood. These schools as well as the teachers and course of instruction, should be under the supervision of the national organization. Each state could conduct its own schools in harmony with the rules and course of teaching adopted by the national organization, and the comrades of every local could select one of their own number to conduct the class and change the instruction when they so desired.

As stated above, nearly all of the people realize that the incessant friction and breaking down of our industrial machinery are due to its faulty construction. This fact alone would make one who had object of instruction and popularity and it would not be long before we would have a greater number of students than all the capitalist universities. The young people are the hope of Socialism. Open their minds to the knowledge which present educational institutions keep from them. Place into their hands the golden keys that unlock the great truths of industrial and social evolution. Get them to reading and thinking, and soon will have an army of Socialists that can always be depended upon. The trade unionists may become good Socialists, but until they realize that they are cowardly scabs and traitors to their class every time they vote a Democratic, Republican, Populist or other capitalist party ticket but very little dependence can be placed upon them. To vote with scabs against a union man for a scab government to be administered to encourage and promote scabbing certainly makes such a voter a scab.—Marshall Derritt, in Alliance of the Rockies.

—Every Socialist ought to know something about the history of the movement. Hilgert's "History of Socialism in the United States" is just the thing to give you this knowledge. It can be had of the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York, for \$1.50.

WHAT SOCIALISM
PROPOSES TO GET.

In one word, wealth for all. Plenty of the good things of life for everybody. A fine house to live in, fine furniture in it and fine laws and trees about it. A table loaded with good things to eat. Abundance of clothing, comfortable and elegant. Opportunity and means to travel all over the world. Leisure to read and play and work. No poverty any more with its filth and sickness and vice. With all these things, Socialism will get the consequences of all these things, a natural human development, large, healthy, noble men and women, a happy, energetic, progressive race.

You say all this is a dream? No, no dream at all, but an immediate possibility. By means of the vast new machinery of this modern world, we can produce wealth enough for all without any trouble whatever. A modern cotton mill in place of the old hand-loom, a modern railroad in place of the old stage-coach, a modern Electric Light Company in place of the old candle-mould, a modern shoe factory in place of the old bench shoemaker, by means of these new appliances a man can produce a hundred or a thousand times as much wealth as in the times of our fathers.

There is no doubt at all about this. Modern inventions have so increased the productive capacity of civilized mankind that all men could have abundance of wealth by working only three or four hours a day.

Socialism proposes to get this abundance for all.

In order to get this abundance for all, we must do something. We are not getting it now. What shall we do to get it?

Socialism proposes something very definite to do. It is this: Take to ourselves these vast new inventions and use them for producing wealth for all instead of producing it for a few.

The only reason we are not all well off now is that a few people own these great modern tools and refuse to let us work at them except when they can make a profit for themselves. The fact is, not more than half of us are allowed by these capitalists, or great machine owners, to work even half the time. If we owned these factories and railroads and mines and mills ourselves and all of us worked at them to produce wealth for our own use and happiness, all the troubles of poverty would disappear at once.

The only thing that lies between us and the promised land is this private ownership of the means of producing wealth.

Therefore, what Socialism proposes to do, in order to get wealth for all, is to take possession of the instruments of Wealth Production and run them for the use of all.—Seattle Socialist.

MORE VICTORIES
IN GERMAN CITIES.

Later returns from the German municipal elections bring news of many Socialist victories. At Hallein in Saxony our comrades have invaded the municipal council for the first time, electing two members. At Heilbronn two Socialists were elected, giving us three representatives there. We elected one at Hirschhausen in Thuringia, at Bruckau near Magdeburg, at Grossenhain, at Biegen-Eichenheim, at Herten in Saxony, and at Stuttgart. At Mittweide we elected three, the bourgeois parties getting six. At Trier we raised our representation from two to three. At Weidenhausen there are now six Socialists in a community. These women look more like an army of beggars than like working people.

According to the statements of some of them, they have many children to support, and their husbands or most of them are without work. They go barefooted and half-dressed in rain. Their faces show long years of moral and physical suffering. Their work from six in the morning till at least six in the evening, and many of them work Sundays and nights. They sort a bag of coffee, 120 or 130 pounds, in twelve or fourteen hours, and receive for this work 15 cents. . . . In view of the fact that a large part of the unfortunate people have yielded to work for 15 cents, the rest of the strikers also went back to work. Coffee laborers are a little better paid in some other parts of the island.

BANDLOW CORRECTS ERROR.

Robert Bandlow of Cleveland requests The Worker to copy the following letter sent by him to the "Ohio Socialist" on Jan. 10 in regard to the allegations of irregularity in election of National Committee and his protest band thereon:

"Editor of the Ohio Socialist: Dayton, O.—Permit me to express enough to say that the charge against ex-Secretary Critchlow to the effect that ballot had not been sent to Local Caucus appears to be unfounded. A letter from Comrade Lavin under date of Jan. 14 reached us this morning, stating that Comrade Altenberg received the ballots and that he wrote an apology to Garner and Critchlow. In justice to Comrade Critchlow I am pleased to state this statement and hope that the investigation instituted by the Local Caucus will shed light on the other apparently unfair methods.

"Hoping that Comrade Critchlow will be satisfied with this declaration, which shows that his charge of falsehood on my part is as groundless as mine relative to his wilful neglect, I am, fraternally yours,

"ROBERT BANDLOW."

—Every reader of The Worker is invited to send in the addresses of such of his acquaintances as may be open to new ideas in order that sample copies of the paper may be sent to them.

—New York is almost as delighted with "Paradise" as it was with the double satire in "Florencea."—Detroit Free Press.

—With Great Britain trying to steal Tibet, Japan trying to steal Korea, Russia trying to steal Manchuria, and Germany trying to steal anything that is not nailed down, China must feel like a minority stockholder in the United States Shipbuilding Company.—Detroit Free Press.

—The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

THERE'S PLenty FOR ALL.

There's plenty for all, but we thwart one another.
And the weak eat the weeds, while the strong eat the flowers;
Let man eye treat man like a man and a brother,
And there's plenty for all in this rich world of ours.
Had the goddess been selfish, no frail goddess blooming,
Would, dying, beguile its perfume to the air;
And the life-giving streams, through our wide valleys roaming,
Would have ne'er spread their riches, nor nurtured a star.

Dark deeds and rare virtues, self-love and negation,
In the wisest of nations have struggling met;
And the page that records the good deeds of the nation,
Is polluted with crime that we fain would forget.

Did men love one another as firm as they hated,
This world were a spot wherein no man could grieve;
Will the palate of 'Woe' with Man's tears ne'er be sated?
Will man ne'er practice to live and let live?

Shall the shadows of darkness grow shorter or longer?
Have martyrs unloved trod the scaffold in vain?
Will brotherly love become weaker or stronger?
The crimes of the past be enacted again?

Fair plenty shall enter the cottager's dwelling,
Laughter will shake his fat sides at his board,
Pleasure to joy all the breeze proudly anointing,
And the wand of old Time change the sere to a lord.

—John Bedford Leach.

BAKERS' UNION.

The eighth annual masquerade and civic ball of Bakers' Union No. 104, which was held on Saturday last at Elmer's Casino, 150th Street and St. Anna Avenue, was a roaring success. Many of the comrades attended the ball of this union, which is one of the most progressive labor organizations of New York. The union at present has to fight several very obstinate local bakers who refuse to recognize the organization and its label and it therefore asks for aid, widely and through accident, the results shown forth would be something appalling. We would be apt to cry out: "Horrible, horrible, most horrible! And so it is a most terrible blot on our civilization. Who knows what talent, what greatness, what future benefactor of the human race, has been lost to the world, through the destruction of those tiny unexplored lines?"

The matter feels the burden of man's misery greater than her frail frame can endure; the father looks with sadness on his little child, and wonders if the waters he receives can be stretched so as to include the necessities of another little life. And amid the hurry and worry of the struggle for a living and the seemingly never-ending round of household drudgery, which would be joy under right conditions, another little being is given to the world or else the risk is taken and in nine cases out of ten another victim added to the list of human wrecks.

Of those who, though able to provide handsomely, still shrink motherhood, regarding it as degrading, in itself of the most sacred and holy obligation I shall not speak, for I regard them as an unnatural type with perverted instincts. And of the young girls, led away by the natural impulse, by men to whom marriage is an impossibility owing to their limited circumstances, little need be said. These, also, swell the ocean whose tide is the blood of the slaughtered innocents.

Let us find out the cause of this wholesale murder. Chiefly it is poverty, the inability to provide. What, in this age of machinery, with our capacity for producing the necessities and luxuries of life increased so many fold? Is there not enough for all? Ah! here is the cause: We produce grandly—we distribute miserably. We must solve the problem of distribution—it is being solved. Society must be reorganized on a scientific basis, substituting peaceful co-operation for virile competition. The fear of poverty, the struggle for a living, and all will be abolished. We must establish a system of industry which will give to every man, woman and child the equivalent of his benefit to society. We must make our homes worthy the name—and put upon the broad shoulders of machinery in a large part the manual labor of housekeeping.

Let us work to hasten the day when this slaughter, which is but one in the catalogue of crimes suffered under our present system, will cease; for the causes which make it possible shall have passed away, with the coming of newer and better conditions.

Dryden, Mich.

—A workman who bets his money on the election of an old party officer loses when he wins.—The Carpenter.

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THE SLAUGHTER OF
THE INNOCENTS.

By Gladys V. Lamb.

If there were any statistics to show the number of babies destroyed annually before birth, widely and through accident, the results shown forth would be something appalling. We would be apt to cry out: "Horrible, horrible, most horrible! And so it is a most terrible blot on our civilization. Who knows what talent, what greatness, what future benefactor of the human race, has been lost to the world, through the destruction of those tiny unexplored lines?"

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Such Is the Charge for Which Rochester Carpenters Are Indicted.

Grand Jury Holds Four Brotherhood Men for Trial as Conspirators for Organizing Strike and Boycott to Increase Pay and Reduce Hours—Sweeping Injunction Against Machinists.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Jan. 28.—The Rochester machinists, I. A. of M. No. 13, are up against a powerful injunction restraining them from "interfering with the business" of the W. P. Davis Machine Company, where a strike has been on for some time against an ingenious system of piece-work and driving by means of piece-work and so-called premiums.

The court holds that the fact of the union being an unincorporated association makes no difference. The union declared the strike and it is liable for acts of its officers and members in carrying out the strike, even though unlawful and in excess of authority.

In the decision of the court it is stated that after the strike was called, eight or ten pickets were appointed by the union, and they with others of the strikers, in all from twenty-five to forty or more, assembled in front of the factory at the hours when the plaintiffs' employees were leaving their work, and hooted and yelled at the employees, and upon their refusal to quit the plaintiffs' employ, called them "scabs," applying to them other opprobrious epithets accompanied with acts of violence and threats of injury if they remained in the employment of the plaintiff.

In the next paragraph it is admitted that the alleged acts of violence were easily restrained and put an end to by the police. Why, then, the need of an injunction? Because under the ordinary form of law, with jury trial, it would be hard to convict men and get them sent to jail for hooting at persons whom they regard with well grounded contempt and calling scabs by their right name. The injunction now being in force, to express your contempt for a traitor to your cause, is contempt of the court and punishable at the judge's pleasure, without any chance of trial by jury.

Food for Thought.

The permanent injunction is issued by Justice Nash of the Supreme Court, Rochester. The Rochester machinists might put in some of their time to advantage thinking of the five delegates of the I. A. of M. to the Federation convention, who violated instructions by voting against the Socialist resolutions and for the re-election of Gompers, thus putting themselves on record for the support of industrial peace, as Shaffer calls it. That Justice Nash is dealing out here and that Governor Peabody is disposing in Colorado.

The Carpenters' Case.

The injunction against the machinists, however, is a small incident compared with the action of the Grand Jury in indicting four members and representatives of the Brotherhood of Carpenters for conspiracy to raise wages, on account of their activity in the strike against the division of the Monroe County District Council of the Brotherhood, which was begun last May.

There is no question of violence, no pretense that it is for assault or riotous conduct that the workmen in question are held, but it is frankly charged that they took part in an organized effort, by means of strikes and boycotts, to get higher wages for the men of their trade than would have been paid under unrestrained competition, that by so doing they injured the business interests of certain employers, and that to combine for such a purpose is an unlawful conspiracy "against the peace and dignity of the people" and punishable by law.

Text of the Accusation.

The bill of indictment is a long and wordy document, written with all the verbosity that a corps of lawyers could provide, and would occupy almost a page of The Worker if printed in full. The substance can be given in a few extracts. It opens thus:

"On the first day of May in the year of our Lord 1903, they did unlawfully, wilfully, fraudulently, maliciously, and corruptly conspire, combine, confederate, and agree together to do and among themselves, and with divers other persons whose names are to this Grand Jury unknown, to COMMIT ACTS INJURIOUS TO TRADE AND COMMERCE and did then and there commit acts injurious to commerce in the manner following, that is to say:

"On the first day of May in the year of our Lord 1903, they did unlawfully, wilfully, fraudulently, maliciously, and corruptly conspire, combine, confederate, and agree together to do and among themselves, and with divers other persons whose names are to this Grand Jury unknown, to COMMIT ACTS INJURIOUS TO TRADE AND COMMERCE and did then and there commit acts injurious to commerce in the manner following, that is to say:

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Capitalist Paper Takes the Name of "Globe."

Loss of Name Can Be Endured, as the Fund for Our Daily Grows Well—Confesses Elect Officers.

It is perhaps needless to announce that the appearance of a daily newspaper on the streets of New York under the name of the "The Globe" does not mean that the long-dead Socialist daily has come into existence. Our daily is still desired and to be worked for.

The "Commercial Advertiser," a thoroughly-going capitalist paper, decided that it needed a shorter name, and in true capitalist fashion it took what pleased it, without regard to what anybody else might be doing or planning.

Shakespeare asks, "What's in a name?" The Socialist daily is counting, but it will be necessary to choose a new title for it.

Meanwhile, the fund grows. The following is the Financial Secretary's report of cash contributions received during the last week:

Local Socialist Club, Cal.	\$11.63
Local (Chicago), Ill.	2.00
Local (Cincinnati), Ohio	5.00
Local (Sellersville), Pa.	1.00
German Branch, Local Providence, R. I.	5.15
T. W. Miller, Goldfield, Cal.	1.50
Local (Jacksonville), O.	2.00
H. A. G. Wilson, Conn.	.25
O. W. Toennies, City	1.00
O. W. Toennies, City	.25
Brooklyn Socialist Club, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00
Local (Kalamazoo), Mich.	3.00
Three soldiers in Old Soldiers' Home, Cal. H. A. Buck, J. A. Williams, and I. J. Dolbins, \$1 each.	3.00
J. Brandt, San Francisco	2.00
R. V. Weaver, Camden, N. J.	1.00
Local (Hudson County), N. J.	50.00
Punch Card 331, Hudson Co.	1.00
Punch Card 332, do.	2.00
Punch Card 333, do.	.25
Punch Card 334, do.	1.80
Punch Card 341, do.	1.00
O. W. Toennies, City	5.00
From Brooklyn Conference	
Clear Makers' Union No. 140, 25 cents assessment.	62.50
Christian Pathfinders	2.00
Clear Makers' Union No. 440, Easton, Pa.	2.00
Clear Makers' Union No. 252, Sellersville, Pa.	1.00
W. Woodworth, No. 634, Troy, N. Y.	2.00
21st A. D. B. 1, Brooklyn, 25 cents assessment.	6.00
Local (Woodhaven), Queens, Kraus, Kaske, R. 68, Bklyn., 25 cents assessment.	6.25
15th A. D. B. Brooklyn	5.00
Previously reported	224.61
Total cash contributions.	\$254.432
The full statement is as follows:	
Cash contributions for week.	\$254.23
Total collections previously reported	14,368.08
Total	\$14,622.31

"PUBLIC BE DAMNED."

That is the sum and substance of the statement of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey.

ELIZABETH, N. J., Feb. 6.—President McCarver of the Public Service Corporation, the trust which controls the trolley systems and a large part of the lighting and heating and power systems of the state, especially of the northern part—has published a two-column statement apologizing for the very bad service it is giving. Some time "in the sweet-by-and-by," he promises that it will be better. The most significant paragraph in the statement is this:

"Unreasonable and vexatious ordinances and impositions can only result in additional delay in the efforts of the company to improve its system, and will, of course, be contested if enacted. Strike of last summer followed by the freeze and the severity of the present winter have added considerably to the strain upon the facilities of this company to discharge its duties to the public. Besides, harsh and intemperate criticism tends to demoralize discipline and weaken the efficiency of the service."

Laws and ordinances and charter provisions are as waste paper in the eyes of the Public Service Corporation. It is a sort of license-magist to insist on conditions that this Holy Alliance of capitalists may regard as unreasonable, and they frankly threaten the public with condign punishment if it dares so offend. Let them take their time. If you hurry them, if you find fault with them, they will teach you manners by still further delay. And they will appeal with confidence to the courts, to the corporation attorneys whom unthinking workmen's votes have put upon the bench, to make and enforce laws at the capitalists' beck and call.

Will the voters of New Jersey stand for this? Or will they respond with a vote for the only party that stands for public ownership and operation for the public good without any profit to non-producing capitalists?

TRENTON EMPLOYERS FORM ASSOCIATION.

TRENTON, N. J.—The Manufacturers and Employers' Association of the City of Trenton was formed here last week with 175 representatives of the industrialists of Trenton. The association is patterned after the employers' associations of Chicago, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, New York, and other cities.

One of the objects avowed by the organization is to establish an employment bureau, "through which willing workmen may always obtain immediate and profitable employment," according to the official statement. Of course, these gentlemen do not mean what they say. They will not give any workman employment except when and where they can make a profit out of his labor. And it is well understood that the real function of the projected employment bureau is that of a strike-breaking agency.

Some of the Wrongs Against Which Colorado Coal Miners Are Striking.

Eight-Hour Law, Voted by the People, Set Aside by Courts, Disregarded by Companies—The Company Houses, Company Stores, and Company Doctors Three Agencies of Extortion—Schools Also Dominated by Mine Owners.

TRINIDAD, Colo., Jan. 21.—The grievances of all the mining camps in this district are practically the same. The miners have to deal with the same masters. These grievances are, but repetitions of all that have existed in other parts of the country, and that but a very moderate expression in the formulated demands which the striking miners have presented. To take as authority the word of those who have had experience in similar strikes, in no mining camps elsewhere has there been worse slavery than here in Colorado.

The specific demands of the strikers relate only to their work in and around the mines and scarcely touch the hundred and one details of Indian tyranny which surround and intensify the struggle for existence.

The miners ask for an eight-hour day. That eight-hour day is theirs by right of law, by the expressed will of the majority of the citizens of Colorado, and is denied them because it has been set aside as "unconstitutional" by a corporation-owned court.

The Company Stores.

The miners ask also that wages be paid every two weeks instead of monthly and that all payment in scrip be abolished. Under the present system each workman is paid at the end of the month, if anything is coming to him, with a scrip check. During the month, if he needs any money for the necessities of life, he receives it at the office in the form of scrip notes, for which he buys his goods of the Colorado Supply Company (the company's store), he receives the face value. If he chooses to trade elsewhere, the notes are worth 10 or 12 per cent less than their face value. Consider that the Colorado Supply Company charges much higher prices than outside stores, and you will see why the miners refuse to submit any longer to this imposition. The scrip method of payment was formerly universal in mining regions all over the country, but has been nearly abolished in the mining states east of the Mississippi through the power that the workers have gained by their organizations.

The 20 per cent increase in wages is little enough to ask, but unless the payment in scrip is done away with, at the same time in the mine not only will the miners be unable to cash their scrip, but they will be forced to leave the mine as soon as they can in return for the labor they have received.

The same old system of forced assessments takes place here as in other parts of the country. One dollar a month for medical attendance, 50 cents for blacksmithing, 25 cents for maintaining school advantages, etc., and these assessments the miner must subtract from his pay, even if he has been in the mine not more than half a day during all the month.

According to the legal standard of weight in the United States, 2,000 pounds constitutes a ton. Hereafter the companies in Colorado have required for a ton, or that each workman shall give to the company 25 per cent on each ton he mines. The miners now demand that the companies comply with the law.

Life Sacrificed to Profit.

The last on the list of the strikers' demands is perhaps the most vital. It is that the company take adequate measures to insure a plentiful supply of fresh air. There are laws in every mining state requiring precautions in regard to ventilating fans, the storing of dynamite, etc., and yet the mine disasters, which occur almost daily, show the ruthlessness of mine owners in breaking laws which are contrary to their interests.

Such are the demands of the strikers. Yet they give voice to only a few of the wrongs the miners and their families are forced to endure.

I have been unable to find any activity uncontrolled by the companies. From the birth of the child, for which the services of the company doctor must be employed, oftentimes unwillingly, through school and church and daily labor, through sickness and death, the grip of the company is never relaxed.

The companies own almost entirely the miserable houses. They own the land upon which the houses stand. Instances have been told me where their agents have ordered tenants not to put poles or anything on the ground outside of the tiny huts, saying that the rent was paid for the houses, but not for the land.

The companies own, as well, the school system. Out of the school assessment of 25 cents from each miner, they generously build schoolhouses, in which they put teachers chosen by school boards composed of superintendents and mine bosses, with perhaps a moderate proportion of members of the Citizens' Alliance, the anti-union organization. The teachers teach from books prescribed (and charged each year) by the school board, and paid for by the miners. This custom of changing textbooks yearly is one of the innumerable grafts of the companies. Another that pays well is that of the saloon business. In four different camps under control of the Victor Fuel Company two saloons pay each as license to the company.

ANTI-BOYCOTT BILL IN OHIO.

Proposes to Make Boycotting and Picketing Penal Offenses.

For Form's Sake, Blacklisting Is Also Included, It Being Well Known That, Under Federal Court Decisions, This Provision Would Be a Dead Letter.

The Cleveland "Citizen" of last week publishes the text of a bill which has been introduced in the Ohio Legislature and was to have been quickly "railroaded" through, as follows:

"An act to prohibit boycotting, unfair lists, picketing or other interference with the lawful business or occupation of others, and to provide a penalty therefor."

Section 1. It is enacted by the Legislature of Ohio: That it shall be unlawful for two or more persons to conspire together for the purpose of preventing any person, persons, firm or corporation from carrying on any lawful business within the State of Ohio, or for the purpose of interfering with the same.

"Sec. 2. That it shall be unlawful for any person or persons to go near to or loiter about the premises or place of business of any person, firm or corporation engaged in a lawful business, for the purpose of influencing or inducing others not to trade with, buy from, sell to or have business dealings with such person, firm or corporation, or to picket the works or place of business of such other person, firm or corporation for the purpose of interfering with or injuring any lawful business or enterprise. Provided, that nothing herein shall prevent any person from soliciting trade or business for a competitive business."

"Sec. 3. That it shall be unlawful to refuse or circulate any notice of boycott, boycott cards, stickers, dog-eared, or unfair lists, publishing or declaring that a boycott or ban exists or has existed or is contemplated against any person, firm or corporation doing a lawful business, or publishing the name of any judicial officer or other public official upon any blacklist, unfair list or other similar list because of any lawful act or decision of such official."

"Sec. 4. That it shall be unlawful to force, threats or other means of intimidation to prevent any person from engaging in any lawful occupation at any place he or she sees fit."

"Sec. 5. That it shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to maintain a blacklist, or to notify any firm or corporation that any person has been blacklisted by such person, firm or corporation, or to use any other similar means to prevent such persons from receiving employment. Any person, firm or corporation violating any provision of this act shall be liable to a fine of not less than Fifty Dollars, nor more than Five Hundred Dollars, or to be imprisoned not to exceed sixty days, or both, at the discretion of the court."

"That all laws and parts of laws in conflict with the provisions of this act be and the same are hereby repealed."

The terms of the bill are very similar to those of the so-called Anti-Boycott Law of Alabama, adopted last year. It is well understood, of course, that, if it becomes law, only those sectors directed against boycotting and picketing by workmen can be enforced, and so it is quite safe to include blacklisting by employers among the acts forbidden, as the law will certainly be a dead letter so far as concerns them. Not only is it hard to get evidence as to blacklisting, and not only are the judges and state attorneys generally under the influence of corporations, but the United States courts have held that blacklisting is lawful, that it is among the constitutional rights of employers, so that no state law forbidding it would hold good.

If the Ohio workmen had sent even a few of their own class to the Legislature on the Socialist platform, such legislation against Labor would have no chance of success.

THE MASTERMINDS OF THE STRIKE.

The beef carriers of the firm of Nelson Harris in New York City are on strike against a reduction of wages. Their case is in the hands of the officers of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. Class-conscious workmen will refrain from accepting employment from this firm until the strike is settled.

THE SEAMEN'S FALSE "FRIENDS."

Workmen of New York and vicinity are warned against being deceived by agents or publications of the so-called Seamen's Friends Society. That attractive name disguises what is really an ally of the Atlantic Seamen's Association—the employers' organization—in its fight against the Seamen's Union. Its employment bureau in this city is an out-and-out scab agency. That is the way, it may be remarked, with most "friends" of Labor. Labor must depend upon itself, not on self-styled "friends."

BUTCHER WORKMEN ON STRIKE.

The beef carriers of the firm of Nelson Harris in New York City are on strike against a reduction of wages. Their case is in the hands of the officers of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. Class-conscious workmen will refrain from accepting employment from this firm until the strike is settled.

Read this and pass it on.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run. Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them. Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

WHAT THE MASTERS THINK OF THEIR FOOLISH SLAVES.

The National Association of Manufacturers claims to have a membership of 3,000. As the dues are \$50 a year, this would give it a fund of \$150,000 to wage its war on trade unionism and Socialism. The N. A. M. has a press bureau which regularly sends articles misrepresenting and attacking the labor movement to all newspapers. David M. Parry, the organizer and president of this capitalist union, and also president of the kindred "Citizens' Industrial Association of America," goes up and down the land denouncing the trade unions, pointing with alarm to the Socialist movement, and seeking to awaken his fellow capitalists to the danger that is upon them. The National Association of Manufacturers publishes, from its New York office, at 170 Broadway, a large, illustrated fortnightly periodical, called "American Industries," as well as tracts and pamphlets against Socialism and trade unionism.

This paper in a recent number quotes the following from the New York "Commercial Advertiser":

"At the latest test of party voting strength in the state at large—the gubernatorial election of 1902—Odell, the Republican candidate, polled 655,150 votes; Coler (Democrat), 655,308; Hanford (Social Democrat), 23,400; Maudslayi (Prohibitionist), 20,400; and De Leon (Socialist-Labor), 15,883; a total vote of 1,350,151."

"The voting members of the trades unions had a strength more than half as great as either Odell's or Coler's and seven times as great as that of the Social Democrat and Socialist-Labor candidates combined. But they made no practical use of it at that state election of 1902. They never do. At the presidential election in 1900—when Eugene V. Debs, an ideal labor leader within the conception of most trades unionists, was the candidate of the Social Democrats against McKinley and Bryan, the members of the labor organizations in this state scattered their votes between the two leading candidates, and Debs polled only 12,800. About the same thing happened in 1897 at the New York city election, again in 1901, and still again last month. The 'labor vote' counts for little or nothing in this city or state."

"And yet can we wonder if it were a power in the electorate? Newspaper 'organ' openly bid for it. And scores and hundreds of timid employers are moved to vote against their own convictions—their own consciences—from a fear of offending organized labor and its candidates! What supreme folly!"

"The 'labor vote' here in New York, as elsewhere, is wholly without shape or substance or entity. It is the hollowest of all the hollow mockeries that have ever been devised to make fools of themselves."

In its issue of Jan. 1, "American Industries" has a similar editorial, headed "Labor Inipotent in Politics," the purpose of which is to show the politicians that they should not be frightened into concessions to the working class by fear of the labor vote. It declares that the American people will not fight out their political controversies on the basis of class-consciousness, and says:

"Organized labor, so far as voting power goes and for political purposes generally, is a scarecrow pure and simple. For the average man determines his political course upon a given occasion, as in any kind of election, not by reason of his affiliation with a labor body, but from his general political affiliations, which are just as much deeper and stronger for him as the political predictions of the average man are something more than social whim. In other words, a Democratic unionist would nearly always vote the Democratic ticket, because his Democratic affiliations and principles mean far more to him than any other considerations of any nature. It is the same way with the Republican unionist. Here, questions of tariff or free trade, or the centralization or decentralization of government, of the tendencies or supposed tendencies of the times, would have more to do with it; in fact, would have nearly everything to do with it."

"A Massachusetts governor voices an eight-hour bill and is triumphantly re-elected. An Ohio Mayor votes a union labor ordinance in terms that

you cannot get away from; and this people of his town will see him through. The labor vote, in Massachusetts cities have lost."

Is not this enough to bring a black of shame to the cheek of every thoughtful workman who voted the Republican or Democratic ticket, and to cause new determination to awaken his sleeping brothers in the breast of every Socialist?

The men of the class which the National Association of Manufacturers represents are the masters, and the men whose political foolishness and impotence they deride are virtually their slaves. The capitalist masters say to the worker come, and he comes; they say go, and he goes; they decide when the worker may work and when he shall not work; they overwork him and underpay him, and seek in leisurely luxury on the profit of his unpaid labor. The profit-making machinery of modern industry breaks the child on the industrial wheel, drives the poor girl to labor her body for bread, works all the life and energy out of men and then throws them out on the human scrap-heap to starve and rot. In the fierce struggle between Capital and Labor the worker finds that all the political powers that be are willing and eager to ignore the constitution, issue infamous injunctions, and commit military murder. All political infamy and graft, all misery and crime, all strikebreaking militia and injunctions, all impudent charity and governmental tyranny, spring from the legalized robbery of the workers by the capitalists. All modern life centers in the struggle between the producers and the parasites for the product.

And yet, in the face of all this tragic truth, the profit-masters do not fear to openly ridicule the political blindness of their wage-slaves.

The poverty and want of the workers are enough to bring constant realization of the fact that they are robbed every day; and yet they, who have the power to sweep all before them, vote, not for the full product of their labor, not for the disposition of the capitalist, but for free trade or high tariff, "free silver" or gold standard, this or that foreign policy, or party prejudices, and so the masters make merry, and mock, and laugh in the face of labor, and tell their politicians to go the limit as the foolish working people will stand for anything.

Stand up and be counted, you free American Jack-asses who voted the old party tickets! Don't you feel proud and smart when the bosses, whose slaves you are, write you down as fools for voting their tickets?

To the new Socialist and the timid sympathizer of little faith, the blindness of our brothers who sit in darkness may be discouraging, and at times seem almost hopeless. Not so to the one who has the earnest, expectant, patient born of an appreciation of the historical perspective and who considers the weight of tradition and years of misdirection. To the Socialist who thoroughly realizes the present power of misinformation, misdirection, and perverted thinking wielded by the capitalist press and other agencies of capitalistic training, the superficially slow but really sure and steady increase of the Socialist vote is radiant with hope and certainty of victory. Many of the men whose foolishly ineffective voting amuses Mr. Parry are so busy making a scanty living that they have little time to read or think; they are so overworked that their intelligence suffers. They learn slowly, but they learn inevitably and inexorably. They are learning fast enough to alarm Mr. Parry and the National Association of Manufacturers, and slow enough to learn well. Mr. Parry's alarm, which can be read between the lines of his sarcasm, should encourage all Socialists. Mr. Parry's indignant ravings are a sign that the end of the dark night of capitalism is near.

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written on one side of the paper; words
should not be abbreviated; every letter
should be clearly legible, and not in
cursive. Communications which do not
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will not be returned unless accompanied by
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1891.

In the State of New York, on account of
certain provisions of the election law, the
Socialist Party is officially recognized under
the name of the Social Democratic Party, and
its emblem is the Arm and Torch, as shown
above.

The Socialist Party (or Social Democratic
Party) in New York should not be confused
with the so-called Socialist Labor Party.
The latter is a small, ragged, moribund
organization, which bitterly opposes the
trade unions and carries on an abusive cam-
paign of slander against the real Socialist
movement, which supports the trade unions.
THE SOCIALIST VOTE.
The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic
Party) of New York has shown its growing
power in the State election. Its growing power
is indicated and its speedy victory fore-
shadowed by the great fraction of its vote
as shown in these figures:

1900 (Presidential) 67,730
1902 (State and Congressional) 220,762

**SEND THE FULL QUOTA TO THE
CONVENTION.**

The election of delegates to the na-
tional convention is now coming be-
fore the party all over the country.
It is a matter that should be con-
sidered with the utmost care. If it be
in any way possible, every state
should be represented by its full
quota of delegates.

It is true, this involves a considerable
expense. If the convention of
1901, when it framed the constitution,
had anticipated the growth of the
party membership that has actually
taken place, it would probably have
made the funds of representation one
to every hundred, instead of one
to every thousand. But if our
membership has grown far beyond our
expectations, involving a larger con-
vention than was probably intended,
proportionately has grown our ability
to bear the expense.

A full attendance is desirable for the
effect it will have upon the outside
public. We should show the people
that we are capable of big things. A
gathering of two hundred and fifty or
three hundred delegates, elected on a
membership basis, will in itself be an
impressive demonstration.

Again, a full quota from each state
is desirable for the reason that some
states will certainly send their full
number, and that it is to be wished
that the convention should fairly and
proportionately represent the mem-
bership in all parts of the country.

Yet again, a full attendance is to be
desired for its effect upon the party
itself as a demonstration of strength
and enthusiasm, as well as for the
benefit to be gained from so large a
number of comrades coming from all
parts of the United States, meeting
and getting acquainted with each
other and learning from each other.

Finally, and above all, a full attend-
ance is to be wished for because the
convention will have very important
work to do and it will be better done
if many of the best minds in the party
are brought together than if only a
few participate.

The work of the Chicago convention,
if we forecast rightly, will be quickly
constructive, not noisy, not contro-
versial, not factious, not negative, as
is so often necessarily the case. We
have made a great deal of experience
in the last three years. The results
of that experience are to be embodied
in the choice of candidates, the phras-
ing of the platform of that is to be
at all changed, the remodeling of the
constitution, and other actions of the
convention next May. Let us all be
well represented. It will be worth
while.

against workingmen that gives Roch-
ester that claim? If so, the millionaire
should not wait even to be asked. A
city whose rulers so disgrace it de-
serves the added stigma of a Carnegie
library.

FOR THE FIFTY THOUSAND.

The safest and surest way to make
converts to the principles of Socialism
is by inducing those who are not yet
Socialists to read our literature. While
we may and undoubtedly do differ, as
to the relative merits of the various
propaganda mediums now published,
we believe all can agree that The
Worker is in certain respects the lead-
ing Socialist weekly. First, because
it treats the question from a scientific
standpoint and is fearlessly uncon-
promising; second, because it gives the
party news in condensed form more
completely than any other paper; third,
because it is published by an associa-
tion of workingmen for propa-
ganda purposes and not for profit, and
every cent of its expenses is spent in
improving the paper in every respect.

It is also a fact that The Worker
has nowhere near the circulation it
should have. This has been true in
the past, and we are sorry to say, is
still true. But we hope that the effort
now being made will be met by the
comrades everywhere with renewed
activity in pushing the circulation at
least to the fifty-thousand mark.

Many of the comrades who formerly
gave us every assistance have trans-
ferred their efforts to local or state
papers. This, of course, is as it should
be, and we certainly are not desirous
of discouraging them in any way. But
it will probably be generally recog-
nized that the movement needs a cen-
tral organ of expression, a paper that
has a general circulation, both for propa-
ganda purposes and for party work.
With the growth of our party in the
past year and a half such a paper
ought to have a circulation of a hun-
dred thousand and should reach every
village and hamlet in the country.
Were this the case, the result would
be made evident when next the votes
are counted.

We are again trying actively to in-
terest the comrades, East, West,
North, and South, in pushing the cir-
culation of The Worker to where it
should be. With a little help we shall
have the desired fifty thousand read-
ers and the paper will be for the first
time on a really sound financial basis,
which will permit of improvements in
the future.

Will you all help us just a little?
A little from each comrade will work
wonders. Make up your mind to send
us at least one subscription next
week. If this is done our subscrip-
tion list will be doubled in one week. If
you can get more than one, so much
the better.

Let us suggest a few "don'ts" to
you:

Don't say "yes" to all that has been
said here and then sit your paper
away.

Don't wait for the other comrade to
do something, but set him a good ex-
ample by doing something yourself.

Don't agree that The Worker ought
to have fifty thousand readers at least
and then not get on.

Don't make the good intention an-
swer for the deed.

Don't forget to send in at least one
new subscription next week.

Don't stop at one, but get more, if
possible.

Don't be afraid of swamping us with
mail. We will get out from under it
somehow, no matter how often you
let us see your handwriting.

In an interview printed in the Bos-
ton "Globe" last Sunday, Bishop Pot-
ter twists the declaration that labor
produces all wealth into the form,
"wealth has been created by the work-
man's muscular force, that is, by the work
of the day laborer." That, he says, is
"ridiculous," and on the ridiculousness
of that statement he bases a severe ar-
gument of the labor movement.

Certainly such a statement is ridicu-
lous, too ridiculous for anyone but
Mr. Morgan's pet bishop to invent. No
Socialist ever said that all wealth was
created by manual labor. No trade
union ever based its demands on such
a theory. The Right Reverend gentle-
man never found such a statement in
a Socialist book or a labor paper or
heard it from a labor agitator. But
having no argument to meet the claims
of the labor movement by right logic,
the bishop has to resort to the cheap-
est trick of controversial foggery, to
distort his opponent's proposition and
then, replying to the distorted propo-
sition, pretend he has answered his op-
ponent.

One hundred and six years ago the
people of this country were on the
point of taking up arms against the
enforcement of just such a law as
John Turner is now held maker. The
Allen and Sedition Laws, forced
through Congress by the old Federalist
party, proved the undoing of that re-
actionary body. Will not the work-
men of the United States in 1904 show
the same spirit their predecessors
showed in 1794 and doom to oblivion
the suppressors of free speech?

A capitalist daily up in Connecticut,
the New London "Day"—a very dark
and violent fellow call a "Gitty" Day it
is, too—remarks about John Turner:
"That man Turner means mischief
and nothing else, and that being the
case the authorities would be recom-
mend to their TRUSTS they fail to take
time by the forelock and send the man
out of the country before he has had
time to mislead some people, as such
a man is sure to do, for it seems that
there can be no doctrine so foolish or
wicked that a few cannot be gained
as converts."

Current Literature

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THOMAS
JEFFERSON. By Thomas
E. Watson. New York. Appletons.
1903. Cloth, 324 pp. Price, \$2.50.

Mr. Watson complains, with a good
deal of reason, that American history
and biography has been written by
Northern men under the influence of
sectional feeling; Northern men have
been "writing at" the South and
Southern men, so far as they have
written on such subjects have
"written back at" the North. A life
of Thomas Jefferson, as one of the
very foremost men of the Revolution-
ary period and that immediately fol-
lowing it, which shall be free from
sectional bias is, he thinks, a
sine qua non. You are another. You
complain of the tyranny you must ap-
prove. Have you seen the tyranny the
workmen in the trades endure? Is your
tyranny, you again. Your
tyranny is theirs over again. Tell me
the meaning of the strike and I will
tell you the meaning of the lockout.
Tell me the meaning of the simplest
act of injustice and I will tell you the
meaning of the most glaring act of
injustice. The same power that lays
the laborer off his job gave you notice
to quit the stage. You think you are
the victim of an isolated conspiracy.
You are the victim of a general wrong.
Your particular experience is not a
complete story. It is only a chapter
in a story. You have set your joy
apart from the general joy. You have
set your sorrow apart from the gen-
eral sorrow. You have called your
grievance, his long chapters a process of
putting in particular, his patches of
"fine writing" irresistibly suggesting
silly imitations of Carlyle and of
Dickens—great authors, both, but dis-
tinguished by the obvious "padding"
to make up so-and-so many pages in
such-and-such a volume, and finally the
use of such barbarisms as "the fewest
number" (p. 22), "refugee" as a verb
(p. 233), and "oppressive" as a noun
(p. 233). Again, the book would be
more satisfactory if its writer had
thought it worth while to give the de-
finite citation of his own authorities
half the space he has devoted to out-
cries against the unfairness or inaccu-
racy of William Eleroy Curtis, Wood-
row Wilson, Sydney George Fisher,
Henry Cabot Lodge, Theodore Roose-
velt, and other Northern writers; less
than a dozen times he refers to his
sources and then sometimes on trivial
points and never by page.

He is assuredly a source of information.
We do not doubt him more than any
other, but in reading history we want
to be shown. The apparent animus
in his remarks on the slave trade
(pp. 14, 15), in which he skillfully com-
bines bitter contempt for the Yankee
traders with a sophisticated justification
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NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 14, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

LABOR VS. CAPITAL.

Which Will You Vote Into Power?

Special Election in the Twelfth Congressional District of New York City Where Edward Cassidy is the Candidate of the Social Democratic Party Against Corporation Hireling Cockran.

A special election will be held in the Twelfth Congressional District of New York City on Feb. 23, to fill the seat in the House of Representatives vacated by the election of Representative McEllen to the office of Mayor of New York.

The candidate of the Social Democratic Party is Edward Cassidy, a member of Typographical Union No. 6, and one of the most active and popular Socialist workers in the city. Courtney Lemon has written a leaflet for the campaign and fifty thousand copies will be distributed throughout the district, and an active Socialist propaganda carried on.

The leaflet reads as follows: Mr. McEllen, the Representative from the Twelfth Congressional District, has been elected Mayor of New York. A special election is therefore to be held on Feb. 23, to elect a new Representative to take his place in Congress, and represent the Twelfth Congressional District in the House of Representatives at Washington, where the laws are made.

Whenever there is an election most of the workmen vote either for the Democratic party or for the Republican party. Both these parties are controlled by HIGH men, and their candidates are rich men, or lawyers hired by the big corporations and TRUSTS, or men who get a luxurious living out of politics. The men who BORN the Republican and Democratic parties are the very same men who OWN the factories and shops in which you work and the houses in which you live and the street railways on which you ride and the gas companies which charge you big bills for poor light.

Every day in the year you are ROBBED by the very same men who rule the political parties that you vote for on Election Day. In order to make a living you have to get a job from these men who own the factories, work-shops, street-car lines, stores, gas plants, and all the industries in which you are employed when you can get work. All the time you work long hours for small pay, and by your labor great fortunes are made for the capitalists who only "work" is thinking up new schemes to skin you. The wealth that you produce at your work is the property of YOUR BOSS. In return for doing the work of the world, the working people get nothing but wages enough to keep them alive and in shape to do more work. You are robbed at the place where you work; and when you go home, standing up in the street-car, you are robbed again by the street railway monopoly, which takes the most of your nickel for profits and pays small wages to the overworked men who run the cars; and when you get home the landlord is waiting for you to take another slice out of your wages as rent for the privilege of living on the land which he has stolen from the people; and when you want light the Gas Trust gets its graft; and when you go to buy what you need the other trusts charge you a monopoly price.

The men whom you work so hard for and to whom you pay such high wages are the same men who are the candidates of the two old political parties, and rule the nation, and decide what laws shall be passed and what the government shall do.

The Congressmen at Washington do not really represent the people of their districts; some of them represent the Railroad Trust, some the Beef Trust, some the Coal Trust, some the Sugar Trust, some the Oil Trust, some represent other trusts, and ALL of them represent the interests of the CAPITALIST CLASS. It is the same with the Senators, and the President, and the Judges, and all other public officials. They all belong to the class which rules the people. They frame all the laws in such a way as to suit the capitalists, the rich, the robbers, the tyrannous trusts, and whenever the working people, who voted for this sort of thing, get discontented and go on strike they issue injunctions against them and call out the soldiers to shoot them.

The secret of the power of these capitalists is their PRIVATE OWNERSHIP of the things with which you must work and without which you cannot live—their private ownership of the machine with which you make the things, the factory in which you work, and the land on which you work, and all the means of producing and distributing wealth. The working people made all this capital and the working people are the ones who operate it to make more wealth, but it all goes to the capitalists because they own the GOVERNMENT and use it to protect their private ownership and to make laws which further enslave the working people and give the capitalists the political power and the legal right to take from the working people that which they produce.

And the result is that the idle capitalists live in beautiful, big houses, wear fine clothes, drink rare wines, eat the best dishes, smoke costly cigars, go to Europe, and have all the luxury and pleasure and power; while the working people, who produce it all, live in dark tenements, wear ragged clothing, eat bad food, sweat in summer and freeze in winter, and work

AN APPEAL TO TRADE UNIONS.

Why Unionists Should Be Socialists.

State Committee of the Socialist Party of Connecticut Issues a Letter to Labor Organizations Urging them to Study the Principles of Our Movement.

The Connecticut State Committee of the Socialist Party is sending out the following letter to the trade unions of that state: To the Officers and Members of ——— Union.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:—We wish to call your attention to the fact that the trade unions of America in carrying on their fight for higher wages, shorter hours of labor, and better conditions of employment, are met at every point by the power of the government, city, state, and national; and that not only is the legislative and executive power used to foster the business interests of employers, but it is also directed against trade unions to resist their struggles for better conditions and to destroy their organizations.

Rarely a strike takes place that the power of government is not brought into service against the strikers, by the injunctions of courts and imprisonment of active men on trivial charges, or by the use of militia or regular army to overawe and subdue the strikers. These acts have been perpetrated by representatives of both Republican and Democratic parties and should make it plain to all workmen that the government, administered by both these parties, is always controlled by the employer class, and that nothing but oppression can be expected so long as the public officers elected by the votes of workmen are either capitalist employers, or lawyers and professional politicians, dependent on the patronage of capitalists.

The Democratic and Republican parties are controlled absolutely by such politicians, who maintain a solid party organization or machine. It is useless to expect to gain any concession from them, as they are directed by capitalist interests with the express purpose to deceive workmen into voting for the party which is controlled by independent action by the working class that the power of government can be turned from a tool for the oppression of labor into a bulwark for the defense of labor.

To organize the working class into a political party for protection of the interests of labor, and to transform the present system of wage-slavery and production for profit into a co-operative system of production, under which workmen can enjoy the fruits of their labor, is the object of the Socialist Party.

We wish you to understand that the Socialist Party is as distinctly a labor organization as your union. It is not a combination of men having political ambitions to serve. It is not controlled by men having business or capitalist interests to serve. It is the political arm of the working class, controlled by a membership whose interests are devoted to the service of trade unionism.

Brother trade unionists, the political power does not ignore you—it threatens to destroy you. You cannot afford to ignore the tremendous power which your numbers give you on the political field.

Fraternally, The State Committee of the Socialist Party of Connecticut.

W. M. E. WHITE, Secretary.

The hirelings of Hearst, the Democratic demagogue, are sending letters to unions urging them to start Hearst clubs. They are sent out by a contracting and building capitalist in Bridgeport, C. H. Botford. It is hoped that the above letter will counteract the Hearst appeal and lead unionists who have not yet done so to investigate the real working-class political party.

SOCIALIST TICKET IN DARTY.

DARTY, Pa.—The Socialist tide is rising in this place. The party has a full ticket in the field and is sparing no pains to put Socialist principles before the people in their true light. Our candidates are as follows: First Ward: Council, Robert M. Green, Jr.; School Director, Charles Staley; Real Estate Assessor, Whitaker Parker; Judge of Election, Robert Simpson; Inspector, James D. Gravenor.

Second Ward: Council, James D. Thornton; School Director, Walter A. Welsh; Real Estate Assessor, Frank Knight; Judge of Election, John Black; Inspector, Edward Carr.

Third Ward: Council, George W. Beecher; School Director, Samuel Wilson; Real Estate Assessor, Andrew H. Mayes; Judge of Election, Frank Derr; Inspector, George W. Waidle; Auditor, John Troupe, Jr.

A CHALLENGE TO DAVID M. PARRY.

Will He Dare to Meet A Socialist In Public Debate?

Courtenay Lemon, in Behalf of the State Committee of the Social Democratic Party of New York, Challenges the President of the National Association of Manufacturers, Which is Carrying On a Systematic Fight Against Socialism and Trade Unionism.

The following challenge has been sent by registered letter to David M. Parry, whose bitter attacks on the trade unions and the Socialist movement have recently attracted so much attention: Mr. David M. Parry, President of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Sir:—As President of the National Association of Manufacturers and of the kindred Citizens' Industrial Association of America, in the periodical and pamphlet literature distributed by these organizations, and at meetings in various cities, you have repeatedly and emphatically denounced the labor movement, both in its economic and its political manifestations.

You have pointed to Socialism as a menace to American institutions and an utterly evil movement, dangerous to humanity and threatening the progress of the race; and you have contended that the interests of Capital and Labor, rightly understood, are identical.

Therefore, the State Committee of the Social Democratic Party of New York, which is the state organization of the Socialist Party of America, at its regular meeting on Feb. 9, decided to challenge you to a public debate on Socialism; and I was chosen as a representative and your opponent in said debate, and was instructed to issue this challenge in behalf of the State Committee. I would suggest some simple and direct statement of the question, such as "Resolved, That the Socialist movement stands for the interests of the working class and the progress of humanity," or "Resolved, That the interests of Capital and Labor are identical," you to take the affirmative on the latter proposition.

However, we are perfectly willing that you should draft the resolution yourself, and frame it in such a way as to give yourself the affirmative or the negative as you choose. We offer to pay the rent for Cooper Union or any other large hall in New York City, and let you choose any date which is convenient to you, or when your business will bring you to this city.

What Socialism Menaces.

You may well be alarmed, Mr. Parry, at the growth of the Socialist movement. It is indeed a menace to those "American institutions" which allow the gentlemen of your capitalist class to grow rich on the unpaid labor of the toilers. It is dangerous to vested interests. It threatens your wealth, and it threatens the "legitimate profits"—what Socialists call your "profits from labor." It is based on the proposition that the interests of Capital and Labor are absolutely and unalterably opposed, and that the capitalist must go that private ownership of the means of production must give way to national, social ownership.

You, Mr. Parry, as a capitalist, will well be alarmed at this movement, and its steadily and increasingly rapid growth in this country. The Socialist vote has grown to at least a quarter of a million in the last congressional elections; many powerful trade unions have endorsed the principles of Socialism; labor papers all over the country are becoming its advocates; and, as you yourself have pointed out to your fellow capitalists, the trade unions are becoming saturated with its doctrines.

At Least an Open Foe.

It is but to be expected that as a member of the class which grows wealthy on rent, interest, and profit, you should view this movement with malignant alarm. And although absolutely antagonistic to your whole class, Socialists cannot help according some measure of admiration to the frankness with which you denounce this attack upon the interests of Capital. The larger capitalists, such as Mr. Hanna and his trusty fellows of the Civic Federation, pursue quite a different policy; they seek to disarm labor by the appearance of concession, to avoid the social revolution by hypocritical pretense of conciliation and good-will toward those whom they are robbing. You, on the other hand, denounce the trade unions and the Socialists with unrestrained warmth and with no more hypocrisy than is absolutely necessary and inevitable to one in your position. For this, you deserve whatever measure of respect is due a good fighter. An avowed enemy who openly declares war is certainly better than a treacherous foe who pursues the same ends in the guise of benevolence and good will.

You claim that the campaign of the National Association of Manufacturers against Socialism is a campaign of education; and that by information and discussion the working people of America can be brought to see that the revolutionary principles of Socialism are wrong. Therefore, as you think the Socialist movement of sufficient importance to devote your time to trying to check its growth, we suppose you will not be unwilling to set the people right on this question by exposing Socialist fallacies in public debate.

Should you accept this challenge you will be shown the utmost courtesy and any fair conditions agreed to should you fail to do so the natural conclusion of the public will be that you cannot maintain your position against Socialist argument.

Socialists believe that the industrial system which you are so busily engaged in defending is founded upon monstrous injustices and that it is the fundamental cause of everything evil in human affairs; that conditions which drive little children into the factories, conditions which drive poor women into houses of prostitution, conditions which drive strong men to suicide, conditions which necessitate impudent charity and governmental tyranny to maintain them, have become intolerable; and that they can be eradicated only by the abolition of private property in the means of producing wealth, and the transformation of the capitalist system of private ownership of the means of production into the Socialist system of the collective ownership of the means of production.

WHICH THREATENS THE AMERICAN HOME?

In 1890, out of every thousand families in the United States, 522 lived in rented houses, 134 owned their homes subject to mortgage, and 344 owned them free.

In 1900, after ten more years of capitalist rule, out of every thousand families 535 lived in rented homes, 147 owned their homes subject to mortgage, and only 318 owned them free.

In 1890, out of every thousand farmers, 284 were tenants; in 1900, the proportion of tenant farmers had risen to 353 in the thousand.

Is it the coming of Socialism, or is it the continuance of capitalism, that threatens the American home?

(To verify these figures, turn to the Abstract of the Twelfth Census, page 28 and page 218.)

BOSTON PRINTERS ARE ON STRIKE.

Book and Job Compositors Are Learning by Experience that There is a Class Struggle.

BOSTON, Feb. 7.—The compositors of Boston have been on strike since last Monday, and during this short time there are many who have opened their eyes and can see as they have never seen before that there is really a class struggle, that the interests of Capital and Labor are not identical.

The demand of Typographical Union No. 13 is a very conservative one, considering the fact that Boston is one of the lowest scale cities in the United States, and that the rents and cost of living are higher than other cities.

Another feature of the present struggle is that the printers are out "on strike to enforce verbal promises made to the union three years ago; when the last agreement was signed; however, this is nothing new, as neither verbal nor signed agreements are of any avail whenever the capitalist class choose to renege.

The key to the whole controversy rests with an ex-member of No. 13, Captain J. S. Cushing, of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston, whose members are known to have great individual capacity along the spiritual lines (not of the Mother Eddy variety). Cushing has been the aggressive leader in organizing the United Typothetae, the master printers' union.

To write a history of the methods used by this particular crafty capitalist in manipulating both the union and the Typothetae to his individual advantage would require more space than would be profitable at this time. He has evidently been a close student of the Machiavellian philosophy, using the expediency of sophistry, but at the same time carrying concealed weapons, ready to exterminate opposition, if necessary.

"Printers should be better paid," and such City Federation methods have won him many an easy victory. Now he is in a real battle and the question comes, "Will he stand fire?"

No doubt there are several printing houses that will be unable to weather the strike and will be put in the hands of receivers; but J. S. Cushing & Co.'s large plant at Norwood will be prepared to gather shekels at the expense of others' failures.

The Typothetae have called on the Democratic-Republican police force of Boston and have four policemen in uniform and several "plain clothes men" picketing the headquarters of their own employment office, although not over thirty printers have assumed a desire to go to work under the present starvation scale.

Another factor, which makes the situation most peculiar is the mortgage held by the American Typefounders' Company and the Paper Trust on the printing plants, which indicates a tendency to justification in the printing business of Boston.

The number of men now out will soon be re-employed, as the demand for first-class printers is good. Meanwhile, the union is amply able to take care of those who are out.

SLANDERS OF THE CAPITALIST PRESS.

So Far from Interfering with Funerals, as Charged, Striking Drivers of Chicago Declared a Ten Days' Truce on Account of the Iroquois Theater Fire.

A number of capitalist papers throughout the country, following the lead of the Chicago "Chronicle," are telling their readers that at the time of the Iroquois Theater horror the striking teamsters and drivers of that city refused to man vehicles to carry away the injured and the dead and that in the days following they interfered with the funerals.

That this is a lie out of the facts that the Chicago "Inter-Ocean" and "Tribune," on the morning after the fire, printed a "proclamation" issued by Albert Union, General Organizer of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, declaring a ten days' truce in the strike of the livery and undertakers' drivers and calling upon all members of the union to do all in their power, regardless of wages, to serve the public in this crisis. This statement was also printed from Associated Press dispatches by several New York papers, which shows that all papers having that service were in possession of the facts, and that those which have accused the drivers of refusing their aid in the emergency following the fire have been guilty of deliberate falsehood.

The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutions of government—George Washington.

—I say again, as I have often said, that if the world cannot hope to be happy in its work, it must relinquish the hope of happiness altogether.—William Morris.

THE DEBT OF UNIONISM TO THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE.

By Charlotte Teller.

The mine owners and mine managers of Colorado who want to be free of the unions and unbridled by their growing power have joined the Citizens' Alliance.

More keepers and small proprietors of restaurants who do not like union clerks, union waiters and union labels, have joined the Citizens' Alliance. Lawyers, doctors and ministers, who know nothing of the labor movement and still believe the newspapers print the truth in regard to it, have joined the Citizens' Alliance.

Even some former union members have given up their cards and have joined the organization which has its branches or locals in twenty-three towns of the state, and claims in Denver alone a membership of 14,000.

The Citizens' Alliance is a secret organization, a "union against all other unions," as Herbert George, the chief organizer in Colorado, says. The rank and file of the membership are only half conscious of this aggressive side of the organization. Most of them believe that it is purely defensive and protective. A few believe that it is philanthropic and that its real aim is the one expressed in the constitution, viz.: "To promote the stability of business and the steady employment of labor, whether organized or unorganized, by encouraging friendly relations between employers and employees, and to discourage lockouts, strikes and boycotts and all kindred movements which savor of persecution."

But in Colorado at the present time there is no organization which has such aggressive agitators in the field as this one. Nor is there an organization whose membership has so much to lose in being hoodwinked by its leaders. Nor is there any secret society which boasts as does the Alliance of having split in this instance two of its members to the Governor and told him that riot and fear ruled Telluride and that the presence of the militia was necessary to protect life and property—not one word of which was true. It is said that the mine managers in this instance were as much surprised as the union men. But they recovered from the surprise sufficiently to take advantage of the military protection and opened their mines with non-union men. The Alliance it is, then, in this Colorado town, as in several others, that has made the trouble and has cost the taxpayers of the state hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The Citizens' Alliance of Victor sent resolutions to the United States Senate asking that Senator Patterson be unseated because he had asked the Judiciary Committee to investigate the present anarchy and disorder created by the Alliance and supported by the militia.

Besides doing these things it has so clearly marked the line between those for an union and those against union that it is doubtful whether they can ever be obliterated. It has put its "blue card" in the stores whose proprietors belong to it, and in so doing it has aided unionism.

Hereafter in Colorado there will be no excuse for any boycotting by the union. The Citizens' Alliance has cut off a certain part of almost every community and said: "This is a fraction opposed to organized labor." Such a statement, whether made in words or deeds, will do more to throw organized labor back upon itself and upon its supporters than any amount of propaganda within its own circles.

A common enemy does more to unite those in opposition than any enthusiastic leader can possibly do.

Already, out of the strife between the Alliance and the unions have sprung a half-dozen union stores which will all be put on an strictly co-operative basis after the strike is settled. At present the stores in Cripple Creek, Telluride and Victor are financed by the Western Federation of Miners and are, under the present circumstances, commissary stores.

But the plan, as outlined by the Union Co-operative Mercantile Company, is this: "A corporation should be organized, the shares of stock of which would be owned by unions and union men. The business should be conducted on strictly union principles. Purchasing certificates should be sold to all union men for the sum of \$1.00. Each purchasing certificate should entitle the holder, his wife and members of his family under age to purchase goods at what should be called the 'Co-operative' price."

This "Co-operative Price" should be determined upon by the manager, by adding to the actual cost price of the goods the freight charges and a percentage just large enough to cover expenses of conducting the business. Thus the holder of a purchasing certificate would be getting the necessary of life at a lower cost than same would be sold him by other stores, while the volume of business would produce a profit for the holder of stock in the corporation.

In this one co-operative, 8,000 of the 10,000 shares have already been sold at a dollar a piece, and the foundation of a great enterprise is well begun. The banks and wholesale houses are making it as hard as possible for the undertaking, but in so doing they are but making the movement more radical and throwing more business opportunities in the way of these stores; for, should they succeed in retelling, what is to hinder them in wholesaling? The private secretary of J. C. Craig, the President of the State Federation of Alliances, told me that wholesalers belonging to this Alliance would not be so ready to sell to union stores. He said, when asked how it could be prevented: "We know how to compel them." The Citizens' Alliance is coercive. As another instance: A tradesman in Pueblo told me that friends of his—a butcher and a grocer had been compelled to join the Alliance. The Citizens' Alliance has a black list, and if a tradesman has once put himself on the side of the organization which stands for the destruction of unionism he must obey the commands of the leaders, or be "out" with both sides; there is no neutral ground.

The Citizens' Alliance of Colorado is doing a remarkable service to the cause of unionism and industrial co-operation. It makes it imperative that every person, thinking or acting, should take sides. Many who have become disgusted with the hypocrisy and its practices go over to the other side, whereas, without this climax of dissemination they would have continued to consider themselves neutral.

Yet, for all its energy and feverish activity against the opposition, the Alliance is inherently self-destructive. It demands continuing co-operative effort from a group of natural competitors. Suppose, for instance, two competing grocers in a town of 2,500 people join the Alliance and by so doing give up all their labor patronage. At the end of six months there must of necessity be a closer fight between them than ever before. Now let a difference arise in some Alliance meeting, they will naturally be antagonistic. They will be thinking, or sooner or later, they will realize, that the Alliance has ruined their trade.

Sooner or later, too, the rank and file of the membership will come to a realization that they are acting as the claws of a cat's paw for the large corporation and the capitalists whose self-interest gives the animus for the whole movement. Aside from the natural business competition which will break up this organization when the first flush of animosity toward labor is past, there will be an inevitable crash whenever a political campaign assumes shape. Even at the earlier meetings it has been hard to keep politics out of discussion. The issues raised by the strikes and by the Alliance will be made political issues, and then there will be a new alignment. The growing political consciousness of the unions is one of the things which the Alliance feels it must combat.

But the disintegration of the Citizens' Alliance in Colorado will not take from the unions what their organization has already given—THE EXPRESSION OF CLASS-SOLIDARITY AND THE IMPETUS TOWARD NEW CONQUESTS. Pueblo, Colo.

EUROPEAN DIAMOND WORKERS.

The executive committee of the recently founded International Federation of Diamond Workers has elected as president a prominent Socialist of Amsterdam, Henri Polak; the treasurer is Jef. Groener of Antwerp, and the secretary is G. Letinsky, whose address is Passage de l'Union 7, Paris, France.

The diamond workers in their first international convention, recently held in Paris, voted to try to obtain the introduction of a working day of nine hours in all countries. The first report of such efforts comes from Antwerp, where the demand has been unanimously refused by the employers. There will probably be a strike.

—What difference is it to us whether we are ruled by a king that gets his throne through hereditary transmission, or by a President that gets his office from votes cast by men that get their politics through hereditary transmission?—Ohio Socialist.

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VOL. XIII.—NO. 47.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 21, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

FOR THE DAILY.

Important Meeting to Be Held Next Thursday.

Association and Conference Will Have Joint Session at 64 E. Fourth Street on Feb. 25—Growth of the Fund—Remember Washington's Birthday.

On Thursday evening, Feb. 25, in the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, New York, will be held a joint meeting of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association and the New York and Brooklyn Daily Conferences, according to call agreed upon by those three bodies, the order of business including: 1. A general statement of the standing of the Association by Comrade Hillquit; 2. Adoption of a new name for the proposed paper (see account of the taking of the name "Worker" by a capitalist paper) and legal steps for its protection, report by Comrade Hillquit; 3. Date of issue; 4. What is organized to run a daily paper successfully, Comrade Jones.

Financial Secretary Julius Gerber acknowledges the receipt of the following money for the Socialist Daily Fund since last report:

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.
Local Newport, Ky. \$3.00
Punch Card No. 403, P. Schuler, Youngstown, O. 3.00
Local Grant County, Ind. 1.00
Punch Card No. 225, Welschbach, Moline, Ill. 2.00
Local Essex County, N. J.50
Chas. Seidel, Paterson, N. J.50
W. Hunnacek, City, N. J. 1.00
Arbeiter-Massenchor, Greenville, N. J. 1.00
G. Laubenstein, Marlboro, Mass.50
Hannan Kuebelbeck, Toledo, O.50
E. H. Brumhall, Camden, Me. 1.00
G. D. Van Pelt, Dixon, Cal. 1.00
R. J. Swenson, Dixon, Cal. 1.00
A. J. Collier, Dixon, Cal. 1.00
J. M. Brooks, Fargo, N. D. 1.00
Previously reported 2,653.41

Total \$2,678.01
Deduct \$50 from Local Hudson Co., N. J., reported under this head, but actually in payment of pledge \$50.00
Corrected total \$2,628.01

PAID ON PLEDGES.
N. Peterson, Hudson Co., N. J. \$1.00
W. G. Hagood, Knoxville, Tenn.25
Morris Green, Newark, N. J. 1.00
Henry Green, Newark, N. J. 1.00
Brooklyn, City 1.00
H. H. New, Newark, N. J.50
W. Goldwater, Brooklyn, N. Y.25
Morris Ninkovskiy, Brooklyn, N. Y.25
N. H. Tutman, Brooklyn, N. Y.25
A. Ninkovskiy, Brooklyn, N. Y.25
Jacob Ogluskiy, Brooklyn, N. Y.25
Morris Polack, Brooklyn, N. Y.50
Edw. Schmyerson, Brooklyn, N. Y.50
Previously reported 5,327.45

Total \$3,355.45
Add \$50 from Local Hudson Co., transferred from "cash contributions" 50.00
Corrected total \$3,385.45

RECAPITULATION.
Cash contributions for week \$42.00
Paid on pledges for week 8.00
Previously collected 14,722.85

Total collections to date \$14,773.45
The 50 cents credited last week to Ab. Chagnon, should have been credited to Ab. Casanova.

At the last meeting of the New York Conference, E. Wolf presiding, new delegates were seated as follows: Young People's Socialist Democratic Club of Yorkville, Mrs. Michael; Social Democratic Women's Society, Mrs. J. Murdoch; S. A. D. J. Chalk. The following committees were elected: To serve at the Labor Festival on Feb. 22—Geo. Brown, R. Trysell, E. Wolf, W. Adler, J. Chalk, Wm. Edwards, Mrs. A. Kammerer, Miss H. Silverstone, Mrs. J. Murdoch, W. J. F. Hanemann; to represent the Conference at meetings of the Board of Management, Wm. Edwards, C. J. Langguth, W. J. F. Hanemann. It was reported that the 1,240 tickets for the festival of Feb. 22 had all been distributed; all tickets given out through this body should be accounted for to it at the meeting of Feb. 23.

At the last meeting of the Brooklyn Conference the Financial Secretary reported receiving the following sums in response to the circular letter: Carpenters No. 237, Allegheny, Pa. \$1; W. R. D. R. P. Br. 35, Bridgeport, Conn. \$5; Br. 3, Yonkers, N. Y. \$5; Allegheny, Pa. \$5; Br. 4, Providence, R. I. \$2; Br. 46, Passaic, N. J. \$2; Br. 44, Woodside, L. I. \$2; Br. 1, Paterson, N. J. \$1; Br. 21, Manchester, N. H. \$1; Br. 7, Syracuse, \$10; Br. 86, New Bedford, \$5; Br. 48, Guttenberg, N. J. \$1; Br. 30, Troy, \$5. The Secretary was instructed to write party speakers in Brooklyn, requesting them to visit unions. Brooklyn comrades can get tickets for the labor festival at Grand Central Palace on Feb. 22 and for the Heron lecture-recital at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum on Feb. 23. Julia Bychowski, 107 Vandervelt avenue, near Myrtle, or on Sundays at Worsley's Hall, 315 Washington street, and Buffalo Hall, Buffalo avenue and Fulton street.

—Any local or club that holds regular weekly lectures or public meetings should subscribe for a weekly bundle of The Worker. Five copies a week for a year cost \$1.75; ten a week, \$3.25; twenty a week, \$7.50; fifty a week, \$12.50. They can be sold at one or two cents a copy, covering expense and even netting a little for the literature fund.

LAW AGAINST TRUSTS VOID.

Iowa Judge Says It Is Unconstitutional.

State Law Restricting Combination Set Aside as Being Class Legislation—One More Example of Futility of Half-Hearted Old Party Program.

One more example of the futility of trying to "curb the trusts" or "destroy the criminal trusts" by such half-hearted legislation as the old parties dare to advocate—laws that recognize the right of capitalists to take profits out of the product of labor, but attempt to regulate the process of exploitation—has been given in Iowa during the past week.

The Iowa legislature, in response to a strong demand from workmen and farmers, passed a law forbidding persons or corporations to enter into any agreement to fix the price of any article of merchandise or commodity.

Three railroad companies—the Illinois Central, the Rock Island, and the Great Western—whose lines run into Waterloo, agreed in fixing a demurrage charge of \$2 for every twenty-four hours a freight car was delayed in excess of forty-eight hours.

The roads were prosecuted under the Anti-Trust law. It being held that the service for which this charge was made was a "commodity" in the sense of the law and that, in agreeing on a uniform charge, the roads had violated the law.

On Feb. 11 Judge Platt of the District Court rendered a decision in favor of the companies and against the law. The decision does not turn on any technicality, but declares the law fundamentally unconstitutional, as being class legislation.

Perhaps the producers of Iowa, who are a majority of the voters, will learn at last that it is necessary to act in a party of their own, without respect for the "vested rights" which are really vested wrongs, and to elect, on a strictly partisan basis, not only legislators, but also judges and executive officers who will uphold and enforce frank class legislation for the emancipation of the producing class from the economic power of the exploiting class.

HAD TO RETIRE.

Renegade F. O. R. Gordon, Censured by the Convention of His Craft Organization.

An incident, of which the press dispatches gave no record, occurred at the national convention of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, which was held at Cincinnati in January, and at which shoe workers from all parts of the country were in attendance.

F. O. R. Gordon, who has become notorious for his apostasy from socialism, and his servile advocacy of capitalist class interests, was at the convention as a representative of the Lynn "Item" and the Boston "Herald," both noted opponents of Socialism and the trade unions.

One of the first acts of the convention was the passage of a resolution which deprived Gordon of the privileges enjoyed by other press representatives so that he had to leave the press table, although he is a member of the Shoe Workers' Union. Gordon remained in the city throughout the session, however, and sent such false and misleading reports of the convention to his papers that a resolution of censure upon him was passed during the closing hours of the convention.

In striking contrast to this treatment of Gordon was the action of the convention in its service to the shoe workers' organization and who was filling a lecture engagement in Cincinnati at the time, the full privileges of the convention.

Gordon sneered in one of his press reports at the number of "red buttons" in the convention, with the result that there was an unprecedented demand for the Socialist emblem afterwards, and the delegates who did not wear one were in a bad way.

All of this teaches that one need not wait for a Benedict Arnold to die, to see him get his just deserts.

CARPENTERS MAY

LEAVE A. F. OF L.

Local 427 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, of Omaha, Neb., has adopted resolutions calling for the withdrawal of that organization from the American Federation of Labor, an action which seems not unreasonable in the near future and for which, regrettable as it will be in many respects, the sole cause will be the timid and reactionary policy of the Federation administration. The proposition of Local 427 is based particularly on the action of President Gompers in asking the Central Labor Union to use its influence to bring the mill employees of that city into the Wood Workers' Union, thus creating a dual organization there in the wood-working trades, and in putting upon the list of salaried officers of the American Federation of Labor the editor of a local paper which is far from being regarded by the central body as a scab paper.

—Confession of a man's private property is no more than confession of a man's opportunity to produce private property. Workers' Gazette.

WESTERN MINERS ASK FOR HELP.

Delegates in New York to Appeal to Unions.

Colorado Strikers Are Bearing the Brunt of Battle Against Capitalist Tyranny, and Should Be Supported by Eastern Brothers.

Two representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, Thomas W. Bogan and Robert W. Reed, are now in New York, with credentials from their organization, for the purpose of soliciting funds to assist the Colorado miners in carrying on their brave fight against the organized mine owners. The city address of the delegates is 107 Lexington avenue, and they will be glad to receive any suggestions or information that friends may be willing to give them for the better success of their mission.

The Worker has during the last three months given extended reports of the labor conflict raging in Colorado. The strike, so far as it affects the miners themselves, is a sympathetic strike to help the smelters to get the eight-hour day. An eight-hour law for miners and smelter employees was once passed, under pressure from the labor organizations, but was declared unconstitutional by the courts.

The people of the state, by an overwhelming majority, then adopted a constitutional amendment sanctioning such legislation. The Republican-Democratic Legislature, under the influence of the Standard Oil mine-owners combination, then refused to re-enact the law. This is the greatest of the strikes. The Mine Owners' Association, with its servile tools, Governor Peabody and General Bell in friend and pet of President Roosevelt's) have declared their determination to wipe out Socialism and "Moyerism." Moyer is president of the Western Federation and "Moyerism" means unionism. By military force all common and statute law has been set aside, the most revolting outrages committed, and practical despotism set up, for the benefit of the Rockefeller and their partners in capitalist profit and crime. Arbitrary arrests have been made, working women insulted, workmen's children abused, law-abiding men forcibly deported from the region, publication of the unions' views suppressed, and press dispatches censored as in Russia.

Yet the miners have held out. So strong is the feeling of working-class honor growing that, even by all means of suppression, misrepresentation, force and fraud, the mine owners have been able to get very few scabs.

Now the men who are bearing the brunt of this battle against capitalist tyranny in the West appeal to their brother workmen in the East to give them financial as well as moral aid. The W. F. M. has never been slow to help others. It did its full share to help the anthracite strikers of Pennsylvania in 1902, although they belonged to a different organization.

Its generosity and loyalty to class interests should be recognized in the day of its need. The unions of New York and vicinity, of whatever trade, and whatever their affiliations, should respond liberally to its call.

It may be noted that the Colorado State Federation of Labor has sent out a circular letter asking for contributions for an eight-hour fund. This is not a fund for the assistance of the strikers, but it is to be used in agitation for an eight-hour law. Funds for the maintenance of the strike would be sent, not to the State Federation, but to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, Wm. D. Haywood, 625 Mining Exchange Building, Denver, Colo.

At the beginning of the controversy the Typothetis announced to the public through the press that they intended to "fight fair." This status was maintained for one week, when writs were issued for damages, and sheriffs began hunting for the union funds in order to attach them. They succeeded in finding in one of the banks about \$300 out of a supposed fund of \$25,000, which the union has been collecting for a long time. Unions having funds in banks during strike should profit by this experience and withdraw to some safe place, as bank officials have been known to betray confidence, especially where the interests of Capital against Labor are involved.

The Civic Federation Man.

The cause for the Typothetis is Louis Brandeis, a member of the Civic Federation, George Fred Williams is attorney for the Typothetis Union. The original bill or prayer for injunction was diplomatically thrown out of court, but allowed to be amended through the court's suggestion in such a way as to be of the character that the court evidently desired. The court remarked that the original bill was "disorderly and careless," and after allowing amendments, remarked that it was "unintelligible and disconnected"; but nevertheless, in issuing the temporary injunction, the courts sought to use every means available to protect the "rights vested in capital"—present and future profits—and to establish a condition whereby "consent" action and "arbitrary combination" might be prevented, holding that the only lawful motive for a servant leaving his master to be individual interest and advancement for himself, and not to assist others.

The Boston "Herald" says: "The feature of the temporary injunction restraining the payment of strike benefits is stated to be without precedent in this state, if not in the entire country. The defendants purpose taking the case to the full court, if the injunction in the form ordered is made permanent."

The present status of the injunction is that whenever a pressman is asked to run a scab form, he individually gets a dialike for work and leaves.

This weakness of "Antonomy." This struggle, like all war measures involving tactical operations, has demonstrated that ability to mobilize forces quickly is essential in destroying the enemy's defenses and means of recruiting supplies or forces. This struggle has been a convincing experience that the form of organization known as "industrial" is superior to "trade autonomy," and that the syndicalist strike and proper use of the ballot through the class-conscious, revolutionary Socialist Party is the only way out of the present war.

The bulk statement that the Miners' Trust is composed of over seven thousand five hundred persons would carry the impression that it is quite a democratic institution. But when we find that over one-fifth of these members hold less than one per cent of the stock, we realize that the alleged wide distribution of ownership is a matter of deep, not of reality.

TRADE UNIONS MUST NOT PAY STRIKE BENEFITS.

So Says Massachusetts Supreme Court at Request of Master Printers' Association.

Unions of the Printing Trades in Boston Enjoined Not to Use Funds to Support Members on Strike or Do Anything Else that Might Make Job Printers' Strike a Success.

BOSTON, Feb. 12.—Judge Loring, in the Supreme Court, issued an injunction to-day in the book and job printers' strike, to remain in force until the matter can be heard before a master in chancery.

The order is issued at the plea of the United Typothetis of America, the employers' organization, from inducing or inciting pressmen or press feeders in the employ of the plaintiffs to strike.

A second portion is directed against both the officers and the members of the four local unions, who are ordered to pay no strike benefits to any person who has left his employer for other reasons than to better his own condition.

Judge Loring's order is practically an injunction against sympathetic strikes.

The unions affected are Boston Typographical Union No. 13, Printing Pressmen's Union No. 67, Franklin Association No. 18, and the Allied Printing Trades Council.

Refusing to handle forms which had been set up by non-unionists, twenty pressmen and feeders stopped work at the Rockwell & Churchill Printing plant to-day. This action was taken in face of the issuance of a temporary injunction by the Supreme Court, but the strikers interpret the court order as restraining a combination or conspiracy to assist the striking composition, and not as stopping them from going out because of conditions in their own shop.

Class Solidarity Growing.

BOSTON, Feb. 12.—Class solidarity among industrial lines in the printing trades of Boston is one of the signs that gives encouragement to a Socialist. The fight between the Boston Typothetis and Typographical Union No. 13 is in its third week. The developments of the past week are the temporary injunction, the voluntary refusal on the part of the pressmen and feeders to handle scab forms, and the failure of the bosses in getting strike-breakers.

The pressmen and feeders have in recent instances resisted their position and refused to handle "strike-breaker" forms, in spite of the arbitration agreement signed by President Illegatus of the International Pressmen's and Assistants' Union for the period of seven years, wherein the "open shop" is recognized. This contract, if lived up to, would have been of great assistance to the master printers. It is claimed by the pressmen that sixteen out of the twenty-one master printer members of the Typothetis have already in numerous instances broken the contract by underhanded business practices or refusal to pay the scale and infringement of shop rules.

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THE EFFECT OF MACHINERY.

Illustrated in the Glass Industry.

Under Private Ownership and Control for Profit, the Result of Inventions Is to Increase Wealth and Power on the One Hand and Intensely Struggle and Hardship on the Other.

Never has the introduction of a new machine more quickly or more thoroughly revolutionized the conditions of an industry than in the case of the general adoption of the automatic mechanical devices which are being installed in many parts of the country for working glass.

Until recently the glassblower was perhaps the most perfect type of the "aristocracy of labor." He received very high wages and considered himself safe from the effects of the competitive system; and so far was this idea justified by the conditions then prevailing—no high was the standard of skill necessary for the trade and so difficult was it for novices to get in—that the glass blowers' organizations were able to treat on equal terms with the companies or employers' associations of their trade in regulating all the conditions of their work.

The work was, indeed, destructive to health, but the scale of wages was so high that the glassblower was able to get a home, provide for his old age, and retire at a comparatively early age.

The New Machines.

The glassblower, until very recently, as did the printer of twelve or fifteen years ago, scoffed at the idea of machinery invading his trade and bringing him under the competitive law of wages. But the machines which have now been perfected and have been adopted by the larger companies are far-reaching in their effects and almost in a moment the glassblower finds himself alone of the powers and privileges he so recently enjoyed.

The machines displace with the highly skilled artisan almost entirely, and do a great deal more work quite as well.

The center of the glassblowing industry has been shifted from one state to another as a result of the machine's adoption. Not only have shops and warehouses been carried over the state line, but whole communities have been impoverished by the change.

The progress which has been made in the invention of machinery for the manufacture of glassware is remarkably shown in an apparatus which is now in operation in the city of Toledo, Ohio. It is termed an automatic bottle machine, and really merits the title, for the reason that it does away with human aid in all the processes from blowing to finishing. The machine is the result of a series of experiments extending over a period of four years and it is stated that in all nearly \$120,000 was expended in perfecting it. As a result it has reached such a degree that one man can tend three machines, which will actually do as much work as one hundred and fifty skilled employees.

Work Done Automatically.

The machine is mounted upon a traveling platform, which allows it to be moved at the will of the operator by means of an electric motor with which it is connected. Adjacent to it is a tank furnace as well as an annealing oven. Although the apparatus appears somewhat complicated, its operation is comparatively simple. Taking the molten glass from the continuous tank which serves it, it gathers its glass, forms the blank, transfers the blank from the gathering to the blow mold, then blows the bottle. Each machine has a capacity for gathering and blowing nine pint or quart bottles every minute.

As fast as blown the bottles are delivered to the annealing oven by means of an automatic conveyor adjusted so that it takes away the product as fast as manufactured. As is well known, the majority of bottles now manufactured by hand require extra process in order to finish them at the lip and neck, and are used for furnaces heated by oil or gas are used. This mechanical bottle-maker, however, finishes the ware so completely that none of the extra labor referred to is required, as the blank bottle comes from the gathering to the blow mold with lip and ring already finished. As it can be worked continuously, a single machine has a capacity of nearly 15,000 bottles every twenty-four hours.

It is expected that the machines will soon be adapted to the making also of fruit jars and other glass vessels.

Calculations that have been made, comparing production by means of the new machines with production by human blowers and finishers, show that the labor cost, aside from cost of machinery, material, etc., is as cents a gross in the one case against \$1.30 a gross in the other.

Machine Window-Glass Makers.

A recent dispatch from Hartford, Conn., says: "There is no longer any doubt that the window-glass blowing machines have superseded the human blowers in all the plants of the American Window-Glass Company and that they are a great success." The company has just started ten more mechanical blowers in addition to six in the No. 3 plant here which have been in operation since September. This will give the Hartford City plant of the trust the largest number of mechanical blowers of any factory west of Pennsylvania. Each machine has an output equal to that of eight blowers, eight gatherers and eight snappers. The sixteen machines have 105 pots capacity and the displacement of

BEHIND THE COLORADO COAL STRIKE.

By Charlotte Teller.

The strikers in the Southern coal fields of Colorado is but a drop- curtain behind which a certain capitalist drama is being played, with Rockefeller in the leading role. Or, if you please, the coal strike is a mask which the interested corporation holds up before their faces when they turn appealingly to public sentiment in Colorado and demand sympathy.

Every union man in the country should try to look under the drop-curtain or behind the mask and decide for himself what is the real situation that necessitates this dramatic diplomacy.

The strike which was begun Nov. 9 was a strike of 10,000 men for an 8-hour day, a 2,000 lb. instead of 2,400 lb. ton, a checking man, a bi-monthly pay-day, a 20 per cent. increase and the abolition of the scrip system.

These demands are not unfamiliar to the union man. Nor are they unfamiliar to employers. All of them were made about that time on the mine operators in the Northern coal fields of the state and were acceded to; and the men there went back to work. The mine managers for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the Victor Fuel Company and some small properties owned by individuals, refused even to meet the representatives of the miners or to consider a conference. They refused to do this before any strike was declared.

This refusal gives color to the theory, which I believe is correct, that the corporations most interested in this district did not want to avoid a strike, but invited it, and are now determined to prolong it until they decide to open up the steel works at Pueblo and begin to work there on a new basis.

When Rockefeller has accomplished his purposes—no one can tell what they are in detail—he will say: "Let there be light in the furnace," and soon thereafter his representatives will meet the representatives of the U. M. W. of A. and some decision will be reached. Then the other operators concerned in the strike will follow suit, for, after all, they do not make the money for Rockefeller's financial life. This is only a prediction, but it should rouse the interest of those who believe that every commercial game holds its lesson for the workers.

This game is played on Wall street, but the results affect the 10,000 miners in the Trinidad district and the 5,000 employees of the steel plant at Pueblo who were thrown out of work months ago. It affects the families of these 15,000 men, and all the tradespeople who look to them for patronage; it affects the length and breadth of Colorado.

It was just a year ago that the fight was on between John Gates and J. C. Osgood for control of the C. F. & I. Company. Osgood won. Then, early in the summer, Rockefeller, who seems to have a hand in the management of the management, began to "hammer" the stock of this property.

As a result of his hammering the stock fell from somewhere above 80 to 17. Then agents of the Oil King began to buy it in until he was in possession of a controlling amount. He became dictator in the corporation and his secretaries could study the books and report upon the deficiencies, the disorganized condition of the actual workings and the possibility for retrenchment and economy.

All this might seem uninteresting, of little value to the man who gets wages, were it not for the subsequent happenings, which may or may not have a

324 skilled workers and almost an equal number of common laborers will follow.

Displacement of Labor.

"Few persons have any conception of the vast saving these machines have over the human blowers, the highest skilled workmen in the world. At a labor cost of not to exceed \$20 in the blowing room the six machines at factory No. 3 made 1,444 twenty-foot rollers and more than 100 pieces in two shifts of seven hours each the last week. When cost this made more than 250 boxes and represents more than the work of three skilled workmen for a full month, the limit fixed by the union being 192 boxes. Six machine tenders and six snappers, three of each for each shift, with wages of \$1.50 a day, or \$18 for all, made this amount of glass. The wages of a blower would have been, with his gatherer and snapper, at least \$50."

"The difference in wages of more than \$300 on 250 boxes of glass shows how even with its large investment in machinery the American can turn out glass by machines cheaper than can be done by human blowers at anything like present wages, even after allowing 8 per cent. on the investment for the machines. The American operated the 118 pots capacity here last year with human blowers. This year it employs none."

Under Capitalism and Under Socialism.

The results of the introduction of these new machines are two: On the one hand, that the great glass manufacturer, the window-glass blowing machines have superseded the human blowers in all the plants of the American Window-Glass Company and that they are a great success. The company has just started ten more mechanical blowers in addition to six in the No. 3 plant here which have been in operation since September. This will give the Hartford City plant of the trust the largest number of mechanical blowers of any factory west of Pennsylvania. Each machine has an output equal to that of eight blowers, eight gatherers and eight snappers. The sixteen machines have 105 pots capacity and the displacement of

close connection with the investigation of the books. Three of the best-known and most influential officials of the company are believed to have committed suicide—Jerome, Cas, and Keeler—and all within a few weeks of each other. The press of Colorado with one accord touched but lightly upon the suspicious circumstances of the "sudden deaths," and the friends of these men refuse to admit the suicide theory—an outsider. Probably the mystery will never be cleared, but its significance will deepen in the minds of men as they learn to study these great games wherein human life is sacrificed both at top and bottom.

Soon after these deaths the silent and swift-moving hand of the great invisible in New York grasped the steel plant at Pueblo and began to shake out employees. And here again there was an example of the uncertainty of any job whether it be that of treasurer of the corporation—the political boss of the hold-over—that of the colored man in the yard gang. Superintendents were discharged without a day's notice, expert engineers, long in the service, were thrust out as ruthlessly as the clerks in the company store. No one was told to hope for a re-opening of the works.

Rockefeller began to reorganize the steel industry of Colorado. That was all, until the strike in the coal fields of this company forced itself on the public notice. Then came the opportunity of throwing the burden of the depression (consequent upon the closing of the plant) on the shoulders of 10,000 strikers, who probably won little of the game that was being played. The public was informed that the steel plant was shut down because of the coal strike. And there you have a most interesting example of the way in which capital can use even the hostility of labor to benefit itself.

Very likely the smaller corporations whose property lies close to that of the C. F. & I.'s in Southern Colorado do not see that the game is being played in this way. They may honestly believe that Rockefeller is on his dignity, and is simply against the union demands, and they may be perfectly honest in their hatred of "dictation from John Mitchell," but it is evident to the close observer that there is a play going on behind the curtain and another face behind the mask.

You may read of the feudal conditions in this district, where the miners are taxed 25 cents a month by the company for the public school! Where the company favors the outsider and charges its employees 25 per cent. more for goods; where the deputies kill innocent men; where injunctions are always favorable to the corporations and the coroner always gives a verdict which will not give an opening for damage suits against the companies. You may read all these things and still only understand the one-half of the situation among the coal miners of Trinidad. To understand the inside as well as the visible forces at work there, you must study the stock reports which relate to steel. You must watch the developments in the latest enterprise of the new Steel King. And even then, unless you have second sight, you can make no clear analysis of it all, nor any prediction as to the future, but you will have gained a clear idea of the ruthlessness and impersonal cruelty of any great enterprise run for a profit of a few or the ambition of one.

which one man does the work formerly requiring the labor of eight, were collectively owned by the people, as Socialists demand, the result of the invention would be to give to all of the workers more leisure and comfort and consequently more liberty. Under capitalism—the private ownership of the means of production and transportation and their control for profit—the improvement of machinery means the increase of human misery. But the introduction of improved machinery will go on, and continue to intensify the class struggle, until the workers shall learn to use their political power to bring about the public ownership of the means of production which their labor has created and which their labor operates.

SPECIAL ATTENTION!

All organizations that have received tickets for the Grand Labor Industrial Fair are requested to send the following reasons—not to regard the tickets in the same light as those of other festivals and affairs:

1) This great Exposition will last 16 days; from April 23 to May 8, 1904.

2) Over 1,000 prizes will be distributed on these tickets, among which will be pianos, furniture, 118 pots capacity here last year with human blowers. This year it employs none."

3) The success of this never before seen Exposition of human labor against non-union labor will be of advantage to every union and thereby indirectly to every union man.

4) The income of this Exposition will be devoted to the support of the nightest weapon which you possess—your Press.

5) It is your duty upon you, and it is in your own interest to make this Exposition a

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from 5d page.)

Comrade Pierce of Albany spoke briefly and vocal music and dancing were indulged in.

Comrade Nugent of Troy writes: "Things have been quiet in this vicinity, due in a large measure to the extremely severe weather; but from now on it looks as though the campaign would be carried on more vigorously as well as more systematically than ever before. The local in Albany is gaining recruits rapidly and good results are sure to follow. It is the intention of Local Troy to send The Worker for a period of six months to as many addresses as possible."

The Rochester Labor Lyceum discussion, held on Sunday afternoon in the Common Council chamber, are commanding much attention. On Feb. 21, Philip Jackson will speak on "Our Moral Inevitability." An interesting discussion may be expected to follow the lecture.

Algermon Lee of New York will speak in Yonkers on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21.

New York City.

Every Socialist in New York City should attend the Labor Festival in Grand Central Palace on Monday evening, Feb. 22. Half the proceeds go to the party fund and half to the "Volkszeitung." Tickets can be had at all party headquarters; they cost 25 cents; admittance at the door, 35 cents.

Acting Organizer Solomon issues the following call to subdivisions of Local New York: "In accordance with the call issued by the New York State Committee and by instruction of the Executive Committee, you are hereby called upon to make nominations for delegates and alternates to the next national convention and submit the same to the Acting Organizer on or before Thursday, March 10. The alternates will act as regular delegates in case for any reason a delegate cannot go to the convention. These nominations will in turn be submitted to a general vote of the members of Local New York, who will elect therefrom the seven nominees and alternates in accordance with the call of the State Committee. Subdivisions can nominate any member of the local, provided he is a member in good standing."

Franklin H. Wentworth and Mrs. Wentworth will speak under the auspices of the First Agitation District, Thursday evening, Feb. 18, on "Socialism and Liberty." The First Agitation District will also hold a Commune celebration on Friday, March 18, at Clinton Hall, with good speakers.

On Sunday evening, Feb. 21, John Spargo will speak for the Harlem branch of the People's Institute, at 237 East 104th street, on "The Present Outlook for Trade Unionism." It is especially desirable in the interest of the movement that there should be a good attendance.

The West Side Agitation Committee has decided to postpone the first of the Herron lectures at Erie Hall, 168 West Twenty-third street, to Thursday, Feb. 25. On that evening Comrade Herron will speak on "The Crisis of Civilization" and on the following Thursday on "The Socialist Horizon." Both these lectures will be well worth attending.

At the last meeting of the 7th, 9th, and 25th A. D. it was decided to buy twenty-five copies of The Worker every week for distribution. Comrade Geiger calling attention to the book offer. The comrades present pledged themselves to take up the subscription for the collection of subscriptions to The Worker and have the preliminary go to the district. The national referendum was taken up for discussion and the comrades present voted; according to instructions, the vote was left open till Feb. 23, for the rest of the comrades to vote. Twenty-five tickets for the Labor Festival on Washington's Birthday are received and distributed among the members. Comrade Martin reported that the West Side Agitation Committee has rented Erie Hall, 168 West Twenty-third street for every Thursday till the first of May for lectures. Comrade Herron will deliver the first two lectures. Upon the report of the delegates to the General Committee, and after a lively discussion, the delegates were instructed to move that the minutes of the Executive Committee should be read in full before the General Committee. Further, unanimously, the district endorsed the motion of the 6th and 10th A. D. to amend the by-laws of Local New York so that the General Committee shall meet at least twice a month, urging districts sharing these views to endorse the proposal, so that it should have a chance to go to a general vote.

The next regular meeting of the 25th A. D. will take place Thursday, Feb. 1, at Lafayette Hall, 810 Avenue D. Every comrade is urgently requested to attend.

The comrades of the 22d A. D. held a "smoker" in the headquarters at 241 E. Forty-second street last Saturday evening to which all enrolled Socialists were invited. There was good attendance and a pleasant evening was spent. Comrade Herman presented, Algermon Lee gave a talk on party work, and Comrades Bowser, Nicholson, Klassen, Schorr and others contributed to the enjoyment of the evening. Splendid work has been done in this district within the last year or less. The district has now sixty-four members in good standing, including a large number of earnest and energetic young men, has headquarters open every evening, and is doing steady work, distributing literature and canvassing from house to house, with the assurance of good results. It is to be wished that every district in the city were in as good a condition.

The members of the 12th A. D. are urgently requested to be present at the next regular meeting on Feb. 23, at 8 p. m., at the club rooms at the Socialist Literary Society, 223 East Broadway.

BROOKLYN.

At the Kings County Committee meeting of Feb. 13, P. L. Lackemacher in the chair, Julius Gerber was placed in nomination for delegate to the State Committee, in place of L. D. Abbott, resigned. J. H. Doan was elected delegate to the Daily Conference. Eleven new members were admitted. De-

legate Ward of the 7th A. D., Br. 1, reported that a committee who have been branch had visited enrolled H. L. P. voters and found that many of them could easily be brought over to our party. Considerable visiting of enrolled voters is being done by other branches, with encouraging results. Delegate Lackemacher reported actions of the State Committee, including request that Local Kings County pay its debt. The Committee which had been elected to inquire into this debt, owing to confusion in accounts, was ordered to report at the next meeting, Feb. 27. On receipt of letter from the State Secretary calling for nomination of delegates to the national convention and stating the manner of electing them, a motion was passed that the County Committee recommend to the borough meeting that the district be requested to elect delegates to the national convention, a delegate-at-large and against the proposed plan of the State Committee of electing the remaining quota of delegates of the state that are not elected by the local, and that a motion be passed that a referendum of the state be taken upon the election of those delegates to be sent that are not elected by the local. The Organ-izer was instructed to issue a call for a conference of trade and labor organizations and the party branches to arrange for a May-day demonstration.

At the borough meeting of Local Kings County on Feb. 14, W. W. Passage in the chair, the following were placed in nomination for delegates to the national convention: Ben Hanford, Wm. Butcher, C. L. Furman, F. L. Lackemacher, C. J. Flanagan, Warren Atkinson, Fred Schaefer, J. L. Behrman, Edward R. Miller, Mrs. Frank Julius Gerber, J. Bychover, and C. W. Caravanagh. The nominations are to be submitted to a referendum and the four receiving the highest vote shall be the delegates and the four receiving the next highest votes shall be alternates. A motion to levy an assessment on the party members to pay the expenses of delegates was defeated. Motion passed that \$200 be paid from the treasury for such expenses, with an additional \$100 if necessary. The following resolution was adopted: "Resolved, That we do protest against the election of any delegates to the national convention by the State Committee, and request that the State Committee arrange for the nomination and election of the delegate-at-large from the state of New York by the party members of the district, and support financially such districts as are financially unable to send delegates to said national convention; such delegates to be nominated and elected by their respective districts." A committee of five was elected to draw up instructions to delegates and submit them to a borough meeting to be called for that purpose in April.

From all accounts received by the committee in charge of the second lecture, "Panama," by Geo. D. Herron and Mrs. Herron, which will be given at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 617-659 Wiloughby avenue, on Sunday, Feb. 28, at 3 p. m. sharp, it will be a success surpassing the first lecture in New York last month. No Socialist or sympathizer in Kings or Queens counties should fail to hear Comrade Herron's discourse on this subject, and Mrs. Herron's beautiful interpretations of Wagner selections on the piano. The admission is 25 cents, and the proceeds go to the Socialist Daily Fund. The Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Hall is very large and it should be filled to the doors.

The next regular meeting of the 10th, 17th and 18th A. D. organizations of Kings County will be held at the residence of A. Dronte, 1220 Park place, near Troy avenue, Brooklyn, on Sunday, Feb. 21, at 3 p. m.

The 1st and 2d A. D. Brooklyn will hold a special meeting on Sunday, Feb. 21, immediately after the lecture in the upper part of the hall.

At its last meeting the Young People's Social Democratic Club of Brooklyn took in three new members. The club celebrated its first anniversary last week and is in excellent condition, having done much good work for the development of its members and the service of the party and preparing to do still more in the coming campaign.

QUEENS.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of Local Queens on Feb. 12, Comrade Wentzel of Corona presiding, communications were received from the State Secretary asking Local Queens to contribute to the state campaign fund, also stating that John Spargo of New York, Wm. Koenig of Kings, and Ernest Koepfleus of Queens had been nominated to fill vacancy on the State Committee and were to vote for one of the three; also sending charter for Local Queens. As the comrades of Long Island City claimed to have a charter and have moved to buy stamps from Local Queens, it was voted to ask whether the State Committee has given any other charter than that of Local Queens within this territory. A communication was received from the State Secretary, calling attention to coin-cards for the National Organizing Fund. It was decided to take steps to organize a Socialist Daily Conference in Queens County. Organizer Hahn reported having distributed the enrollment lists to the various committees, whose duty it is to visit enrolled Socialists voters and get them to join the party. A meeting of all members of Local Queens will be held at headquarters, 65 Myrtle avenue, Long Island City, on Sunday, March 6, for the purpose of sending a delegate to the national convention. The branches at Corona, Wyckoff Heights, Glendale, Woodhaven, and Jamaica reported progress. College Point and Woodside were not represented. Branch Glendale will have a concert and ball at the Hoffman House, Myrtle and Cooper avenues, March 12, the proceeds to go to the campaign fund. Branch Woodhaven held a reception on Feb. 6, in conjunction with the Kravken Kasse, netting \$12 as its share, which will go to the campaign fund. Comrade Richter, for the picnic committee, reported having arranged with Schimmel & Hahn, proprietors of Liberty Park, Evergreen, for a picnic on Sunday, May 20, afternoon and evening, for the benefit of the campaign fund. It was voted that all moneys collected by subscription through the agitation committees be turned over to the Treasurer of Local

Queens. The Treasurer's report showed a balance of \$230.04.

RICHMOND.

Local Richmond held an interesting meeting at the Labor Lyceum in 10th street, Stapleton, S. I., last Sunday. Twenty-seven votes were cast against the proposed amendment to the national constitution, Referendum A. John Spargo for member of the State Committee, Julius Gerber to take the place of L. D. Abbott, and Gustave Thelmer to represent Local Richmond Borough in the same body, each received twenty-seven votes. The committee in charge of the festival to be held on March 19 reported. A comrade offered \$50 towards an agitation fund, providing the local will raise \$200 by May 1, for the purpose of placing one thousand subscriptions of a good Socialist weekly on Staten Island. The Labor Lyceum Association made a start towards the fund by offering all surplus of the bar on March 19. The comrade was requested to extend the time limit. The charges against some members will be investigated at a special meeting. The next meeting will take place March 6, when Comrade Geiger will lecture.

New Jersey.

Fred'k Kraft, author of "Now and Then," has written another one-act play which will be produced at the March Celebrations of Local Hudson County, at Union Hill Turn Hall on Sunday, March 13, and at Grand View Park, Jersey City, on Saturday, March 20. The play is entitled, "Shoot to Kill," and depicts the struggle between Labor and Capital through the millit. Amateur actors in our ranks should attend. Another feature of the celebration will be two acts of Schiller's "William Tell." Comrade Geiger will speak on the March revolution; the Socialist Life and Drum Corps, the United Workmen's Singing Societies, and other attractions will make this the best and most instructive affair of its kind ever held in Hudson County.

At the meeting of the State Committee on Feb. 14, Comrade Kraft was elected chairman. After the receiving of county reports, National Committee member Goebel reported his action on motions in regard to Carl D. Thompson, with his request that the same be approved. Deputy Organizer Strobel reported distribution of a large quantity of literature in Morris County and vicinity. On motion, it was decided: 1. That actions of The Worker and other Socialist papers be made a special order of business at the state convention; 2. That a special committee of three be elected to consider and make a workable whole of the Conference Committee's recommendations and report at the next State Committee meeting; Comrades Headley, Strobel, and Casselle elected; 3. That a provisional campaign committee of five be elected out of its own membership by this body to select and place speakers throughout the state during the coming campaign, the said committee to work in harmony with the local branches; Comrades Strobel, Van den Steen, Glanz, James, and Kearns elected; 4. That Comrade Gerhard's motion at last meeting (declaring the election void on account of constitutional time not having been allowed and the names of candidates who were ineligible or had not accepted nominations having been on the ballots) be reconsidered; the motion was again adopted; 5. That the State Committee elect as officers, to fill vacancies, those who appear by the referendum to be the choice of the membership; accordingly, Charles Ufert was elected National Committeeman, Frederick Kraft Recording Secretary, W. B. Killenbeck Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Goebel Financial Secretary, and Herman Gerhard, Treasurer. Comrades James, Kearns, and Von den Steen were chosen as auditing committee.

Wm. H. Wise of Colorado will speak at 118-120 Market street, Newark, on Monday evening, Feb. 22, giving an account of the labor conflict in Colorado and the use of martial law there. Every effort should be made to bring out a good crowd.

Geo. A. Klepe of 21 Hillside avenue, Newark, will be glad to receive subscriptions for The Worker or other Socialist papers.

The annual state convention of the Socialist Party of New Jersey will be held Sunday, Feb. 21, and Monday, Feb. 22, at Newark. The first session will be called to order at 10 a. m. Branches are entitled to one delegate-at-large and one additional delegate for every ten members or fraction thereof. There is business of great importance to be transacted, including the nomination of a gubernatorial candidate and presidential electors. Local Essex County has engaged Aurora Hall, 48 William street, which can easily be reached from Broad and Market streets.

Wm. H. Wise of Colorado will speak in Wood's Building, 118-120 Market street, Newark, on Monday evening, Feb. 22, under the auspices of Br. 7 of the Socialist Party, upon "Martial Law in Colorado."

Pennsylvania.

The State Committee has received communications from Uniontown, Fayette County, looking to the formation of a local there.

Local Shamokin has candidates in the field for Overseer of the Poor and Borough Auditor.

Franklin H. Wentworth thinks they can count the Socialists there by the hundreds by next fall and would like to know if arrangements can not be made for Comrade Carey to speak there on his return from the West.

The comrades of Belle Vernon have opened a co-operative bakery and are selling bread at cost price. This local, although organized only two months ago, has now over two hundred members.

The comrades of Charlestown are now lecturing an English Socialist paper called the "Charlestown Socialist." It is a bright three-column four-page sheet and a valuable addition to the party in that locality.

Comrade George W. Bacon of York has prepared an address on social economy which he has arranged to deliver before Socialist and trade union organizations throughout the state.

The Republicans have endorsed the Democratic nominees for School Directors and Town Council in Sellers-

ville Borough, Bucks County. They fear that the Socialists who have been gaining in strength every year, may elect their candidates to these offices.

The National Secretary is arranging a tour through the state for Robert Saitel, German-organizer. German trade unions and societies can get dates by addressing the National or State Secretaries.

Comrade Goebel will make a tour through the anthracite region under the direction of the national office.

George D. Herron of New York will speak on "Socialism and Life" in Garfield Hall, 507 S. Eighth street, Philadelphia, Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, and in Jefferson Hall, Ninth street between Dickinson, in the evening. Mrs. Herron will render selections on the piano from Chopin and Wagner.

W. H. Koevan will speak in Flemington Hall, Germantown avenue and Seymour street, Germantown, on Wednesday, Feb. 24, at 8 p. m.

The Twenty-fifth Ward Branch, Philadelphia, holds agitation meetings every Tuesday in Com's, 2561 Frankford avenue.

State Committee receipts for the week were as follows: New Castle, \$4; Anselm B. Kirsch, member-at-large, \$1.20; Philadelphia, \$0.50; Loyalsock, 90 cents; York, \$2; Sunnyside, \$1.50; Belle Vernon, \$1.05; Franklin, \$2; Shamokin, \$2; contributions to help pay off the debt: Third-Ward Branch, Philadelphia, \$1.

Ohio.

Comrade Keogh of Toledo writes: "Zero weather with a bitter wind prevented many of our comrades from attending the lecture of Franklin H. and Marion Craig Wentworth. Those who braved the weather were more than repaid for it, and no doubt would be glad of the opportunity to do so again. While Local Toledo has seldom neglected a chance to arrange a meeting for any of the party's many good speakers, the comrades here have never been more pleased than with those we heard last night. With the splendid list of eloquence, pathos, and depth of thought of Franklin H. Wentworth with his reason and logic of Mrs. Wentworth make their joint lecture highly entertaining as well as instructive. The class struggle is never lost sight of and the wrongs of capitalism are put before the audience in a manner which shows up our so-called civilization in all its hideousness. The comrades everywhere should avail themselves of the opportunity to hear the Wentworths. It will inspire the working comrades with new hope and enthusiasm."

Florida.

Winfield R. Gaylord of Wisconsin, who made a Southern tour in December and January under the direction of national headquarters, reports as follows to the National Secretary: "The trip was undertaken especially for the benefit of the Florida state organization, in which state there had been some evil effects attending the dishonesty and carelessness of a former State Secretary."

"En route to Florida I spoke at Indianapolis and New Albany, Ind.; Louisville, Ky.; Nashville, Tenn.; New Orleans, Birmingham, Montgomery, Fairhope, and Mobile, Ala. Twelve addresses in all were delivered, all but under party auspices, and one before a union in Nashville. At all the points mentioned there are active comrades, and the movement seemed to be in good hands."

"The Florida trip began at Pensacola and touched also the following points: Milton, Jacksonville, Fernandina, Palatka, Hastings, Manatee, Bradenton, Palmetto, Bartons, St. Petersburg, Tampa, Kissimmee, Orlando. Local were organized at Pensacola, Milton, Haggard, and Palatka; comrades from Dagdad being present in sufficient numbers at the Milton meeting to make an organization possible for them. Sixteen addresses were delivered, one of them being at a public picnic at Manatee; two were street meetings arranged on the spot by the speaker; one a hall meeting arranged by comrades where there was no organization; one a street meeting arranged the same way. The latter resulted in the organization of a local, and the others will have a similar result if properly followed up by comrades in the neighborhood, which I was assured would be done."

"The situation in Florida would have been much more serious but for the prompt action of the National Committee, as there seems to have been an attempt on the part of two men to exploit the movement for the purpose of getting themselves into office. The majority of the locals are practically unaffected by it now, however, and those that have got into difficulties will no doubt be helped out by the new state administration. The sentiment of the people in the state is of a character which makes it comparatively easy to reach them with the message of Socialism, and it is likely that the state will show in proportion to its population one of the strongest organizations in the country before long."

"Rainy weather prevented the holding of two street meetings which had been arranged for at Jacksonville. The return trip included the following points: Atlanta, Ga., Chattanooga, Tenn., and Pineville, Ky., and vicinity. The latter point is in the coal district, and the work there resulted in the organization of a local at Walstead. Two days were spent at Atlanta, and it is believed that something may be done in connection with the union movement there. There is need of it, as all but one of the officers of the Federated Trades Union have retired from the City Hall. The comrades are now planning a campaign for the organization of the state. Chattanooga local has a good group of comrades, and will undoubtedly be one of the strong points in Tennessee, being better organized in some ways than Nashville. Five addresses were delivered in all, two in the coal country, two in Atlanta and one in Chattanooga."

"The outlook for the party in the South is good, if there can be the proper kind of teaching. The Southerners are temperamentally revolutionists, and need less argument to convince

them of the hopelessness of getting any help through the old parties than the average Northerner. Thousands of people in the South have not voted any ticket since the Populists were counted out some years ago, and have been waiting for a movement which would offer an outlet for their indignation."

Minnesota.

The amount of dues paid in, as shown by State Secretary Holman's report for January, makes a very satisfactory showing and is an excellent start for the new year. Notwithstanding this, many of the locals are behind in their dues, and where this is the case the importance of paying their dues regularly should be urged upon all the members. Now is the time to build up the organization for the great campaign of 1904.

Financial report shows balance on hand Jan. 31, \$55.86; liabilities, \$32.58. While the dues show a marked increase, the state fund has fallen off considerably. All the comrades should send in their regular subscriptions and donations, so that the state organization will have no difficulty in carrying on the work of organizing, at which State Organizer Klein has shown such great ability. Funds are also needed for the campaign, and it is none too soon to begin donating now. State Secretary Holman is desirous of having a good surplus for the new Secretary to start in with, and asks all those who have subscribed and are behind in their payments, to bring them up to date, and also asks others to make regular subscriptions.

The state convention is to be held at Minneapolis, Oct. 22. Every local should send as many delegates as possible and make it a great success. Don't forget to notify the State Secretary of the names of the delegates, so that accommodations can be arranged for them by the comrades of Local Minnesota. Names should be in his office by Feb. 10, if possible.

Montana.

The Socialists of Butte, Mont., nominated their aldermanic and school ticket in municipal convention of Feb. 4. State Secretary Cooney writes: "We hope to land four or five Aldermen and we are reasonably sure to carry the School Board. We have about five good local street speakers and intend to give them the hottest campaign they ever had. Our present alderman, Comrade McGee, has made a good record. The convention was harmonious and followed out the desires of the local in all respects."

National Organizer Wilkins reports to the National Secretary as follows on his work in Montana: "I left Spokane, Wash., for Kalispell, Mont., Nov. 8. Made my first speech at Kalispell, Nov. 30. Visited altogether forty towns, making fifty speeches. Thirty-three speeches were made in towns where locals were already organized. In four of the towns visited I was unable to hold meetings. Organized seven new locals at Grandtula, Victor, Stereocville, Rochester, Mahalia, Glendive, and Storts. With few exceptions the crowds were of fair size. The attention everywhere was very close."

"The general character of the Montana party membership is high and will make a strong movement. There seemed to be a strong desire on the part of the comrades to be clear on the doctrine and tactics of the movement. Montana is unquestionably the most corrupt state in the union, politically. Great bureaus of corruption are maintained by the corporations and it is said that millions are actually spent to corrupt the voters. A Socialist movement that stands this test may be said to have been tried by fire. My relations with comrades of the state have been very pleasant. Uniformly they have treated me with great kindness and consideration. The collections have been generous, averaging \$4.75 per meeting; but the loss of thirty-three dates out of eighty-three in the state run the deficit for wages and expenses to about \$100."

"A winter campaign in Montana is a trial to the nerves of an organizer, to say the least. The winter which I said was very cold to a Californian, the long railroad rides between appointments, many trips in stages or open rigs across bleak stretches of country, snow blockades delaying trains from one to twenty-four hours, filled my Montana trip with incidents long to be remembered. An accident that gave me a broken rib and a broken arm added somewhat to the strenuousness of the campaign, though I missed only one date on that account. I finished my work in Montana, at Anaconda, Jan. 30, and left the following day for Idaho."

Social Democratic Women's Society.

Branch 2 of the Social Democratic Women's Society is to hold a mass meeting on Friday evening, Feb. 19, at the Old Honeysuckle Garden, Ninth and Ninety-first streets. Franklin H. Wentworth is to lecture on "Socialism and Liberty," and Marion Craig Wentworth is to give illustrative readings. All are invited. Comrades should bring their wives and friends, as a rare treat in this city. Comrade Wentworth is one of the most gifted orators in the country to-day and it is generally conceded as a dramatic reader Mrs. Wentworth has no superior. Admission is free.

Branch 3 is to hold an apron and necktie party the third Saturday in April.

All the branches in this vicinity are to attend the Grand Labor Festival in a body at the Grand Central Palace on Washington's Birthday.

The Tennessee state labor convention passed a resolution asking Congress to pass a law granting a pension of \$12 a month to every workman who shall have reached the age of sixty years and have earned less than \$1,000 a year. There's about as much chance of the workmen getting such legislation by petitioning for it as there is of Rockefeller going to heaven.

It is time for you to assert the dignity of human labor. I do not object to a man saying "sir" to his equal, or an elder, but I do object to his saying "sir" to a broadcloth, or to a balance at the bank—Edward Carpenter.

Hawk and Handsaw Tales.

TOLD BY BEN HANFORD.

Do you live to work? or do you work to live?

In Capitalism you live to work. In Socialism you'll work to live.

The ten-hour law as applied to bakers has been held to be constitutional—four judges in favor, three against. Mr. Justice Denis O'Brien was one of the three judges opposed to the law, and this ought to show workingmen why he was nominated by both the Republican and Democratic parties. O'Brien's term on the bench does not expire until after that of all the others. He can "hand these out" for fourteen years, boys. When the Presidential election is over some of the four can easily change their mind—and will. History proves to the point of absolute demonstration that there is nothing else on earth so fallible or changeable as Supreme Court Judges. But they have never changed in favor of the people. They have always had to be removed; they have always been unable to remove themselves.

"Let us acknowledge that from a certain point of view the temporary solitary confinement of the law makers at Mazas or in prison does not displease us. There was perhaps something of Providence in the coup d'état. Providence, in placing the legislators at Mazas, has performed an act of good education. Eat of your own cooking. It is not a bad thing that those who own prisons should try them."—Victor Hugo.

A bill has been introduced in the United States Senate to build a Bonner White House for President Roosevelt in the swell society district of Washington. He ought to go to Ellis Island and rent a room alongside of John Turner's.

"It is better to follow even the shadow of the best than to remain content with the worst."—Henry Van Dyke.

J. Pierpont Morgan went to Canada last week. If the laws of this country were enforced, it would take extradition papers to get him back.

"There will at last be no market, and no buying and selling. Wherever a man's heart is, there shall his work be."—Geo. D. Herron.

The Justice guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States moves so swiftly that the case of John Turner is to be heard by the Supreme Court next October—if it is not postponed.

"I'd be willing to work fifteen hours a day for you, darling," he ardently pleaded.

"Scold" she blessed, as she swept from the room, for her papa was a union man.—Town and Country.

If Roosevelt's Secret Service men are really on the lookout for suspicious characters, why don't they pull the United States Senate.

"Talk of Socialism destroying the home! Capitalism has already destroyed the home. Nothing but Socialism will ever restore the home."—Seattle Socialist.

The Honorable Thomas C. Platt, United States Senator from the State of New York, is a large stockholder in and president of the United States Express Company. He never allows his business interests to interfere with his country's service. Far be it from me to intimate that he has ever been actuated by other motives than those of pure patriotism and the most exalted altruism. That's how he came to be a millionaire by the continuous sacrifice of his business interests for the benefit of his country. Yes.

Labor Produces All Wealth. Other than the resources of nature, Socialists maintain that Labor of brain and brawn, Labor of mind and limb, produce all wealth.

Because Labor produces all wealth, we maintain that those who do the Labor should have all the wealth produced.

There are those who will tell you that capital produces wealth and that money makes money. Let us consider it a moment. Good old pious Deacon Rockefeller no doubt has capital to the equivalent of a billion dollars. Now, suppose that Mr. Rockefeller could get a billion dollars in gold coins coined at the United States mints. And suppose that he placed that billion dollars in gold down in New York's City Hall Park. How long would the pious old deacon's billion dollars in gold have to remain there before they added unto themselves another gold eagle? They never would do it, and you all know it.

Nor would it change matters in the slightest if the money were silver instead of gold.

Let Deacon Rockefeller get a billion silver dollars, every one of them coined at Mr. Bryon's sacred rate of sixteen to one—he is such a pious man, let him have "In God We Trust" stamped on both sides instead of one side of every last one of them—how long would they have to remain buried in City Hall Park before they became a billion dollars? They'd never do it, and you all know it. Though that billion of silver dollars lay in the richest soil on earth for a billion years, they would not in all that time add to themselves a single dollar, or even a lead time with a hole in it.

Ah, say you, money is only potential capital. When Mr. Rockefeller puts his money into real capital, then it creates wealth.

Well, let us see. Suppose that the blessed old deacon put his billion dollars into the shoe industry. Let us imagine, if we can, that over here in City Hall Park there is an immense shoe factory; that it is fully equipped with the latest and very best tools and machinery for the making of shoes; that its storerooms are filled high up to bursting with the raw materials of which shoes are made, leather and findings, and eyelets and laces, and pegs and blacking—the factory, tools, machines and raw materials all together having a value of a billion dollars, and all Rockefeller's.

Now, then, how long will that shoe factory have to stand there before it makes a pair of shoes? How long be-

GREAT LABOR FESTIVAL

Monday February 22., in

Grand Central Palace

43d St. and Lexington Ave.

The Proceeds to Be Divided Equally Between the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association (Publishers of The Worker and Volkszeitung) and the Socialist Daily Fund.

Artistic Concert and Vaudeville Programme.

Music by Carl Sahm Club and a Chorus of 500 Singers of the Arbeiter-Saengerbund.

ACROBATIC PERFORMANCES. STAGE DANCING. LIVING PICTURES.

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The Worker

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PRICE 2 CENTS.

NEW JERSEY CONVENTION.

Henry R. Kearns Nominated for Governor.

Over a Hundred Delegates Present at Two Day's Session in Newark—Differences Discussed in Harmonious Manner—Provision Made for Thorough Organization of the State.

Henry R. Kearns of Arlington is the choice of the Socialist Party of New Jersey to head its ticket in the coming election as candidate for Governor. The nomination was made by a well attended state convention held in Newark on Sunday and Monday.

The convention was called to order in Asenior Hall Sunday evening by Frederick Kraft, Recording Secretary of the State Committee. After temporary organization with George H. Headley as chairman and Albert E. Call as secretary, a credentials committee consisting of C. Ufert, C. Kronenberg, G. A. Klepe, D. Rubinow, and H. J. Victor was elected. The committee's report showed one hundred and six delegates present, representing Bergen, Burlington, Camden, Cumberland, Essex, Hudson, Passaic, and Union Counties. Comrade Headley was then made permanent chairman, with Comrade Klepe as vice-chairman and Comrade Call as secretary, and committees were elected as follows:

Rules—W. L. Oswald, Kronenberg, and M. C. Kreek; Resolutions—Jas. M. Kelly, Rubinow, and A. Baskin; Platform—Peter E. Burrows, Victor, and Geo. H. Goebel; Press—J. R. Leeds, Call, and C. Ufert; Organization—W. R. Cassile, F. Ufert, and H. von den Steinen; Ways and Means—H. Blochschmidt, E. M. Dobbelaer, and J. W. James.

Last Year's Work.

The afternoon session was opened with a song by the Socialist Liedertafel of Newark, which was heartily enjoyed and applauded by the delegates, who then turned earnestly to their work. After the adoption of rules and order of business, the reports of the State Committee's officers were heard.

Ex-Secretary Kearns insisted in his report on the necessity for more systematic and energetic agitation throughout the state, especially the arrangement of regular tours by good speakers to cover the counties where the organization is still weak.

The reports of the Treasurer and Financial Secretary showed, for the year 1903, receipts as follows: Dues, \$181.00; supplies, \$1.43; percentage from festivals, \$94.62; collected on lists, \$120.93; total, \$498.98; and expenses as follows: State Committee expenses, \$88.72; Organization Committee, \$107.38; delegates' expenses, \$298.35; dues to National Committee, \$440.50; printing, \$53.70; total, \$988.74; leaving a balance of \$184.24. The several counties' bills due during the year are as follows: Bergen, \$40; Camden, \$40; Essex, \$135; Hudson, \$300.00; Mercer, \$40; Passaic, \$30; Sussex, \$12.20; Union, \$30; other counties, through Organization Committee, \$20.

The outgoing National Committee, Comrade Goebel, reported on his acts in that office, and his report was accepted.

The rest of the session was mostly occupied with resolutions reported from committees. The first, proposing a new general vote for election of officers of the state organization and National Committee, was defeated after some debate. The second and third resolutions, both of which were adopted, were to the effect that no speaker or organizer should be sent out by the party without a regular assured salary, so that the effectiveness of their work should not be impaired by financial difficulties or by the necessity of depending too much on the sale of literature to the detriment of his other work, and, on the other hand, that the pay of party organizers and speakers should not be above good mechanics' wages.

Endorse the Daily Project.

The fourth resolution, which was also adopted, declared the convention to be in full sympathy with the purpose of the International Co-operative Publishing Association to establish a Socialist daily paper in the English language and urged the comrades of New Jersey to give a helping hand to the project. Comrade Butcher being present, he was given the floor and explained the plans of the Association. After speaking of the urgent need for such a paper, he stated that a fund of \$50,000 ought to be raised before the first number appeared, in order that it might be started as a really good newspaper and be assured of success, and that more than a quarter of this sum had already been collected. He explained also the necessity for an incorporated body to own the paper and stated that the W. C. P. A. fulfilled the requirements of a legal corporation which would serve as a trustworthy agency of the party; any party member in good standing can join the Association by buying at least one share of stock at \$5 a share, each member has but one vote, and no profits are to be divided. Comrades Rubinow, Kronenberg, A. H. Thompson, and Gerhardt were afterwards elected as a committee to take charge of the raising of funds for this purpose. In New Jersey a fifth member to be elected by the Passaic County Committee.

Stand for Free Speech.

The next resolution condemned in severe terms the action of the Mayor of Paterson in forbidding a meeting called to discuss and lay before the public the facts in the case of John Turner, the English labor organizer now held for deportation without trial under the "Anti-Anarchist clause" of the United States Immigration Law,

and declared that in thus interfering with the right of free speech and assembly the Mayor had violated the national and state constitutions and shown himself a dangerous law-breaker. The resolution was adopted.

The Colorado Affair.

By another resolution, the convention called attention to the establishment of military despotism in Colorado for the benefit of the organized capitalists and the subjugation of the working class, pointed out in this and other similar outrages the Republican and Democratic parties had alike served as the tools of the capitalist class to put into its hands the whole power of government for the oppression of the toilers, and closed by urging the working people to rally for the defense of their rights and the winning of the liberty of joining and actively supporting the Socialist Party and so taking from the capitalists the power of exploitation and tyranny.

The state platform of 1901 was reaffirmed without amendment. The Socialist Party, in New Jersey as elsewhere, knows what it stands for and honestly sets forth its principles and does not have to fix up new "issues" for catching votes at each campaign.

Organization and Finance.

The report of the committee on organization was taken up first on Monday morning. It was recommended that a standing committee be formed, consisting of one delegate from each county, whose duty should be to build up the organization throughout the state. After full debate it was decided to confide this task to a campaign committee to be chosen by the State Committee, the view being generally taken that members from all the counties could not meet often enough to make the proposed delegate committee efficient. The State Committee was instructed to make every effort to have an Assembly ticket nominated in every county, as the official standing of the party depends on the vote cast for Assembly candidates.

The committee on ways and means recommended that 10 per cent. of the net proceeds of every entertainment, festival, ball, or picnic held by party organizations in the state should go to the State Committee and also that punch cards be issued for the raising of funds for the state. The former recommendation was adopted, but in place of punch cards it was decided to issue lists in the usual way. During a recess of five minutes \$100 was pledged, and \$90 paid in cash by delegates and comrades in the hall to start the work. It was also decided, on the committee's recommendation, to request the women comrades and friends of the party especially to interest themselves in swelling the campaign fund.

A resolution to the effect that any paper which publishes any matter relating to internal party affairs and which does not publish without circulation or change communication which is sent to it on such subjects, and especially any paper which editorially takes a position on one side or the other in regard to such matters, should not be considered a Socialist paper, was laid on the table.

National Convention.

Newark was chosen as the seat of the State Committee for another year and the State Secretary was instructed to call a special meeting on Feb. 28 to provide for the election by general vote of the delegates to the national convention.

A discussion arose on this question whether or not New Jersey should send a full delegation of eleven members to the convention in Chicago. Some argued that the expense of sending a full delegation would be more than the party could afford. Others insisted that while the expense would certainly be heavy, the importance of the occasion justified it. It was suggested that some comrades would be willing and able, if elected as delegates in part or in full, but other speakers emphatically protested against this suggestion, as it would lead to delegates being elected on account of their better financial position rather than on account of their ability or devotion to the cause. It was decided that a full list of eleven be elected and as many of them sent, beginning with those getting the highest vote, as the financial condition of the party at the time would allow—in no case fewer than three. Comrades Burrows, C. Ufert, A. H. Thompson, Blochschmidt, G. W. Strohbel, Kelly, C. Dey, Oswald, Goebel, F. Ufert, Wm. Glanz, W. Cassile, Kreek, Rubinow, Kraft, N. A. Cole, and C. Pankoff were nominated, of whom each party member in the state will vote for eleven.

Charles Klehn of Hoboken, who is going to Amsterdam this summer as a delegate to the convention of the International Transport Workers' Union, was given credentials to the International Socialist Congress to be held in that city. Comrade Spargo of New York, being in the hall, was requested to state what was the standing of delegates sent in this way. He explained that each country may send as many delegates as it chooses or as it can to the International Congress and that the vote is taken by nations, each nation's delegation having one vote; in case of comrades who are not elected by the party but, being in Europe on other business, are given credentials, it should be understood that in no case should they cast a vote contrary to that of the regularly elected party delegates.

Resolutions.

The last business taken up was the nomination of candidates for the state election. For Governor, Henry R. Kearns, James E. Collins, and F. C. Dey were proposed. All three declined, but Comrade Kearns at last yielded to the desire of the delegates and was declared the unanimous choice of the convention. He responded in a brief and straightforward address, pledging himself to do all in

his power for the cause and hoping that, with the same resolution on the part of all the comrades, great progress would be achieved this year.

Albin Strohbel and August Hints were nominated for Presidential Electors and the others will be nominated by counties, Hudson choosing two and Essex, Passaic, Mercer, Burlington, Camden, Cumberland, Bergen, and Union each one.

The business being concluded, Chairman Headley briefly thanked the delegates for their confidence in him and suggested that before adjourning the delegates would be glad to have a speech from John Spargo. Comrade Spargo congratulated the convention on the harmonious way in which it had done its work. There were differences of opinion among the delegates. That was to be expected and it was not to be regretted. There never had been a time and probably never would be a time when there would not be such differences. So long as comrades discussed these differences and decided their course of action in a comradely manner the party had nothing to fear. In this spirit we should march on to victory. Amid enthusiastic applause the convention was declared at an end.

OUR GAINS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Socialist Party is Advancing Well and Elects Several Minor Officials Despite Foes of the Old Parties.

DARRHY, Pa., Feb. 19.—The local election here resulted very satisfactorily for the Socialist Party. At the fall election we had one vote in the First Ward, 5 in the Second, and 14 in the Third—20 in all. This time we have 22 in the First, 24 in the Second, and 30 in the Third—76 in all, out of a total of 415.

The Democrats put up no ticket, but the Democratic organization supported the Republican candidates. The only exception was for Inspectors of Election, of whom there were two to be chosen in each ward, one by the strongest party and one by the next in strength. In the First and Third Wards Democratic candidates for this office were nominated and in the Second Ward a so-called "Citizens' candidate." We elected Edward Carr as minority inspector in the Second and fell only two votes short of electing George W. Waldrin in the Third—two Socialist ballots being thrown out there to give the Democrats the victory.

Every effort was made to get the Socialist candidates to withdraw or exchange endorsements. Only one man of the eighteen on our ticket yielded to the temptation. We are glad to know whom we can depend upon and the one that is not to be trusted.

AUSTIN, Pa., Feb. 19.—The Socialist Party made a good gain in the local election, polling 121 straight votes, to 121 straight Republican, and 33 straight Democratic. The 31 split ballots, however, prevented the election of any of the Socialist candidates except Bert King, who goes in as minority inspector of Election. Our highest vote was 170 and our lowest 133—the former for R. J. McSwain, candidate for Councilman, who was defeated by a margin of only 12 votes. The Austin "Republican" (which is Republican only in name, being run as a straight Socialist paper by E. P. Jennings) says:

"It was clean-cut fight for principle and those who worked hard and hoped for Socialist victory need have no misgivings for our opponents probably never fought harder in their lives and we are a very long way from being 'buried so deep that we will never be heard from again.'"

"From one standpoint it may be better that we were not victorious. We have still victory to fight for and it is a lesson on organization."

"Every Socialist ought to feel thoroughly encouraged and, if he has not already done so, should put his application in at once to the Socialist party."

READING, Pa., Feb. 20.—The Socialist Party polls 700 votes as against 750 last fall.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 17.—Emil Schulse, Socialist, is elected as minority inspector of Elections in a division of the Thirty-third Ward. He is the first Socialist ever elected to office in Philadelphia.

All places in the Panther Creek Valley either one or the other of the capitalist parties refrained from nominating or fused; yet, in spite of the combination, the Socialists went out in many places.

In Summit Hill we carried the Fourth Ward. Socialists still hold sway in Come Dale, having elected their candidates for Supervisor and School Director. In Spring City, Montgomery County, we carried the First Ward. In the First Ward of Shenandoah, Schuykill County, the polls were closed at 10.40 a. m. after twenty-eight votes were cast. The Board refused to receive any more, although there are at least five hundred qualified voters in the ward, and at the last general election there were over seven hundred votes cast for the different officers. The trouble was caused, it is alleged, because of the polling of the Socialist vote, which is the strongest at Shenandoah of any place in the county. The case will be taken to court.

—The way to set right what is wrong in the trade unions is to educate the rank and file of the members and inspire them with higher ideals and a greater self-reliance than they now have. Only in that way can the misleaders be effectively destroyed.

RAILWAY WAGES AND PROFITS.

The Former Stationary, the Latter Ever Growing.

Average Yearly Earnings of Railway Workers Increased but One per Cent in Five Years—Vastly Increased Profits Obtained by Compelling Men to Work Harder and Faster.

In 1907, the total wages paid to the 814,730 railway employees in the United States (excluding officers of the rank of division superintendents or higher) amounted to \$145,000,000. In 1902, the number of railway workers had risen to 1,170,400 and their wages amounted to \$633,441,102. The number of workers increased less than 45 per cent; the aggregate wages increased slightly over 40 per cent; the average yearly wages per employee rose from \$548.15 to \$534.02—a gain of barely 1 per cent.

And the railway owners' profits from operation (after paying wages and all other expenses) amounted to \$303,565,000. In 1902, their profits aggregated \$610,131,520—an increase of 65 per cent.

These statements are based on the figures given by the officials of railway companies and compiled in the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for the years named. The report for 1902 is the latest we have, that for 1903 not being published as yet. If the figures are "doctored" at all, it is certainly in such a way as to make wages appear larger and profits smaller than they actually are. It may be added that various items of capitalist income—such as rentals—are not included in the profits as given above. If these and the exorbitant salaries paid to general officers (who are almost always large stock bond holders) were included on this side of the account, where they rightly belong, the total capitalist income from the operation of the railways would be seen to be now far greater than the total wages of those who do the work.

Comparing the figures given for three years and the results would be practically the same if we compared the figures for any two years half a decade apart we see: 1. That the average pay of the workers is hardly being increased at all—is falling, indeed, if the increased cost of living be taken into account; 2. That the capitalists' share of the value produced is not only growing steadily, but is growing much faster than the share returned to all the workers in the form of wages.

How They Do It.

The question arises, How is this gradual change, so continually satisfactory to railway owners and so unsatisfactory to railway workers—brought about? Obviously, the volume of traffic has enormously increased, keeping pace with the growth of population and the development of industry. But the increase of traffic would not, of itself, account for a change in the proportion in which the product (or value of service) is divided between workers and owners. The true explanation is that the amount of work (and consequently the gross income) has increased much faster than the number of men employed to do the work—which means, on the other hand, that the workers, individually, have to do ever more and more work in return for wages which remain practically stationary.

Increased speed of trains, increased number of cars to the train, increased car loads, without proportionate increase of train crews and yard forces, long runs, overtime, driving of the men to the utmost limit of strength, quickness, and endurance, these are the means by which railway owners' profits are being progressively increased out of all proportion to railway workers' wages.

Psychology of Exploitation.

The methods by which the workers are coerced to work ever harder and faster are many and various. Simple straightforward driving by the sub-bosses of all sorts—stimulated by the offer of prizes to agents who make the best showing for heavy loading and the like—is the most obvious and perhaps the least dangerous. Profit-sharing schemes and plans for allowing employees to acquire small holdings of stock in the companies they work for are more insidious and effective. The dividend of profits shared and of dividends paid to employee-stockholders is ridiculously small, according to the testimony of the very "philanthropists" who engineer the schemes, in proportion to the extra amount of labor which is by such means got out of workers who are puffed up with the idea that they, too, are capitalists. Most effective of all is the plan of promising pensions to aged employees who have made a long record of "faithful service" (never striking or even demanding improvement of their conditions), combined with a systematic weeding out of the older men, who are no longer able to work quite so fast as they once did, but who have not yet reached the pension age. By this double process each man is kept both in fear and in hope—fear that if he does not work to his very utmost he will lose his job and hope that by vorenmitting toil and perfect docility he may pull through to his sixty-fifth year and get a small pension to keep him from misery in the little time he will then have to live.

By all these methods of appealing to the individual hopes and fears of the workers, setting them in competition against each other, and hampering their tendency to united action, the amount of work got out of each is greatly increased and almost the whole

benefit thereof is reaped by the owners and masters of the industry. The same process is going on in other countries. In the report of the last convention of the English Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (including railway workers of all sorts), we read that a resolution was adopted expressing alarm at the increased strain put upon all railroad employees as a result of the speeding up of machinery and the heavier engines and train loads that are now handled, and demanding from the companies larger pay and shorter hours, as well as a stopping of the practice of working men for seven days in the week."

The Only Escape.

The railway industry is but an example of the general tendency. Similar facts could be cited for any other industry. Socialism, setting the rule of the workers against the rule of the capitalist, is the only escape from this tendency. Irresistible under capitalism, by which not only is the chain between the classes being daily widened, but increasing hardship and positive physical degeneration are being brought upon the mass of the workers. If these and the other conditions controlled by the nation according to the Socialist principle of operation for public service instead of private profit and the return to the workers of the full value produced by their labor, ever improvement, either in the material equipment and methods of working or in the organization of the industry, which would make it possible for a given amount of work to be done with less human labor, would result either in the reduction of working hours or the increase of the workers' reward or both, whereas now the advantage accrues to those who own and control the means of production and transportation and so control the opportunities of employment.

THE BIG EXPOSITION.

Object of the Affair to Be Held in Grand Central Palace at the End of April.

One purpose of the Industrial Exposition and Food Show which is to be held in the Grand Central Palace only two months hence is to raise a sufficient fund to provide a new and up-to-date press for "The Worker and Volkszeitung," both of which papers could be greatly improved in form by such equipment. It is believed that the proceeds of this affair will suffice to buy a good press, adapted for modern newspaper work, and that the result of such an acquisition will be to put the papers in such a position financially that there will not again be the necessity for raising money through the arrangement of entertainments of the sort.

The committee in charge promises that the exposition will be in many respects a novelty and in all respects a great attraction, and it is hoped that the English-speaking comrades on behalf of "The Worker" as well as the German-speaking comrades on behalf of the "Volkszeitung" will join in a great effort to ensure the largest possible attendance. The admission price is to be 10 cents and every comrade in Greater New York or the vicinity should try during the next two months to sell as many tickets as possible.

THE BOSTON STRIKE.

Printers Are Gaining Ground—Parry Contracts Rejected—A Flurry in the G. L. U.—Democratic "Labor" Politicians Stirred Up.

BOSTON, Feb. 23.—The strike situation remains a notable one in many respects—for one, in the inability of the Typothetae (the master printers' organization) to get strike-breakers and scabs, and further, the noted maneuvering of the Typographical Union and its officers, which places it on more than even terms with its opponents.

During the past week the firm of Rockwell & Churchill has been bought at auction by one of the firm; the Sparrel Print has a man representing the creditors in charge; and various rumors of further financial difficulties are abroad.

The firm of Alfred Mudge & Son, through its assignee, Mr. Allen, signed the scale of Typographical Union No. 13 last Saturday. This is one of the largest printing houses in the city, employing from fifty to seventy-five compositors. The losses less than two hundred compositors on strike and about seventy-five pressmen and feeders taking a vacation.

The master printers during the past week have issued numerous manifestos, threatening to reduce all who had received over \$18 to \$17 a week. They have also tried to introduce "parry contracts," which have been turned down by pressmen and feeders whenever presented. These contracts ensure employment at the pleasure of the boss, and in return he gives tally of the Civic Federation order.

Comrade Cutting, delegate from Typographical Union No. 13, introduced a resolution in the Boston Central Labor Union at its last meeting, condemning the participation of the officers for their presence at the Exchange Club and the acceptance of positions in the Civic Federation. The opposition was personal in its character, the Socialists coming in for a large share of abuse. The opponents were mainly Democratic politicians, led by Democratic Alderman Frederick J. Woodland, a member of the Police Union. None of the capitalist papers had reports.

"It is better to rule by love than fear," said the gentle philosopher. "Yes," answered Senator Forghum; "it is people's love of money that has made life easy for me."—Washington Star.

NEW HAVEN TEAMSTERS.

Sentenced to Jail for Conspiracy.

Comrade Dan A. White Speaks at Mass Meeting on Their Behalf—Tells Workmen that Socialist Politics is the Only Hope.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Feb. 22.—The first public meeting of sympathy with the nine teamsters who were convicted in the Superior Court and sentenced to imprisonment a short time ago for conspiracy at the time of the teamsters' strike was held last night in Union Hall. There were about four hundred people present, among them the convicted men. All the unions in the city were represented.

Dan A. White of Boston, General Organizer of the Iron Shovelers' Union, addressed the audience with good effect. He pointed out that this case was not altogether an exceptional one, that in every state, from New England to the Pacific, the same policy is being pursued by the capitalists in control of the old parties to use the political and judicial power. In this persecution of the teamsters of New Haven we have a repetition of the work of organized capital against the machinists at Rutland, Vt., of Judge Jackson's treatment of the miners in West Virginia. Do we forget, the Waterbury strike, he asked, when the courts tied up the funds of all the labor unions at the critical moment? These experiences should teach us a lesson. We need new weapons for the fight. The capitalists understand the value of political power used on class lines. So must we. If we are not to be utterly defeated, in further illustration he cited the recent occurrence in Colorado, where all civil law and justice have been set aside for bayonet-law at the demand of the organized employers.

The speaker referred to the late Senator Hanna's declaration that the fight of the future is to be between Republicans and Socialists. It is to be a fight between the Republicans as shown in the Highland machinists' case, in the Waterbury case, in the order of Republican Judge Jackson, in the actions of Republican Governor Peabody, and in this infamous decision sentencing New Haven teamsters to jail for "conspiring to raise wages," between capitalism in control of the Republican party and the working class represented by the Socialist movement.

"Workmen must begin to think or become slaves," he said. "This decision of Judge Shumway may help to make you think. When you get to thinking there will be different results. Socialism is the topic of the day. Socialism is coming. Socialism will be brought about either in the white garb of peace or the red garb of blood in revolution. I ask you all to study Socialism in order to uplift the members of your class who are in trouble to-day and to do away with such oppression."

At the conclusion of the address a collection was taken for the benefit of the teamsters.

LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK.

Lectures for the week under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party and auxiliary organizations, whether by Socialist or non-Socialist speakers, and by Socialist speakers before other organizations, are listed below. Unless otherwise stated, lectures are called for 8 p. m., and admission is free.

New York City.

THURSDAY, FEB. 25.
Erlis Hall, 168 West Twenty-third street. George D. Herron: "The Crisis of Civilization."

FRIDAY, FEB. 26.
Mt. Morris Educational Club, 134 East 110th street. Henry L. Shubinski: "The Poet Shelley."

Saturday, Feb. 27.
Clark's Hall, N. W. corner Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue. Morris Hillquit: "The Character of the Socialist Movement."

SUNDAY, FEB. 28.
Colonial Hall, Hundred and first street and Columbus avenue. William Edlin: "Socialism and Civilization."

Socialist Literary Society, 232 East Broadway. Alexander Horst: "Freedom."

WEDNESDAY, MAR. 2.
8th A. D., 232 E. Broadway. B. Feigenbaum: "Why All Socialists Should Join the Social Democratic Party."

THURSDAY, MAR. 3.
Erlis Hall, 168 W. Twenty-third street. George D. Herron: "The Socialist Horizon."

Brooklyn.
SUNDAY, FEB. 28.
Labor Lyceum, 940-957 Willoughby avenue, 3 p. m. Lecture-recital, "Wagner and Pacific," by George D. Herron and Mrs. Herron. Admission, 25 cents; for the Socialist Daily Fund.

Ward's Hall, 815 Washington street. Mrs. Bertha M. Fraser: "The Workers and Their Masters."

Buffalo Hall, Buffalo avenue and Fulton street. Charles Dobbe: "A Forfeited Trust."

"Socialism Explained," by A. A. Lewis, is a pamphlet setting forth the ideas of our party in the plainest language. Circulate it. Ten copies for a quarter; fifty for 85 cents; one hundred for \$1.50. Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York.

THE WORKER—ITS NEEDS AND ITS POSSIBILITIES.

Never since the establishment of "The Worker" has there been such urgent need for co-operation on the part of the comrades, with a view to obtaining a sufficiently large subscription list to put the paper on a firmer financial basis.

The campaign which is so near at hand and which will without question mark an epoch in the history of the Socialist movement of the United States must be carried on more aggressively than any we have gone through heretofore, and the most lasting work can be done by the circulation of sound Socialist literature broadcast among the workmen of the land.

Nothing would give us greater pleasure than to send "The Worker" free, from now till Election Day, to all who would read it, were it possible to do so. Unfortunately that is out of the question. Hence the necessity for calling upon "the comrades everywhere" to make special efforts to increase the circulation of "The Worker" to the Fifty Thousand mark.

With a view to interesting not only the individual comrades but the locals and branches as well, we have prepared a list of the cream of Socialist works and are offering them as premiums to those who engage in this work. This offer is printed on another page.

Comrades everywhere should and no doubt do wish to have a library of se-

lect books on Socialism with which to fortify themselves against the attacks that will assuredly be made on the movement during and after this campaign. In gathering subscriptions for "The Worker" they will not only be carrying the propaganda for Socialism into new fields, but also making it possible to get the desired library. This applies with equal force to locals or branches and to individuals.

Any local branch or individual can obtain the complete list of forty books by sending in 350 yearly subscriptions at 50 cents each, or 700 six-month subscriptions at 25 cents each; and we can say without hesitation that, in nine cases out of ten, even six months' reading of "The Worker" will make a Socialist of any thoughtful workman or any sincere friend of progress.

How many organizations will avail themselves of this offer, enlist under the banner of "The Worker" and earn one or more of the sets of books offered and thereby equip themselves better for the coming battle? Early attention to this work will mean an increased vote at the next and all succeeding elections. Let the comrades take this matter up soon and write us for any further information they desire.

Rocialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, Publishers of "The Worker."

GLOVE WORKERS ASK FOR HELP.

The Strike at Gloversville and Johnstown.

Employers' Association on the Parry Model Trying to Crush the Union—Strikers Have Braved Great Hardships and Beserve Support.

A committee of the International Glove Workers' Union is in the city, soliciting funds for their striking members in Gloversville and Johnstown, N. Y. The Central Federal Union has endorsed their appeal and made a contribution and it is hoped that all class-conscious workmen will help them as much as possible.

The history of the conflict is a somewhat interesting one. The glove industry of the United States is to a great extent concentrated in the two cities named and the manufacturers are closely organized—among them being Lucius N. Littauer, the Republican Congressman and friend of President Roosevelt who has become so notorious of late in connection with contract grafting.

The union in its present form is less than two years old. The table cutters, who do the finer work, have been organized for several years, but it was not until 1902 that the present union was formed, including the block cutters, whose pay is much lower.

Last year the block cutters were on strike against the continuous lowering of wages. The strikers were not directly involved. But they soon observed that the manufacturers were gradually increasing the output of certain classes of table-cut goods that served as a substitute for the block-cutters' product—the manufacturers, usually substituting poor grades for good ones, but in this case, in order to break a strike and crush the union, being willing to reverse the process and reduce their own profits for a time. The table cutters thereupon refused to do more than a normal proportion of this special class of work. The reply was a threat to lock out the whole body, which was carried into effect. The lockout lasted five weeks and ended by the bosses submitting to arbitration, which they had refused before. The strikers got a small increase in wages through the arbitration.

But the fight was soon renewed. Several manufacturers, by bulldozing and other methods, got some of their employees individually to give their "voluntary consent" to do more work, thus nullifying the increase of wages, and "meeting a pace" for all the workers.

Meanwhile, through the agitation of the union, there had come a growing demand for union-label gloves. No label

THE APPROACHING OF SOCIALISM.

By Saul Beaumont.

The present social system is confronted with a very serious problem—the problem of transformation of society. Based on economic inequality, the whole social structure is violently tottering on its weak foundations and may collapse at any moment. A great change is bound soon to take place that will revolutionize the established institutions of mankind. Society as it is to-day cannot exist much longer, on account of the bitter conflict that is constantly being waged between the two antagonistic classes comprising the social fabric. The struggle for political and economic rights is becoming more intense as time passes on, and the chasm between the two classes widens accordingly.

On the one side stands the capitalist class, entrenched behind the corrupt political structure (of its own design) and dominating at will over the dispossessed class—the working class. It owns and controls through trickery and false pretense all the means of production and distribution, whereby it owns and controls all the products as well as the producers of the same.

On the other side stands the working class, constantly exploited by the capitalists of industry, and looked upon as a simple commodity that can be obtained at any time, receiving but a mere subsistence for all that it produces. In order to maintain its existence for further production and continued exploitation.

The appropriation by one class of almost all the wealth produced by the other separates widely the two rival classes. One gets all and becomes all-powerful, while the other gets very little and remains powerless. The latter, then, dispossessed of their economic means of life, are absolutely at the mercy of the owners of those means and therefore have no independent will of their own. They are but a herd of wage-slaves, left to the discretion of their masters.

Therefore, the capitalist class of today, having developed its mode of exploitation to the highest point of usurpation, has become the sole owner of all the wealth produced by the working class, past and present, and usurps at will all the moral and economic rights of the latter to get the product of its own toil, and also forces it down to the lowest level of the social ladder, to a life of poverty, misery, ignorance, and degradation.

This process of aggrandizing by one class the products of another is fast preparing society for the final battle of its emancipation from economic inequality. It seems that the progress of the world, in order to develop itself to perfection, is destined to witness one more strife of the human race, that will once forever settle all disputes between man and man and establish permanent order on earth.

The history of mankind is like one long chain of battles, aiming to terminate itself on the altar of economic freedom. As far as the human mind can penetrate into the chain of past ages, we find the natural law of self-preservation rigorously at work amongst the primitive inhabitants of the earth. The struggle for the "survival of the fittest" is going on in all its fury, and the fittest survive.

Amongst the survivors we also find the primitive man, vigorously combating for supremacy. From times immemorial he fought his battles against all obstacles in the way of his elevation from brute to man. Emerging from the animal kingdom into a higher stratum of natural selection, he came in contact with a new problem awaiting his decision—the law of human selection. This period of the human race marks the beginning of civilization. From that time on, the primitive man ceased to struggle individually; he unites with other individuals to combat their way forward, socially to attain better conditions and environment. Gradually, step by step, the human race progresses forward. At first the human family is being built up. Next, the family enlarges and becomes a patriarchal tribe. Although there may be a feeling of antagonism (competition) toward other tribes, still, within the limits of this group there is a certain degree of sympathy and helpfulness. All progress here is due to the altruistic principle, which has restricted the law of natural selection. The very beginnings of society were due, as we have seen, to the introduction of this higher law. It lies at the basis of the family, which is the unit of society. (Vail, "Principles of Scientific Socialism.")

Society, therefore, being a unit of millions of families, due to the workings of the law of human selection, and being also supported by the economic forces of the past and present, it has one huge human family, and as such, for its own benefit, must positively stand together, work together and share its products together, otherwise it will retrograde into the animal world, from which it originated.

It follows, then, that society, in order to perpetuate its existence, must socialize all its fractions into one compact body, and act harmoniously together for mutual benefit and self-preservation.

Fortunately, the tendency of the times points in that direction. All the forces, economic, social, political, and moral are hard at work to eliminate once forever the conflicts of man with man, that have for so many centuries marred the progress of civilization of the human race.

To quote Prof. Parsons: "The whole history of human advancement is simply the story of getting rid of conflict. At first, every man fought for himself, then groups co-operated in war, then nations, groups of nations, and at last the world, and war will be over—at every step a larger union and the elimination of internal conflict over a wider area. It is the same with industry—at first, individual workmen, then groups of factories, then corporations, empires, trusts, and at last a union of all in one great co-operation for the

benefit of all, at every step a larger union and the elimination of conflict within its borders; at last an all-including union and the extinction of conflict."

Logically, then, it follows that, in order to establish permanent "peace on earth and good will toward men," it is absolutely necessary to end the bitter strife of the two contending classes, comprising the social fabric of to-day—the capitalist class and the working class. As it has been shown above, the tendency of the progress of the world is towards the socialization of the whole social system, that is, the transformation of society from its present divided form into one compact social body, based on economic equality and mutual moral assistance. It would, therefore, be futile, and also disastrous, for any fraction of society, capitalist or otherwise, to try to prevent its accomplishment, for the following reasons:

1. The industrial development of the world, being to-day operated collectively, demands collective ownership of same without any restrictions whatsoever.

2. All the capital used in the process of production and distribution is but stored-up labor power; therefore, to labor it rightfully belongs, and no individual or group of individuals, not being producers, has any economic or moral right to claim it as their own, their private property.

3. Whereas, private ownership of capital, that is, all the machinery of production and distribution, such as land, shops, factories, ships, railroads, etc., is unjustly claimed, owned and controlled by a non-producing class, the capitalist class, which has no functions to perform in the modern industrial development, and in performing none of it, therefore, lives and fattens on the toil of others, and this again is detrimental to the welfare of the real owner of capital, the working class, that produced it all; the capitalist class, therefore, is but an obstacle to the progress of society, and as such, it has to be removed as soon as possible; otherwise, this obstacle, this human parasite, will devour the social body and blinder its natural development.

Look about you to-day—what do you behold?

On one side, huge castles, grand mansions, magnificent palaces, built by labor, splendidly ornamented and filled with the finest products of labor, and inhabited not by the producers of all these good things, but by a land of ambitious idlers and their political lackeys, whom they use forcibly to attain their shameful goal, so they may uncollected revel in unbecoming luxury and wild, boundless debauchery.

On the other side, we see millions of people helplessly struggling along under the heavy yoke of capitalist oppression and live and die in misery and debasement. Their places of abode are grimy, filthy hovels, and their places of amusement filthy work-shops and factories. The opportunity to elevate themselves mentally and physically to a higher standard in life is taken away from them by their oppressors, who, octopus-like, absorb everything in sight.

Such is the present "order" of society!

But as labor creates all wealth, to labor it rightfully belongs; all others—hands off!

The working class, receiving all it produces, will elevate itself to the highest physical, mental, and moral standard imaginable. To bring this condition about all capital must be owned collectively and operated collectively for the benefit of all.

"But this is Socialism," you'll cry. Yes, this is Socialism; it means everything to the worker—nothing to the idler.

But those men who revel in luxury in the mansions you have built, cheated you out of your rightful share of the good things of your land, just as Jacob of days-gone cheated his brother Esau out of a plate of beans.

However, the difference between you and Esau is, while he drove Jacob out of the country, you are rather proud of your "Captains of Industry" and let them unmolested fleece you all they want.

This order (rather disorder) of society cannot exist much longer. Progress is against it; civilization is against it; intellect is against it; you are against it, although unknowingly; and, moreover, it is against itself. The capitalist system of to-day is fast preparing its own destruction.

The greed to "grab it all" and give nothing, forces our modern industry to be concentrated in the hands of a few financial autocrats, and the result will be that in the very near future five per cent. of the people will own all the wealth of the country; and the rest of us—nothing, or next to it. But people owning nothing, can buy nothing (to live on), and having also nothing to lose but their chains, will some nice day rise as one man and intelligently (if not regrettably) restore to themselves all that belongs to them.

The battle cry will then not be, "Shoulder your guns," but, "To the ballot-box, boys!" And labor's vast hosts will once forever show the world that they can also "stand pat" at the polls and vote for their own emancipation.

Getting possession of the reins of government, the working class will at once proceed to fulfill its mission—the transformation of society. It will abolish capitalism and establish Socialism in its place.

The rapidly growing Socialist Party and the constantly increasing vote cast in its favor, backs the truthfulness of my assertions.

And as Socialism and its tendency towards realization, being supported by all the forces of the progress of mankind, is inevitable, therefore no power on earth can check it. It is bound to come in the near future, nay, it is already approaching—prepare for it!

Prepare for Socialism. Work for it!

Work for the emancipation of the working class from the bondage of wage-slavery, from the clutches of capitalism, and from misery and degradation of economic inequality. Socialism will establish liberty, equality and fraternity on earth, and the human race will at last undisturbed enjoy the fruits of its progress. The miracle of individualism will dominate no more in this broad land of ours. Socialism will spread its white wings of peace from ocean to ocean.

Cambridge, Mass.

PARTY NEWS.
(Continued from 24 page.)

Hyde Park, Holyoke, and Ward 16 of Boston was received too late to be counted.

The vote of the General Clubs Committee for State Secretary, closing Feb. 15, resulted as follows: Gustave C. Kleining, received one vote—Robert Lawrence of Clinton. Chas. E. Fenney received five votes—John Hughes of Fall River, Walter Thorne of Cambridge, Washington Bryer of Bangs, Ohio, Bokelund of Worcester, and Chas. C. Hitchcock of Ware. Fred E. Irish received twenty votes—Oliver A. Briggs of Sandwich, Chas. E. Lowell of Whitman, Edward M. Henry of Brockton, Wm. Cunnane of New Bedford, Arthur W. Davis of Weymouth, Herbert Mosman of Stoughton, John Fitzpatrick of Boston, Fred. S. Schmidt of Boston, Squire B. Putney of Somerville, Alfred B. Ostrum of Lowell, John T. Galvin of Boston, Bernard W. Gidney of Lynn, James F. Carver of Haverhill, James A. Wilkinson of Lawrence, John D. Williams of Malden, C. J. Bates of Athol, Samuel Eschenbach of Springfield. Members of the Committee not voting were: Thomas Reynolds of North Easton, Sumner P. Annis of Natick, John Rosen of Boston, Saul Jacobs of Boston, Jesse Foster of Beverly, Chas. W. Johnson of Newburyport, Benjamin Staverly of Lowell, William Spence of Warren, F. H. Gilmore of Milford, Edward A. Buckland of Holyoke, John J. Clark of North Adams, and Macdonald of Northampton. Fred E. Irish, having a majority of all ballots cast, was declared elected.

The ways and means committee appointed at the last meeting of the Executive Committee to outline plans to lift the party indebtedness has decided to issue subscription lists which will be sent out to the clubs before Mar. 1.

At the view of the fact that it is of the utmost importance to our welfare as an organization that this debt should be paid as soon as possible, the committee are requested to give these official lists precedence over all others they may receive, with the possible exception of the coin-cards from national headquarters. Let all put their shoulders to the wheel and lift hard.

To the club sending in the largest remittance on one of these subscription lists for March, the State Secretary will give a copy of Comrade Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States," a work that is winning golden opinions from our press all over the country.

The Young Men's Socialist Educational Club of Boston, organized to study the principles of Socialism, holds regular meetings every Sunday evening at 8 p. m. sharp, at the Civic Service House, 112 Salem street, Boston. This organization has thirty members. Following are the officers: Max D. Bramberg, 10 Minot street, Organizer; Jacob H. Pollak, Recording Secretary; Max Lapidas, Financial Secretary; Bernard D. Kaiser, Treasurer, and Louis Leventhal, Samuel Jacobson, Morris Maslowsky, and Joe Levine, Educational Committee.

Ohio.

We have received, from Toledo, signed by Sarah A. Bernane as chairman of the session and W. C. Guntz, the following statement as adopted by Local Toledo in joint session on Feb. 7: "In the State Secretary's report for January he expresses a wish that the larger locals would join in an effort to get rid of the debt. This debt was incurred in pursuance of a policy repeatedly objected to by Local Toledo and it was only in the face of considerable opposition on the part of former State Secretary Critchfield that Local Toledo was able to get a knowledge of what was going on. We are confident that had the membership of the state been kept informed of the state of affairs it would have been stopped instantly. In view of our recent unfortunate experience in having had a State Secretary who ran us into debt and did everything in his power to prevent our finding it out and who, when it was discovered, resigned and left it to a new State Secretary to take up the work at a greatly reduced salary, Local Toledo does not feel disposed to place money at the disposal of the state office without being fully informed as to what is going on. Our new State Secretary has discontinued the weekly letter to the State Committee on the ground of the expense of postage. There are twenty-one members of the State Committee and it costs twenty-one cents to get the weekly report to them. The State Secretary's action therefore does not seem to us well founded or calculated to restore the confidence in the state office necessary to make Local Toledo contribute any money outside of the regular channel. Appeals for financial help are not received with good grace and do not carry much weight with us unless accompanied by at least the publicity we are accustomed to and by such a full information as will render difficult a repetition of our previous experience."

Arizona.

Benjamin F. Wilson is now making a tour of Arizona under the direction of the Territorial Committee. Beginning on Feb. 6, he has spoken at Chandler, Kingman, Jerome, Blanchard, McCabe, Poland, Walker, Groun Creek, Crown King, Prescott, and Weaver. His dates for the future are: Mar. 1 to 3, Phoenix; Mar. 4, Mesa; Mar. 5 to 8, Tucson; Mar. 10 to 12, Globe; Mar. 13 to 21, several places in Graham County; Mar. 23 to 25, Bisbee; Mar. 26 to 28, Douglas; Mar. 30, Palomas; Mar. 31 to April 3, Yuma.

Territorial Secretary Ryan writes: "The local is so organized that besides speaking at places where there are locals, Comrade Wilson can also work up new territory. Letters received from places in which he has lectured are enthusiastic and full of appreciation of his scathing exposure of the wiles of Hearst and other frauds. His logical and convincing presentation of Socialism will do much towards developing the spirit of class consciousness, in line with policy of the Territorial Committee, which prefers to build up the party on a solid foundation. Numbers are a secondary consideration for the present."

Here and There.

Local Buffalo, N. Y., has elected the following new officers: Recording and Corresponding Secretary, Louis Slotkin, 355 William street; Organizer and Financial Secretary, C. L. Whittemore, 123 W. Eagle street. Comrade Schor was nominated for delegate to the national convention. At the meeting on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 23, Comrade Whittemore will open a discussion on the general principles of Socialism.

Local New Haven will meet in mass convention at Aurora Hall, 135 Union street, Saturday evening, March 5 to make nominations for candidates for city offices for the city election to be held on the third Tuesday in April. Nominations must be made for four aldermen-at-large, registrar of vital statistics, one alderman in each numbered ward, also selectmen, constables and grand jurors. A campaign committee must also be elected and preparation made for an active campaign. Every member should make a special effort to be present at this important meeting.

The municipal campaign in Milwaukee is becoming very warm, and the speakers being sent in by the national headquarters are doing good service. John M. Work of Iowa spent the first week of February there, also visiting Green Bay, where a very successful meeting was held, the local press giving Comrade Work credit for an exceedingly strong address. During the week beginning Feb. 8, F. E. Seeds of Kentucky was employed in Milwaukee, Wyocena, Pacific, Fayette, and Portage. Three new locals were organized at Wyocena, Portage, and Portage. H. E. Dunham of Wyocena, writes enthusiastically about Seeds' ability to reach the farmers. James H. Brower filed the week of Feb. 14 in Milwaukee and Max Hayes of Cleveland the week beginning Feb. 21. Other weeks will be filled by Frederick G. Strickland, A. M. Simpson, William Malley, J. W. Clayton, and James F. Carver. Malley took place of J. Malhol Barnes, who could not leave Philadelphia. George D. Heron will address a large meeting on Mar. 17, and Charles Farley will

work among the Bohemians for several days. The state convention of the Socialist Party of Oregon has been called for Mar. 8 at Portland. Each local organization will be entitled to one delegate-at-large and one for every five members of the local. Nominations will be made for the state and district officers to be elected in June. The attendance is expected to be large.

National Organizer John W. Brown filed thirty-three dates in California, Humboldt and Del Norte Counties are in the extreme northwestern part of California, close to the Oregon line. In order to reach these counties Brown had to take the coast steamer from San Francisco. He spoke at Eureka, Fortuna, Arcata, Newburg, Crescent City, and Smith River. This was the first time a Socialist speaker had visited these places and Brown reports that an unusual interest was aroused. At Crescent City, everybody in town attended the meeting, including bankers, merchants, judges, and lawyers. The town closed up and even the saloon keepers and bartenders turned out to hear the Socialist. At Smith River things were a little rough. A crowd of "smarties" tried to spoil the meeting. Brown had to leave the platform and escort outside a poor drunken fellow who had evidently been "filled up" for the purpose. Later, Brown had a rough time of it with some well-dressed toughs to leave the hall—and they left. When they got outside they began to make up the town. They fired a number of rounds from their revolvers into the hall entrance, then, got empty barrels and pounded on them, but Brown proceeded with his speech. After the meeting one of the audience, a lumberman, interviewed the interrupters and asked them politely who it was that had all the cold lead to spare, as he had some he would like to exchange with them. But the respectable rowdies were "all in" then and desired peace.

In order to get from Del Norte County into Oregon, Brown had to take the stage across the mountains and the story of the ride can be told in Brown's own words: "I am not much on pen description, but may it suffice for me to say that I left Crescent City at five p. m. Tuesday, on a heavily loaded stage which, every time it went into a rut or struck a rock, pounded down on the axles. We reached the summit of the range of mountains about 3 a. m. The run down the mountains to Wells cannot be told by tongue or pen. If you want to get an idea of what it was like, just stand on your head in the middle of the floor, then let three able-bodied persons take each a baseball bat and tell them to lay on until they get tired, but not to stop on your account. The top of the stage just cleared my head by about three inches" (Brown is six feet four) "and every time we went over a boulder—which was about all the time for three hours—I got in on both ends. My arms were swollen so from holding myself up off the seat that I could hardly feed myself next morning. At one place, after hitting over a tremendous rough place, the driver yelled at me: 'Are you asleep in there?' 'Am I alive, you mean?' I called back.

"Jump her if you hear me holier!" he howled in return. "However we got into Wells about nine a. m. after sixteen hours straight ride, and left there at seven next morning, arriving at Grants Pass, Ore., at six p. m. in the 'pink of condition.' Brown will work over the line into Washington.

Working for the Worker.

Local Albany, N. Y., is planning a thorough campaign of literature of which spreading the circulation of The Worker will form a part.

Warren Wingert of Portstown, Pa., comes in again for \$2 worth of cards and will look after renewals and hunt up new subscribers in his town.

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IT IS FOR THE WORKER.

We have a good many inquiries about the Grand Industrial Exposition and Food Show to be held here in New York City. The surplus is for the Labor Press, the Worker and the New York Volkszeitung. It is the intention of the Soc. Coop. Publ. Ass'n, publishers of the Worker to get a new Press, and the Worker will then be issued as a 6 or 8 page first-class weekly. It is generally admitted that the Party needs a good organ for the whole country and as large and cheap as possible containing all the party news and good propaganda matter. This can be done if every comrade put his shoulder to the wheel and makes the Exposition a success. We have already a good many letters asking for tickets and the committee has therefore decided to send every reader of the Worker 5 Exposition tickets. The tickets participate in which more than 1000 prizes will be distributed. We hope that every reader will do his utmost to sell the 5 tickets to his friends, remember, it is for the benefit of your Press, the Worker.

Regarding Senator Hanna's funeral in Cleveland the dispatches say, "The

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Hawk and Hand saw Tales.

TOLD BY BEN HANFORD.

It is a mistake to suppose that the capitalist does not believe in a God. He does believe, and most devoutly, too. But in the lexicon of capitalism God is spelled with an I-G-O-O-D, God.

Robert T. Lincoln is president of the Pullman Palace Car Company.

His father was president of the United States.

Abraham Lincoln spent his life making free men of slaves.

Robert T. Lincoln spends his life to making money.

It is a splendid thing to have a father to be proud of.

It is a better thing to see that the father can be proud of his son.

On the anniversary of her husband's birthday the widow of Krupp, the German gunmaker, gave \$25 each to those employees who had been in continuous service for twenty-five years—almost a dollar a year. There's liberality for you.

Here is an official record of capitalist honesty, judged by its own criteria and measured by its own standards. You remember the great hullabaloo not long since regarding the debts of Venezuela to other countries and their citizens. The German Kaiser, represented by warships which destroyed several Venezuelan boats, insisted on the immediate payment of the German "claims." So soon as the Kaiser demanded payment, the governments of France, Great Britain, Spain, and the United States stepped in to claim and demand their "claims." Venezuela would not allow that, and so induced the "powers" to refer their claims against Venezuela to The Hague Tribunal for arbitration. What did the verdict of that body show? That the Powers allied against Venezuela claimed and were entitled to amounts as follows:

	Claimed.	Allowed.
France	\$3,000,000	\$400,000
Germany	1,200,000	324,000
Great Britain	225,000	120,000
Spain	2,500,000	380,000
United States	0,120,000	513,000

Total, \$10,645,000 to \$1,887,000. Now, what does this show? It shows with exactness the percentage of honesty and dishonesty to be found at the very pinnacle of capitalist society. These nations collectively claimed \$10,645,000 and were allowed \$1,887,000 of that sum—or 11 per cent. In other words, judged by themselves, our capitalist governments taken in a group are 1 part honesty to 8 parts of dishonesty.

This ratio, however, does not hold for the United States. As is to be expected of the foremost capitalist nation on earth, it is in the van of progress wherever a dishonest dollar is to be found. Before The Hague Tribunal the United States presented "claims" for \$9,120,000 and were allowed \$513,000—or less than 6 per cent. So you see just how honest our government is—1 part honesty to 16 parts dishonesty.

If a man has a chance to rob you 17 times, and only robs you 16 times, letting you escape 1 time, how honest is he? If in speaking to you 17 times, a man lies to you 16 times, telling the truth 1 time, how honest is he? He is just a plain 16 to 1 liar and thief—I ought to apologize for using Mr. Bryan's sacred ratio.

Nor, given opportunity, is capitalist private business better than its government business. In 1903 the New York State Board of Claims adjudicated 281 claims, aggregating \$10,630,305.21 (exclusive of interest), and on these claims they allowed just \$114,545.78—or less than 1 per cent. of honesty to 99 per cent. dishonesty.

The New York "Sun" says that Wall Street men now sometimes tell the truth for the express purpose of deceiving—knowing their character to be so bad that it is impossible for people to suspect them of honesty. If things go on as they are, we shall reach the stage where we will not be able to believe a capitalist's statement if he proves it.

Speaking of capitalist individualism and government morality in connection with the nimble dollar, I must not fail to mention President Roosevelt. In the fall of 1898 Mr. Roosevelt thought he saw a chance to become Governor of New York. But the State Constitution provides that to become Governor a man must have been a resident of the state for the five years next preceding his term of office. On March 21, 1898, in Washington, D. C., Mr. Roosevelt being then and there confronted with the tax assessor, made affidavit that since June of that year "I have been and am now a resident of Washington." Now, of course, I know that the President of the United States could not be in two places at once. If I did not know that Mr. Roosevelt was such a stalwart upholder of law, morality and the Constitution, I should think this was a case of plain lying tax-dodging. As it is, I fear a miracle was performed by him, and I can see no good reason why he should not add the lustre of divine right to the other rights and wrongs attaching to his administration.

Regarding Senator Hanna's funeral in Cleveland the dispatches say, "The

GOOD SOCIALIST BOOKS AND HOW TO GET THEM.

Do you wish to educate yourself on the principles and history of Socialism? Of course you do. One way to do it is to get a good standard book and read it carefully, and then another and another, setting aside some certain time each week, be it only an hour or two, for systematic reading. Do you wish also to help in spreading the light of Socialism? Of course you do. One of the best ways to do that is to get new subscriptions for The Worker.

We have a plan by which, while pushing the circulation of this paper, you can provide yourself with the best books on Socialism. Read these six propositions. Then go to work.

Offer No. 1.

As a premium for FIVE new yearly subscriptions at 50 cents each we will send you any one of the following cloth-bound books:

1. Engels—Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.
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3. Engels—Fuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy.
4. Kautsky—The Social Revolution.
5. Ladoff—The Passing of Capitalism.
6. Liebknecht—Biographical Memoirs of Karl Marx.
7. Marx and Engels—The Communist Manifesto.
8. Simons—The American Farmer.
9. Vandervelde—Collectivism and Industrial Evolution.
10. Or a complete set of the Kerr Pocket Library of 40 booklets.

Offer No. 2.

For SEVEN yearly subscriptions we will send you any one of these 75-cent books:

11. Morris—News from Nowhere.
12. Pichebon—Socialism and Anarchy.
13. Spencer—The Genesis of Science.
14. Ely—French and German Socialism in Modern Times.

Offer No. 3.

For TEN yearly subscriptions, any of these dollar books:

15. Bax—The Religion of Socialism.
16. Bax—The Ethics of Socialism.
17. Bax—The Story of the French Revolution.
18. Dawson

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the wrapper.
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The Worker.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

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PRICE 2 CENTS.

CHALLENGE ACCEPTED.

Interesting Debate to Be Held in Bridgeport.

Daniel Davenport, Chief Counsel for Parry's Association, Will Meet Sol Fieldman in Discussion on Socialism—Is Now Busy at Washington Fighting Labor Laws.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Feb. 28.—By instruction of the Socialist Party local here, Sol Fieldman sent a challenge last Thursday to Daniel Davenport, a prominent Democratic politician, now chief counsel of the so-called Anti-Boycott Association—another form of Parry's Manufacturers' Association—who is putting so much noise in the newspapers these days by his activity at Washington fighting the labor bills asked for by the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Davenport has been denouncing Socialism and the whole labor movement in unmeasured terms and the comrades decided it was time to "call" him. To-day a reply was received accepting the challenge to debate.

The Socialist challenge was worded as follows:

"Mr. Daniel Davenport, executive agent of the American Anti-Boycott Association.

"Sir—As executive agent of the American Anti-Boycott Association you recently appeared before the congressional committee on labor at Washington, D. C., and spoke against a proposed eight-hour law on governmental work. What is claimed to be a stenographic report of your speech on that occasion appeared alike in all local newspapers.

"You are quoted as having denounced the proposed eight-hour law as 'Socialistic legislation, the result of the influence of a movement that is not only national but international in its scope and character.' The principles of which you truly characterized as an 'interference with the fundamental relations of employer and employee, master and servant,' which relation you claim is enduring and permanent and which you further claim 'civilized society will never give up.'

"You then appealed to the members of the congressional committee on labor to do everything in their power to check the growth of that movement, must learn to turn the great engine of the United States government into a means of still further advancing such a movement.

"The Socialist movement, as you well said, is international. All over the world the working class are fast joining the ranks of this, the greatest economic and political movement the world ever saw; to establish the grandest ideal the world ever conceived of; that of capturing through the peaceful but powerful ballot 'the great engines of government,' not only of the United States but of the world, and use their legislative, judicial and executive powers not only as a means to advance the Socialist movement, but to actually establish its ideal. Not only to interfere with the relation of master and servant, but to abolish that relation for all time. How? Why, by abolishing capitalism—the individual ownership and individual management, for profit, of all industries, institutions and things that are collectively used and collectively necessary. This means that the capitalist, the 'master,' must go and the relation of master and slave go with him; for having no 'masters' we shall have no slaves; but instead a race of free men and women, each serving all, all serving each—not preaching the Golden Rule, but living it.

"Mr. Davenport, do you say 'Civilized society will never give up the relation of master and servant'?

"We tell you and they tell you represent, and mark our words, the members of, and voters for, the Socialist party of America, numbering over a quarter of a million, their comrades the world over, numbering over ten millions, as well as the rest of the workers of the world that are fast awakening, that 'denies' doing the world's work, are too 'civilized' to much longer carry the world's dinner giving parasitical capitalist financiers on our backs. Some say will vote them out of existence—throw them off our backs—'civilize' them—force them to do their share of the world's work, or starve. Then we shall have but one class the world over—the working class—and that class shall not only feed, clothe and house this world, but own it and enjoy it.

"I noticed that in your speech you referred to Socialists, arguments as 'Socialistic.' We will give you a good chance at proving that assertion.

"At its last meeting, Monday, February 22, Local Bridgeport of the Socialist Party of Connecticut, part of the S. P. of A., decided to challenge you to a public debate on Socialism; and I was chosen as its representative and your opponent in such debate.

"I therefore challenge you to appear with me on a public proposition:

"Resolved, That Socialism is just, necessary and desirable. I take the affirmative; or you may so word a similar proposition as to give yourself the affirmative.

"We offer to pay the rent for any large hall or playhouse in this city. You to select date. Should you accept this challenge you will be shown the utmost courtesy and any fair condition will be cheerfully agreed to.

"A copy of this challenge will be sent to the entire labor press of America and will otherwise be given as much publicity as a prejudiced press in the hands of capitalists makes possible.

"Should you fail to debate with me, the working class of this country whose 'friend' you profess to be—while fighting them—will be forced to believe that you cannot substantiate your assertions when not before a congressional committee 'on labor,' that is against labor.

"Mr. Davenport, you speak, to use your own words, 'representing the great and varied interests of the capitalist class of this country. We speak representing interests greater and by far more important—the interests of the only necessary part of the human race—the producers of all wealth—the working class.

"Will you answer a workingman's arguments for the freedom of his mind?

"Awaiting an early reply, I am, for Local Bridgeport of the Socialist Party, 'SOL. FIELDMAN.'

Mr. Davenport has replied as follows:

"Sol. Fieldman, Esq.

"Dear Sir—Yours of the 28th last received. In it you extend to me an invitation to publicly debate with you the subject of Socialism at some time and place to be fixed upon in the near future. It will give me great pleasure to discuss that subject with you at some time, which will be mutually convenient for us. Just now I am busy engaged in attendance upon committees in Washington and resisting Socialistic legislation there proposed.

"About the end of March, I think, I can arrange to meet you.

"Very truly yours,

DANIEL DAVENPORT."

The debate will certainly be one of the most interesting events of the sort that ever took place in Bridgeport.

The regular Socialist meetings are well attended and interesting. Comrade Blodwin was our last speaker and his lucid exposition was very helpful. On Sunday afternoon, Mar. 13, John Spargo will be the speaker on the subject: "The Future Outlook for Trade Unionism," in Germania Hall. An admission fee of 10 cents is charged to cover expenses.

PETTY TYRANNY.

Provokes Big Weavers' Strike in New Bedford.

As Example of the Contemptible Smallness of Mind and the Hypocrisy of Capitalists and Especially So-Called 'Self-Made Men.'

NEW BEDFORD, Mass., Feb. 27.—Five hundred cotton weavers quit work last night under exceptional circumstances. At the Dartmouth mill during the present winter many petty tyrannical rules have been introduced by the management. The severe weather, the depressed condition of the cotton trade, and the large army of unemployed weavers being the levers used to force the weavers into compliance. Most obnoxious of the new rules was one to the effect that weavers must scrub the floors under their looms, together with the all-ways between and around them. Other mills employ men with proper appliances for this work alone.

At a largely attended meeting, by a vote of over six to one the weavers declared their decision to cease scrubbing floors after Feb. 15 and notified the agent to that effect. In spite of the meeting, the agent contended that only the officials of the union, together with a few fools and drunks, were objecting to the scrubbing, and that his weavers liked to scrub, with the possible exception of such fools and drunks.

In the course of the week which had elapsed between the time of the meeting and the date when the "scrubbing" vote went into effect, the agent evidently became anxious, though still reiterating his opinion about the officials of the local union, and the high intelligence and goodwill of the vast majority of his "help."

He declared he would have no outside interference with the management of his mill, and tried to have a committee of weavers of his own choosing come and interview him on the matter; but each weaver pluckily refused to act. Failing in this, he refused to see a committee of his own weavers chosen by the weavers themselves.

Full of confidence that he had forced his weavers into abject submission, that he had only to frown to have them tremble, to dictate and have them obey, to state a condition and have them accept it as a law, he shut the doors and marched into the weave room, which is the largest in the world, containing three thousand looms, he mounted an empty yarn-box and gave them a "heart-to-heart talk."

He assured them that he liked labor unions "if they were run right." He assured them that he would not for profit, but to find them employment. (The last year's dividend, by the way, was 8 per cent, and \$200,000 carried to a reserve fund on a capital of \$600,000.) He assured them of his confidence in the good-will of himself and of their own desire to scrub the floor. He assured them there were hard times ahead and advised them to save their money (out of wages of six, seven, and eight dollars a week, instead of giving to those whose desire was to make trouble and bring suffering upon them).

When a weaver started to question him he assured them he had not come to argue, but to talk to them and that, as he knew they desired to scrub, scrubbing of floors must be continued. "Instantly, upon the conclusion of this 'heart-to-heart talk,' in which all the assurance and talk was on one side, the five hundred weavers, with perhaps a dozen exceptions, quit work in a body.

Some eight years ago this remarkable speech-maker worked for wages. He has scrambled to power and opulence through the influence of men with less knowledge of cotton and more money than himself. He has shaved wages and increased the amount of work at every opportunity. His vanity increased with his financial success. An expenditure of ten dollars a week would have scrubbed his weave-room floor, yet to-day five hundred New Bedford weavers are idle because of the stubborn conceit, petty tyranny, and consuming greed of this one boss. It is a fight of self-respecting manhood against money and arrogant power.

BOSTON PRINTERS' STRIKE.

BOSTON, Feb. 28.—The past week has seen but few developments in the strike situation. On Tuesday last twelve pressmen walked out from the Barta Press, after being requested to handle strike-breaker forms. The pressmen of this firm were invited down into the office and treated to cigars one day before, just to show the appreciation the firm held for its help; but they neglected to invite the union leaders, consequently when the cigars were lighted their pipes—just to show they could smoke too. They smoked together, and walked out together. Four pressmen left Geo. H. Ellis & Co.'s plant. Two non-union compositors left Samuel Usher Fort Hill Press. The force of Alfred Mudge & Son returned to work Tuesday under the new union scale of \$18 per week and 40 cents per thousand ems.

Of course all eyes are now centered on the hearing of the injunction proceedings before Master in Chancery Causton Browne. Geo. Fred Williams represents Typographical Union No. 13 and Edward F. McCleane and Louis D. Brantley the Typothetis. The first clause came on the request of McCleane that Secretary Davis produce the records of the union. Mr. Williams instructed the Secretary not to do so. The Master ruled against the point and warned Williams of the consequences if he persisted. It is manifest from the rulings in the case thus far that "vested rights" are safe.

The hearing may extend all through this week. As Socialists can predict results with a reasonable certainty, the predictions in this case will be no exception. Some kind of an injunction order will undoubtedly be granted, the assumption of courts being: That as the defendants (the Typographical Union) deny the facts alleged in the bill of complaint and as the bill of complaint only asks for the established rights of the complainants (the rights of present and future profits for capital), the injunction can do no harm to any party within the rulings of the law; that is, an injunction may be issued whether the defendants have committed acts alleged or not—they might do so.

Mr. Williams alleged in his denials that he objected to the issuance of the injunction on "moral grounds." This assumes that it is inadvisable to issue injunctions without showing necessity and just cause, as its effects on the minds of the people is to create disrespect for court rulings.

BEREL'S "WOMAN" AS A PREMIUM.

"The Worker has a limited number of copies of Berel's 'Woman: Past, Present, and Future,' and, instead of selling them, they will be given as a premium for three yearly or six half-yearly subscriptions for The Worker. This is an opportunity to obtain a famous and instructive work, which every Socialist should read, by the expenditure of a small amount of energy in making propaganda by extending the circulation of The Worker. Comrades who desire to take advantage of this offer should hasten to send in the necessary number of subscriptions, as the number of copies is limited and the supply will doubtless soon be exhausted.

—Fifty thousand readers for The Worker. Will you help get them?

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TURNER TO BE LET OUT ON BAIL.

At Sunday's meeting of the New York Central Federated Union a letter was read from the London District Council of Shop Assistants in reference to the detention of John Turner, the Anarchist, requesting the New York organization to give aid in its getting Turner released on bail and getting appeal to the Supreme Court.

It was decided to take such action and also to make an appeal to the unions for contributions for carrying the case of Turner before the Supreme Court, the amount necessary being estimated at \$3,000.

On Monday an order was given by the Supreme Court at Washington for Turner's release on bail and setting the hearing of his case for April 4.

—Woman's enslavement and degradation began when private property began. Mine and Thine were the words which sealed her fate in centuries of servitude; the words which shut her out from the warm, palpitating, universal life and love of the world and cast her as the chattel of a being vastly inferior to herself in the instincts and the powers of the brute.—Franklin H. Westworth.

FOR THE DAILY.

Date of Publication To Be Sept. 1.

Enthusiastic Meeting Decides that the Paper Must Be Published Next Fall and the Work Will Be Pushed with Determination—Another Meeting to Be Held March 10, when Sam Name Will Be Chosen.

A joint meeting of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, which is to publish the coming Socialist and trade union daily newspaper, and the New York and Brooklyn Conference, which are composed of delegates from trade unions and Socialist organizations to aid this project, was held in the New York Labor Lyceum on Feb. 23. The meeting was fairly well attended and was presided by a list of quiet determination.

Morris Hillquit addressed the meeting on the present condition and outlook of the movement for the daily. He endeavored to impress the listeners and delegates with the necessity of starting the paper at an early date, recounted the work already accomplished, and said that if it continued at only the present rate of progress, the publication of the daily would be a matter of the indefinite future; that many comrades made the mistake of regarding the daily as they would the Co-operative Commonwealth, that is, as something to be done in a work for and something that is sure to come sometime but is not to be expected in the immediate future; that if a definite time were set for its publication, with the earnest determination to issue it on the date set and no later, this unfortunate and unjustifiable spirit of pessimism would disappear, everyone would take new interest and work with renewed enthusiasm and money would be contributed much more liberally, both by labor organizations and by individuals, when the publication of the paper at a definite and early date was assured.

"Alexander J. J. of the 'Volkszeitung,' then spoke on what is necessary to make the paper a success. He said that in order to maintain the best way to assure its success is to secure pledges from that number of individuals to subscribe for or buy the paper when it is published; and that these pledges must be collected by a systematic canvass from house to house and in the trade unions in order to start with certainty of success. He said the expense of running the paper after it was established, in accordance with the standard which it would be necessary to maintain, would be \$3,000 per week; and that 30,000 readers at one cent on weekdays and five cents on Sunday, with the advertisements which it at circulation, would cover this expense.

After discussion, it was decided by an almost unanimous vote to set the date of publication for Sept. 1.

It was decided to hold another joint meeting on Thursday evening, March 10; and the Board of Managers was instructed to lay before this meeting a plan for gathering pledges to read the paper, and to draw up an appeal to all labor organizations for substantial donations, and to suggest a new name for the paper in place of the name "Globe," which was taken by a capitalist paper.

Opinion differed as to the possibility of protecting the name before publication, so that the advertisement and reputation given to the name by our agitation could not be taken advantage of by politicians who might temporarily publish a paper under the same name for campaign purposes. Comrade Blodwin stated that there was no way of protecting the name in advance of daily publication, while Comrade Hillquit thought that it might be possible to establish ownership of the name by publishing a small weekly or monthly sheet, which could be used as propaganda for the daily and to publish news of the progress of the work.

STEEL MEN STRIKE TO ENFORCE LAW.

Trust Discharging Men for Joining Union—Law Forbidding Discrimination Has Been Violated Unconstitutionally.

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Feb. 28.—The Advisory Board of the Amalgamated Association of Steel Workers has sanctioned a strike of the steel workers at Millcreek. This is notable as being a strike for the enforcement of a state law. Some years ago, in response to requests from the labor organizations, a law was passed forbidding any corporation to discharge employees for joining a union. The law was contested by employers and declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

It has since then been violated right and left, and this is the case of the Millcreek strike. It is said that the Amalgamated will try to carry the question over to the Supreme Court.

Joe Weller of March Chunk, then a Democrat elected with labor support, was the author of the law. In 1902, peeling the hopelessness of getting any real relief for labor from either of the old parties, he severed his Democratic connections and joined the Socialist Party.

There are enough iron and steel workers, coal and iron miners, and railway employees in Pennsylvania, not to mention the trades, if they would use their ballots together for their own party, to get labor laws honestly enacted and upheld in court and enforced.

—We shall not be happy until we have at least fifty thousand readers. Comrades, get busy.

RENTS TO GO UP.

New York Landlords Will Turn the Screw Again.

During Two Years of Reform Rule Landlords' Taxes Were Reduced and Rents Raised—Now under Tammany Rule, Rents Are to Go Up Again.

The New York "Herald," which is perhaps the best informed paper in the city on such subjects, says in its last Sunday's issue:

"Any rent payer who does not find his monthly bills increased after May 1 next may consider himself fortunate, for many of the largest landlord corporations and estates have announced a general raising of rents in tenements, apartments and dwellings, to take effect this spring.

A considerable number of large landlords are quoted by name as saying that rents would certainly be raised by from 8 or 10 to 15 per cent. One said:

"For the last two years rents have been going up. The law of supply and demand is responsible largely for this, I think. It is wonderful the number of people who are constantly coming to New York to live, and they fill up private dwellings and apartments as fast as they are opened."

Another said: "When one of our tenement apartments is vacated nowadays, if it has been paying \$11 a month, we make the rent \$12 a month. On a \$15,000 dwelling we add \$100 to the annual rental. In certain instances where there is a good tenant we might be glad to renew his lease at the old rental with a clause that the tenant shall be responsible for all repairs."

The "Herald" adds: "The near completion of the subway is responsible for a general increase in rents all along the line of the road on the west side and in the Bronx. In the last year or two rents in the Bronx have been raised from ten to twenty per cent, in anticipation of the influx of new dwellers, who are expected to move in as soon as real rapid transit is assured."

We had two years of "respectable reform" administration, during which the landlords' taxes were reduced and yet rents went steadily up. Now we have Tammany rule and again rents go up. This should be a lesson to the class that builds the houses and pays the rents to cease dividing its votes between the two old parties controlled by the class of employers and landlords.

TRADE UNION FINED.

Franklin Press Feeders' Organization Must Pay Another \$1,000 for Violating Capitalistic Injunction.

CHICAGO, Feb. 28.—For the second time today, Judge Jesse Holden fined the Franklin Union of Press Feeders \$1,000 for a violation of an injunction of the court. The injunction was obtained by the Chicago Typothetis, which charged the Franklin Union with interference with non-union employees.

Besides fining the union as a body, Judge Holden to-day fined President Weyman of that organization \$250 in addition to a jail sentence of six months. Secretary J. M. Shra was fined \$100 and sentenced to six months in jail. Jerome Collins and Harry Brown, members of the union, were given short jail sentences.

The injunction against the Press Feeders' Union, for violating which it has been so heavily punished, is a sweeping one, forbidding the union officers and members to do practically anything in the way of organized action, publication of grievances, or persuasion, to protect itself from the aggressions of the master printers' organization.

THE SWITCHMAN.

In the mass of the rails of gleaming steel,
Where the main tracks thread the yard,
Where the tongue of the open switch afflures
And the target stands on guard—
There's a silent man fits here and there,
With jaunty air and agile limb,
Playing hide and seek with life and death,
And courting both with changeable whim.

And the vigilant men in engine cab,
With a hand on steam and air,
With a mind and an eye alike alert
For the sign that says Beware—
Whether pulling freights or passengers,
Or empty in a rattling string,
Stop their monster steeds at a signal from
The silent man with arms sawing!

He's a thirty-faced man in jumper soiled,
And his hands are black as coals,
But his eyes and his nerves are wide awake—
Or he'd not be on the rolls!
He's a king at work, yet bears no arms
But those he's waving up and down,
And his realm is one of track and switch
And service his only crown.

—John Smith, in Switchman's Journal, October.

—Suppose the government were called the "Manufacturers' Association." Would it make any difference in the deal workers are now getting from this Empire?

BOSS BAKERS WILL FIGHT.

Will Go to Supreme Court Against Labor Law.

New York's Ten-Hour Law for Bakers Likely to Be Ruled Unconstitutional Yet—Disgraced Career of Weissmann—Now the Masters' Lawyer.

Henry Weissmann, the lawyer for the New York State Association of Master Bakers, said the other day that the master bakers will take the decision of the New York Court of Appeals declaring constitutional the Bakers' Ten Hour Law to the United States Supreme Court.

The Court of Appeals, it will be remembered, was divided on its decision, four judges supporting the law and three favoring its annulment—among the latter being Democrat Denio O'Brien, re-elected last fall on the joint state ticket of the two old parties. It is believed probable either that the United States Supreme Court will reverse the decision or will order a new trial, in which case, after election, one of the state judges will probably pretend to find a new point that he mislaid before to serve as a pretext for changing his decision and overthrowing the law. This has been the usual history of such cases.

This Henry Weissmann, now attorney for the Master Bakers' Association, was formerly a member of the Bakers' Union. He was a bitter opponent of Socialism in the union and resorted to the most disreputable tactics to prevent the organization from taking a progressive stand, preferring disruption to advance. For some time he posed as an Anarchist. Undoubtedly he was even then in secret acting as an agent of the bosses and of the Republican party, for when he had played out his influence in the union, he suddenly blossomed out as a Republican politician, got a good job, and plenty of money, was admitted to the bar, and finally became the legal representative of the employers' organization.

The ten-hour limit for bakery work, so far from being excessive, is far too lax. The men work a great deal at night, in open bakeries, generally in very close and unwholesome rooms, and consumption and other diseases resulting from these conditions are very common among them. Even an eight-hour day would be unreasonably long for such work.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

The following delegates attended the sitting of the Bureau at the Maison du Peuple, Brussels, on the 7th. P. G. Gernsmy, Singer, Kaustsky, and Rosa Luxemburg; for Belgium, Vandervelde and Atwater; for France, Vaillant and Clariand; for England, Hunter Watts and Quelch; for Holland, Troelstra and Van Kol; for Russia, Plechanoff; for Austria, Adler; for Poland, Walczak; for Argentine, Cambier.

The Workers' National Housing Council of London stated that the better housing of the people should be one of the questions placed on the agenda of the congress.

The Italian Socialist Federation of the United States announced its adherence to the Bureau. The organization has a membership of about one thousand, and it proposes the following amendment to the resolution on emigration and immigration presented by the Argentine Republic: "What ought to be the attitude of trade unions towards the organized workers of other countries who emigrate? Should not the mere fact that he was a member of his union in his own country entitle a workman to membership of the union of any other country without any 'extra expense'?" This amendment was allowed.

Luxemburg asked to be affiliated to the Bureau, but acknowledged inability to pay the full \$5 annual subscription. It was agreed to reduce the payment in this case to \$1, and to ask for the affiliation to be ratified by the Congress.

A mass meeting of workers, held at Sofia (Bulgaria), on October 1 last, adopted unanimously the following resolution: "In loyalty to the principle of the international struggle against all tyranny, in loyalty to the Socialist ideal, the workers of Sofia appeal to the Social Democracy of Europe to raise its powerful voice against Turkish tyranny. It invites it also to issue a protest against the barbarous policy of the extermination of the Polish people pursued by European Powers in the Balkan peninsula, etc., etc."

The meeting furthermore appealed to the committee of the Bulgarian Socialist Party to place before the International Bureau a detailed report on the situation in Macedonia, and expressed its regret that the "Arbeiters' Zeitung" of Vienna had permitted itself to be misled as to the character of the Macedonian revolt. The report has not yet reached the Bureau.

The British Columbia Socialist Party, whose headquarters are at Vancouver, asked to be affiliated with the Bureau.

The Lithuanian Socialists asked permission to be represented at the Congress. Rosa Luxemburg asserted that there was a section of the Polish Party, which was confirmed by Plechanoff, but Walczak contended that the organization had a very real existence. The Bureau decided to remit the question to the decision of the Polish Party, subject to appeal to the Congress. The Bureau will hold a meeting the day before the Congress to deal with all such disputes, and to report to the Congress.

The Secretary announced the finding of the two sections of the Russian Socialist Democratic Party. The Bureau expressed its congratulations.

The catalogue of the Socialist International Library will be published shortly.

Vaillant proposed to call a meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Committee. Vandervelde supported. He pointed out the importance of the foreign workers meeting recently raised in the Italian and Belgian Parliaments.

The following resolution was proposed by Cambier and voted: "The International Socialist Bureau protests energetically against the outrage of expulsion from any country whatever of individuals who assert only the right of freedom of opinion, and denounces more particularly the conduct of the Argentine Government which, on a flimsy legal technicality, has expelled a number of foreign Socialists."

Vigorous protest was made against the persecution of Russian Socialists by the German police authorities, and the German and Italian Socialists were heartily congratulated upon the protection they have given to Russian victims of Tsarism. Socialists of all countries are urged to combat the influences of Tsarism, which seeks to extend itself farther and farther in Western countries, constituting a continual menace to democracy and civilization.

Provisional agenda for the International Socialist Congress was drawn up in the following order:

1. International rules of Socialist Party.
2. Resolution concerning party tactics (Parti Socialiste de France).
3. Colonial policy (Hyndman and Van Kol).
4. Emigration and Immigration (Argentine).
5. General Strike (Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Revolutionnaire de France).
6. Socialist Policy and Industrial Assurance.
7. The Eight-Hour Day.
8. Trusts and Gluts (United States).
9. Other questions.

Considerable discussion ensued as to the two sections of the Russian Socialist Democratic Party.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MAKES WAR ON LITTLE BOYS.

The majesty of law is to be vindicated and public order maintained against a fearful danger. The telegraph messenger boys of Chicago are on strike, and the capitalist press dispatches of last Monday say:

"Deputy Marshals are scurrying all over the business portion of Chicago tonight trying to serve over one hundred messenger boys with copies of an injunction issued against them today by Judge Kohlsaat in the United States District Court.

"The order of the honorable court restrains the striking messenger boys from interfering with the delivery or collection of inter-city telegraph messages of the Western Union Telegraph Company, the American District Telegraph, or the Illinois District Telegraph Company.

"It also prohibits the strikers from attempting to interfere, by intimidation or otherwise, with persons desiring to enter the employment of the plaintiff companies, or from loitering in crowds in the vicinity of the companies' offices, or by threatening with force or violence any persons having business with the companies."

Husky men have been employed at \$2 a day as scabs to break the strike and the company avers that the boys are doing these men grievous bodily injury and making it impossible for them to do their work.

The capitalists' pretense that they appeal to the courts only to protect them from the "tyranny and lawless violence of labor unions" is reduced to absurdity in this case.

Imagine a hundred little boys at war with three gigantic corporations in close alliance and the corporations calling on the United States government to protect them from those hundred boys' "violence and organized tyranny."

How must the marshals and policemen feel who are charged with the duty of "protecting" the Telegraph Trust against its striking messenger boys? Are they proud of the job? Is the learned judge proud to think that his name will go down in history as the first magistrate who ever leveled the weapon of injunction, on behalf of organized millionaires, against a handful of little boys, boys who ought to be in school, whom poverty has driven to work, and who have demanded a little income in their miserable pay? Is President Roosevelt proud of the achievement of his friend and co-partisan? Does he count this one of the glories of his strenuous administration?

But more to the point: Are the WORKINGMEN proud that they have voted political power into the hands of men who have no scruple to use it with all its crushing force even against the little children of the poor?

Are you proud

PARTY AFFAIRS IN IDAHO.

Last December the National Secretary of the Socialist Party issued a circular letter telling of the somewhat disorganized state of the Socialist movement in Idaho and announced that National Organizer Wilkins would be sent to Idaho about Feb. 1 to investigate the situation. Comrade Wilkins has not yet visited the northern part of the state and the following statement of conditions existing there will be found of interest. It is written by G. Weston Wright, former secretary of the Ontario Socialist Party and editor of the "Canadian Socialist" who was engaged in newspaper work in the Coeur d'Alene district in January and February and was a member of Local Wallace, the only Socialist organization in that district which shows any signs of activity. He writes:

Arriving in Idaho from British Columbia just after the announcement was made of the proposed visit of Organizer Wilkins, and, located in the Coeur d'Alene, one of the historic battlefields of the western labor movement, I naturally expected to find a clear-cut revolutionary movement in this district at least. In the southern part of the state the explosion from Populism into Socialism being accounted for a loose organization where disorganizing, etc., was considered unnecessary, but the twelve years of labor war in the Coeur d'Alene described in Job Harriman's "Class War in Idaho" should have resulted in the organization of an uncompromising body of revolutionary Socialists.

What did I find? First, that the great bulk of the "add thens" have been driven out of the district by the blacklists, those remaining being the "left wing" Socialists, "left" while the miners' unions are fairly strong in the blacklisting "permit system" of employing miners prevents the unionists from displaying activity; the \$30,000,000 Hercules mine, in which Mrs. M. J. Boyce, wife of President Boyce of the Western Federation of Miners, is largely interested, being the only mine where active Socialists or unionists can secure employment. And third, that the Socialist Party has the reputation of being a Republican adversary, investigation producing good grounds for this belief, the local in Wallace having strike-breakers, sponsors and Republican office holders on its membership roll, and being controlled by these individuals or their dupes.

One spotter named Frank Shaw, a bar room and dance hall rascal, carries a paid-up W. E. of M. card to ward off suspicion. He was a candidate on the Socialist Party ticket in a recent election along with some well-meaning Socialists and some others who are now fugitives from justice. Rockefeller's Federal Mining Company, controlling the mining and mercantile interests of the district, desired to carry the county election by splitting the working-class vote amongst the various parties opposing the ultra-capitalist Republicans; and, with their tools in the Socialist Party, it was an easy matter to put up a Socialist ticket that would draw some votes and, at the same time, cast discredit upon Socialism.

Local Wallace, after failing to hold meetings for several months, recommenced in January. W. E. Stache, elected National Committeeman for Idaho last fall, is secretary. He fought hard to have a resolution passed condemning the National Committee of the Socialist Party for sending an organizer to investigate the conditions in Idaho, but failed.

Learning of the motley character of the local membership, the writer demanded a roll-call of members and promptly laid charges against Dr. G. L. Stache for breaking his obligation to the party. Despite innumerable objections made by the secretary, a special meeting was called and it was proven that Dr. Stache had accepted the office of country physician under the Republican county administration and refused to attend any Socialist meetings or make any defense to the charges. In private conversation he denied the above charges and said he considered universal brotherhood to be the fundamental principle upon which he based his life. He said that Mrs. Tingley's Republican colony in California is doing more to propagate Socialism than the organized Socialist Party.

Despite the knowledge of these facts, Local Wallace tabled the motion to expel Dr. Stache, the motion to lay on the table being made by Organizer Casey, formerly a strike-breaker in the miners' union trouble at Housland, B. C., and who admits that Dr. Stache has secured him several jobs in Rockefeller's mines. After attending Wallace's "Socialist" school, Dr. Stache came to the conclusion that he was in a bad way for a term and in an address before Local Wallace he strongly combated the point that from a Socialist standpoint there are only two classes in society; according to his teaching the middle class must be considered equally with the working class.

Secretary Stache also, strenuously opposed the motion to expel Magge, claiming that he was a good party member and was always willing to cash out a few dollars when the local needed it. Comrade Stache admitted that in securing Magge's application for membership he had informed the doctor that he need not attend any meetings and was at liberty to accept office under the Republicans. Some old members had dropped out on learning of Magge being a member, but the secretary called them trouble makers. Certainly they were not fighters.

Dr. Magge is a slick Republican politician who worked the Populist party all it was worth and is now doing his best to discredit the Socialist Party, being recently appointed to represent the Socialists as an election judge by the Democratic city council. He runs the mining company's hospital, an institution which is regarded as a slaughter house by the poor miners who have to pay \$1 per month for its maintenance. The doctor directs the expenditure of the profitable fund and his corps of spotters do the dirty work. Spotter Shaw, in defending his vote against Magge's expulsion, stated that he and others had been afraid to incur the doctor's displeasure.

Wallace is a city surrounded by mining camps and in Burke, Millan

and Vardner earnest Socialist workers were found, these being the nucleus of a strong county organization if the word of Ernest Walker can be placed in the hands of revolutionary Socialists. In Millan, however, no progress can be made until a bar-room keeper and Magge's spotter named Fred Lary is gotten rid of. He wears a Socialist Party button and makes a specialty of "earning" beer-money by collecting initiation fees of \$1 from persons who are poorly informed regarding the working of the Socialist Party. Each time spotter Shaw visits the Millan mine at Millan the services of several miners are dispensed with.

Enough has probably been written to show the need of Organizer Wilkins in this district. It would be much better to have no Socialist organization at all than to have such a local as exists at Wallace. If Comrade Wilkins can remain long enough to clean out the spotters and make uncompromising Socialists of the secretary and other dupes his work will be of great value to the party. While it seems impossible for many of the Irish "old timers" to advance beyond Tammany Democracy and it is difficult to reach the Missourians (imported as strike-breakers after the 1890 trouble) and the Swedes and Finlanders, there is enough material at hand to build up a strong organization. The miners' unions are financially strong and their paper, the "Idaho State Tribune," is now edited by ex-Least-We-Care Comrade, who joined the Socialist Party.

A handful of clear-cut Socialists properly organized would be better than a large body of befuddled comrades honeycombed with spies. Likewise a Socialist ticket with one or two trustworthy comrades for such important offices as sheriff and coroner would be better than a long ticket made up of uncertain material. Let the Socialist movement be clean and clear cut and there will be no excuse for further stagnation of labor parties—the present danger in Idaho and Colorado. It is the miners' own funeral if they elect to fry in their own fat after Socialist agitation point out the only way for the workers to emancipate themselves. Results of, however, the necessity of Socialists proving themselves worthy of confidence, the writer performs the duty of telling the unpleasant truths regarding the Socialist organization in the Coeur d'Alene. All power to Organizer Wilkins in his work.

PROPAGANDA AMONG WOMEN

One phase of Socialist propaganda has been neglected, and that is a house-to-house canvass among families of workmen. It needs a woman to interview women in Socialism.

Some say that the following would result in arousing a community interest in Socialism. A woman worker goes to the house of a proletarian, rings and is admitted. The guest says to the hostess: "Do not let me interrupt you, but go right on with your work while we chat." Show her what Socialism would do for her and her family, and the aged father or mother, as well as the husband. The wife of the average artisan is not interested in the welfare of the proletariat, but she is very much interested in that of those who are near and dear to her.

She would naturally inquire how all this could be brought about. Call attention to the self-interest propaganda that labor creates all wealth, and, moreover, labor should have that which it creates. Also that the thing comes from labor becomes in the hands of the capitalist the oppressor of labor. Allude briefly to the tremendous waste of capitalism in distribution and show how the consumer has to pay for this. Explain how by diverting the enormous stream of wealth-exploited from the workers back to the source, and the saving of wasteful methods of distribution, each family would be benefited. Impress her with the thought that each one should do what he or she can to spread the light. After her interest is aroused, she will then be willing to read a book on Socialism, or perhaps subscribe to a paper. "The Englishman" would be a good book for the next week book or a book to excuse for another visit and a chance to judge of what had been accomplished.

A short experience would suggest other ideas that could be profitably used. It was by similar means that our German comrades succeeded in arousing such an interest in the movement among the families of the proletarians in the greatest educational and humanitarian movement that the world has ever seen.

A wife or daughter of a comrade can be found in every city, town or neighborhood who has enough knowledge of Socialism to undertake this work. A few hours each day would develop confidence and lead to good results. J. H. SWEDFINGER, Washington, D. C.

PARTY NEWS.

The motion to refer nominations for location of national headquarters to a referendum of the party membership has been adopted by the National Committee, and the National Secretary will draw up and submit to the Quorum a form for circulars and ballot, the same, upon approval of the Quorum, to be sent out for the referendum, providing, of course, the motion to refer to the national convention is not adopted. The form will be in strict conformity with the constitution, and contain no comment. A copy will be submitted to the National Committee for its information at the same time. The National Secretary takes this course in order to facilitate matters, in order that the national headquarters may be moved before the convention, if a change is to be made at all.

National Committeeman White's motion that every delegate attending the convention shall be required to present his dues card as evidence that he is a member in good standing of the party, was carried. 22 members of the National Committee casting 177 votes for and 5 casting 30 votes against.

National Committeeman Barlyn of

Illinois reports to the National Quorum that Barlyn's Hall, corner of North Clark and Erie streets, has been secured for the national convention in Chicago on May 1. The hall will hold 1,500 people and is conveniently situated to the center of the city. Comrade Barlyn also reports that Local Cook County will raise sufficient funds to cover all expenses of the convention.

National Committeeman Mills' motion for the entire National Committee, instead of the Quorum, to meet in Chicago on April 28 has been defeated. 30 National Committeemen casting 137 votes against and 8 casting 26 votes for the motion. The following motion by Mills was carried, 11 National Committeemen casting 83 votes for and 11 casting 40 votes against: "That in addition to the Quorum meeting, the National Committee be instructed to ask through the Socialist press for such suggestions for constitutional amendments as any of the comrades may wish to offer, all such suggestions and arguments to be limited to one hundred words from any particular comrade in behalf of or in opposition to any particular amendment, and without the names of those making the suggestions, in order that each suggestion may be considered by the comrades solely on its merits and without prejudice for or against. Comrades may also submit questions for discussion without submitting any proposed action regarding the same. The Secretary shall furnish all such suggestions and the arguments for the same to the Socialist press. It is the duty of this committee to classify and arrange for the use of the convention all amendments so proposed and to summarize the arguments offered both for and against such proposals."

Acting State Secretary Moynihan of Louisiana replies to the National Secretary's inquiry relative to state convention and platform by stating: "In substance, that he was not aware of the existence of a local at Abita Springs, that all other locals were notified of and represented directly or indirectly at the state convention at which a state ticket was nominated and all locals had the opportunity to vote upon striking out the negro plank in the state platform. As there seems to be no reason to doubt Comrade Moynihan's statements, the charter for Louisiana will be granted. A local charter has been granted to an Italian Branch at Kiroba, Indian Territory.

National Committeeman Caldwell of Ohio is voting against the motion to exclude states which are in arrears to the national office for due stamps from representation in the national convention makes the following comment: "In voting upon Motion 12, which in my opinion is not to be voted upon, I am not voting on the merits of the motion, but on the fact that it is a motion to strike out of the party all those who are in arrears to the national office for due stamps on the national convention makes the following comment: "In voting upon Motion 12, which in my opinion is not to be voted upon, I am not voting on the merits of the motion, but on the fact that it is a motion to strike out of the party all those who are in arrears to the national office for due stamps on the national convention makes the following comment: "In voting upon Motion 12, which in my opinion is not to be voted upon, I am not voting on the merits of the motion, but on the fact that it is a motion to strike out of the 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(Continued from 84 page.) • •

New York City.

to donate \$25 to the Milwaukee campaign; \$10 was donated to the national campaign. From that time forward, the committee held the meetings of the General Committee twice a month again, and hereafter the committee will meet on the second and fourth Saturdays of each month. Geo. Rowser was elected Recording Secretary; L. D. Mayes was elected Controller; and the City Executive Committee was instructed to prepare a list of available candidates for the office of Controller of the City of New York. It was decided to hold a meeting in New York City for A. D. and May Wood Simons. Question of the separation of the 2d A. D. from the 6th A. D. was referred to the First

day. Auditing committee reported that books of treasurer were found correct; balance on hand was \$3.63 and

the national campaign, it is necessary to hold an early state convention. The State Committee therefore recom-

5-minute speeches, 10-minute ones, and 20-minute speeches. The winner will attempt whichever

State Organizer B. Mc helped organize a local at

TO JOHN MITCHELL

State Organizer B. McCaffrey has helped organize a local at Bartley and reports a large and enthusiastic audi-

those who have already been converted to it, and that newly interested people should be kept in an "open house."

Offer No. 1.	20. Lissagaray--History of the Commune.
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the premiums are to go to an organ
by the members shall be sent in the

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4. Eastman—A Paradox Explained.
5. Kautsky—Frederick Engels: His Life, His Work, and Writings.
6. Lassalle—Science and the Work-

Small—The Working

20. **Lafont—The Passing of Capitalism.**

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VOL. XII.—NO. 50.

NEW YORK, MARCH 13, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

"ARTFUL DODGING"

Dr. Rainsford on Capital and Labor an Example.

Morgan's \$20,000 Pastor Talks All Around the Edge of His Subject and Avoids Usual Discussion at New Rochelle People's Forum—Challenged to Debate with Spargo.

Something of mystery surrounds the origin and maintenance of the People's Forum at New Rochelle. Without any apparent demand, and without any active agitation or organization, the Forum was announced and entered at once upon its mission. Established for the public discussion of important questions, its purpose is to provide a free platform for the expression of all shades of thought. Some prominent speaker is chosen to deliver the principal address, after which there is an opportunity for questions and discussion. The meetings are held in the Public Library, which seats about fifteen hundred persons, and the attendance is usually sufficient to crowd it to the doors.

The speaker, it is said, supplied by Mr. Charles Morgan Smith, of the People's Institute, this city, and it is believed that all the expenses of the undertaking are borne by Mr. Justice Keogh of the Supreme Court, whose home is in New Rochelle.

Last Sunday the speaker was Dr. W. S. Rainsford, of St. George's Church, New York, and his topic was "Some Points upon Which Employers and Labor Unions Ought to Agree." Attracted, doubtless, by the seemingly splendid opportunity of forcing Dr. Rainsford to discuss the question, a large number of social democrats attended from all parts of Westchester County and some from this city. How they were disappointed is the main subject of this story.

From the very opening it was apparent that an attempt would be made to shut off discussion. The preliminary remarks were stretched out to an inordinate length and then Dr. Rainsford, but William Butler Yeats, the apostle of the Irish revival, was called upon. Mr. Yeats is a much better speaker than Dr. Rainsford, but he has the knack of giving to the most commonplace of subjects a delightful verbal dressing. Words lightly worn as garments to drape beautifully meaningless mysticism are his special delight. He came, apparently, as the guest of Dr. Rainsford, whose good Irish tongue equals his own. I had tried to vainly to follow the meaning of his "Where There is Nothing," till I heard Dr. Rainsford's speech. Then I knew where there was, if not "nothing," something swiftness down to an irreducible point.

Well, Mr. Yeats talked sweetly and reverently of the Gaelic poets of the past and their modern disciples. He read some of their poems, too, and phrases like "Gaelic revival," "renewance of Irish letters," and "the rebirth of the Celtic spirit" were sprinkled over his talk so plentifully that I have no doubt New Rochelle's social life will bear witness to it for many a day. Comrade Bennett—be of Yeats—came in while Mr. Yeats was speaking. Right manfully did he—supposing the speaker to be Dr. Rainsford—try to connect the riot of words with the topic at hand. But it was in vain. He leaned over to a man sitting near and asked if it were indeed Dr. Rainsford. "No, his name's Yeats," was the laconic reply. He was right, for the poet laureate that his name was pronounced "Yeats." Then, after a further, painful effort, Bennett asked, "What's he talking about, anyway?" The reply, laconic as before, was suggestive of "Labor and Capital," which was what the man said. And Bennett looked troubled. Something like an echo of this came under my notice as all fled out into the street. "Say, what had that poet's talk to do with the subject?" said a tall, professional looking man to a companion. Quick as a flash came the reply, "Just as much as Rainsford's." I looked for the red button, but fear he wasn't a Socialist, after all. But a Socialist couldn't have done better.

Then Mr. Yeats on Irish poetry could not last for ever, and at last Dr. Rainsford's rising brought us back from Celtic "Hills of Idris" to this mundane matter-of-fact world. Dr. Rainsford is a fine specimen of physical manhood. His voice is resonant and clear, but has something suggestive of insincerity about it. He leaves one with the impression that nature adapted him to be either a clergyman, a saloon keeper, or a Tammany politician. This may seem at first sight an incongruous assortment, but I am convinced that the three call for many of the same qualities. That the preacher is a good business man is undeniable. That he gets \$20,000 a year salary, and a big sum over and above that to spend as he pleases, is proof enough that J. Pierpont Morgan is one of his deacons, and on Sunday the devoted financier carries the plate and receives the offerings. "I went one Sunday not so long ago on purpose to look the Hell Presumptive to the Rockefeller throne. When he came with the plate I fumbled in my pockets as long as I could so as to 'size up' Prince Ponty." Ryan Walker missed an opportunity to immortalize himself then. The Rockefeller patiently till at last I produced my card.

This said, when St. George's Church needs a pastor, Dr. Rainsford was "called." He attended a meeting of the deacons to discuss the matter. The question was asked: "On what terms will you come to preach to us the gospel of the Man who had not where to lay his head?" I don't think that was the phrasing, but the substance of the question is there. With becoming modesty, Dr. Rainsford said: "I want \$20,000 a year and \$10,000 extra as a contingent fund to spend in any manner I please." Then Morgan bravely announced his soul back from Wall Street and ordered it for the fray. But no discussion, not to make a lightning calculation. Satisfied that stock in the Doctor was a good investment at the price, the Prince cried with his best Wall Street voice, somewhat modified to suit the church vestry, "Done!" And there is no reason to suppose 'twas a poor investment.

Dr. Rainsford's speech was nothing astounding. Not for a moment did it touch the fundamental question of whether the master and servant relation was right or wrong. No such thing as a suggestion that the wages system itself might be challenged seems to have entered the mind of the good man. He did not for a single moment consider the industrial relations which the terms "employer" and "employee" represent, and there was no attempt whatever to explain the forces which brought the trade-union movement into being.

He praised John Mitchell as "a wise and conscientious leader," but that was only a fall to his covert attack upon Eugene V. Debs. Of Debs he said that, while he might, perhaps, be a socialist, I cannot but think that he is an unbalanced man—the reason for this judgment being that Debs had said on one occasion that a man was a man who did not vote the Socialist ticket. Dr. Rainsford said Debs said the Socialist Labor Party ticket, but that is only an evidence of the "fervid" "little knowledge" which makes a man foolish. Debs' statement seemed to the good cleric to be "a screaming foolish and naive for a labor leader."

There was a burst of applause from that part of the audience which consisted of persons too sleek and well dressed to be suspected of being useful members of society, headed, by the way, by Judge Keogh, when Dr. Rainsford accused the labor unions of "winking at violence" in times of strike. He had word to say about the murder of violence of the employers. For all one could tell from the speech, Dr. Rainsford had never heard of any acts of violence toward strikers. The butcher of Homestead, Oscar Alcorn, Cripple Creek, and a thousand other places, were all as unknown to him as potent breakfast foods were unknown to Father Adam in the Garden of Eden. A pathetic and slightly ludicrous appeal to the members of the audience to "observe the law" closed this part of his speech. And one might very well wonder if such a thing as a law-breaking capitalist had ever been heard of in this country. The unions must become "truly American" and observe the law.

Of course, he believed that the employers should "recognize" the trade unions. Mr. Mitchell himself could not have been less so. He went on to "recognize" should be understood to mean, "It would surely have satisfied even Mr. Gompers."

Next in order was a rebuke to the unions for their lack of patience with the non-union man. "They do not give the non-union man time enough," said "Every man who is forced into a union weakens it." "There is more opposition to the unions in the ranks of the workingmen than there is among employers."—These simple sentences indicate the nature of his speech on this point.

Up to this time there had not been suggested a single point of agreement for Capital and Labor. But that came later. I use the singular pronoun advisedly, for there was only one such point suggested by the Doctor, in spite of the fact that he had promised to speak on "union points." And that solitary point was "legislation to restrict the issuance of stock by corporations."

Labor unions should work for such legislation, for by watered stock "reasonable wages and dividends are impossible." Such a change in the law as will make over-capitalization impossible, is demanded by Humanity. Massachusetts was referred to as the state in which such a law has been so much for the workman, and that in spite of the inhuman conditions prevailing there in the textile mills and elsewhere.

But the richest part of the worthy Doctor's diatribe was when he spoke of the inhuman conditions under which mortals have to work in this city. He said: "In this city I think a certain class of men are shamefully treated. I mean motormen. I had often thought of this before last winter, but then one cold street day I made up my mind that I would find out for myself what their suffering was like. I rode from Twenty-third to Seventy-second street with the motorman, and then I was out of it. By that time I was not only wet through on the legs, but at the chest as well. Now I am a young man, only fifty-three years old, and it didn't hurt me. The motorman told me, however, that he had done that for eleven hours. I believed him. God knows I did not care to prove it."

A ST. LOUIS IN MINIATURE

Such Will Be the Exposition in Grand Central Palace.

Workingmen's Organizations of New York City Are Actively Interacting and Plans Are Rapidly Maturing—A Model Brewery One of the Features.

It costs money to go to St. Louis, and many a workingman who would like to visit the exposition there will have to "take it out in wishing." To make a little St. Louis here in New York for sixteen days, accessible to all, to make it at once highly entertaining and highly instructive, and to do it all by the united efforts of workingmen without capitalist backing and for the purpose of advancing Labor's cause—such is the plan of the committee in charge of the Industrial Exposition and Food Show to be held in Grand Central Palace, April 22 to May 8, for the benefit of The Worker and the "Volkskammer." And the organizations that are already interested in the project are organizations that are in the habit of doing even more than they promise.

Some idea of what is being prepared can be had from an account of one exhibit—that of the United Brewery Workers. After careful consideration, they have resolved to set up and run in the Grand Central Palace a model brewery, which will be a reproduction in miniature of the famous "Volkskammer" at Munich. Even those who do not indulge in the beverage will find it interesting to see the process of its manufacture in true German fashion—and to those who appreciate the gift of glaucoma it will have a double interest.

Other unions of the food industry and of other trades are also being represented with appropriate exhibits. The idea is to show all together the various processes of industry, of which each workman in his daily life has a chance to see but one, and especially to set forth those methods and conditions of labor which, for the welfare both of the producer and of the consumer, the trade unions try to reform. And for which the union label stand or should stand if properly regarded.

The Central Federated Union, at its last session, after listening to the statement of the plans and purposes of the exposition, heartily endorsed it and urged all unions to send delegates and take an active part in the work of preparation. The committee, composed of delegates from labor organizations, meet every Sunday afternoon in the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, and it is hoped that it will be reinforced by many new delegates in the next session or two.

There is also a women's club for the purpose of assisting in the work, which meets every Friday evening, 200 East Fifty-sixth street and which will welcome all women or girls, who will help.

THE LABORERS' STRIKE.

Bricklayers' Helpers the Victims of Bad Faith and Arbitrary Tyranny of Employers' Association.

The strike of the bricklayers' helpers belonging to the Laborers' Protective Union of New York City is one that should command the hearty sympathy of every workman who is able to see even a little beyond the end of his own nose.

The trouble was brought on by an arbitrary order of the Mason Builders' Association—the organization of bosses, affiliated with the Building Trades Employers' Association—demanding wages, without notice or conference, to the standard of more than ten years ago.

Thirty-five cents an hour for an eight-hour day and double pay for overtime has been the scale of late years. The employers' fat is that this shall be changed to 35 cents an hour for a ten-hour day and a half for overtime. Under the established scale, a laborer working ten hours a day got \$4.20. Under the scale proposed by the bosses he would get but \$3.50. As the men have to make a great deal of overtime in the busy season and are out of work a great deal at other times this would make a very considerable decrease.

Under the "arbitration agreement"—a falsely so-called—which was forced on the unions of the building trades by the Employers' Association last year, the laborers have no direct recognition whatever. The organized bosses refused to admit the "unskilled" men to their "benefits of that wonderful agreement." The promise, that they would be given a sort of direct recognition through the Bricklayers' Union has been flagrantly violated in this case by the bosses—one more example of the worthlessness of capitalist promises.

REBEL'S "WOMAN" AS A PREMIUM.

The Worker has a limited number of copies of Bebel's "Woman: Past, Present, and Future," and, instead of selling them, they will be given as a premium for three yearly or six half yearly subscriptions for The Worker. This is an opportunity to obtain a famous and instructive work, which every Socialist should read, by the expenditure of a small amount of energy in making propaganda by extending the circulation of The Worker. Comrades who desire to take advantage of this offer should hasten to send in the necessary number of subscriptions, as the number of copies is limited and the supply will doubtless soon be exhausted.

THE STRUGGLE IN ROCHESTER.

More Judicial Outrages on Strikers.

Striking Clothing Cutters Fined \$250 Each and Sentenced to Penitentiary on False Charges of Riot and Assault—One of Many Recent Outrages for the Workers of That City.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Another judicial outrage against striking workmen again gives food for thought to the workers of this city. During the past year Rochester has become one of the storm-centers in the world-wide struggle between workers and capitalists. The carpenters, the machinists, the printers, and the clothing cutters have all had long and hard-fought strikes, and in these contests, as is usual everywhere, the workers have had to meet police persecution, judicial outrages and newspaper slander.

First an injunction was issued against the machinists, who were charged with the terrible crime of calling a scab a scab. Next the officers of the carpenters' union were indicted on the charge of "conspiracy to raise wages." Meanwhile union men were being arrested on slinky charges, and the newspapers, ever faithful servants of the capitalists who control them, were carrying on the usual campaign of misrepresentation against the strikers. Now the bosses of the clothing cutters are using the courts to indict the strikers, in the hope of depleting the funds of the union and thus making it impossible to pay strike benefits.

In the early part of the clothing cutters' strike some slight alterations took place and the bosses seized the opportunity to have three of the strikers arrested on charges of assault. The capitalist court fined them \$250 each and sentenced one to the penitentiary for three months. Three others were arrested last November on the trumped-up charge of riot; and, in the police court, after the judge heard the "people's" evidence he discharged them. About six weeks later the grand jury indicted them on the same charge and now one of the three has been found guilty and fined \$250. The law and the courts are so arranged that the prisoner had already been discharged once and that he should not be tried twice on the same charge, but it was decided that the police court consideration of the case was simply an examination. Although the decision of this panel would naturally fall on the judge, the law is so arranged that the jury, evidently in order to avoid political responsibility as his office is an elective one and sometimes it may occur to the strikers that they have a remedy for judicial outrage in a Socialist ballot. The first jury disagreed and a second one was drawn composed of farmers, who were chosen because their ignorance of trade unionism made it easy to prejudice them and secure the decision which enabled the judges, controlled by St. Paul street, to impose the heavy fine.

The fact that the police, the courts and the newspapers are all doing the dirty work of the St. Paul street clothing combine, just as they are always doing the service of the capitalist class, even when they shoot open the eyes of the Rochester workers to the necessity of joining with the political party of their own class to capture all public offices and turn the public powers against the capitalists, who own the shops and factories. And the conditions which lead to this strike should make it clear to every worker that industrial justice and peace until the people who build the factories and work in them also own them—until we have that collective ownership of the means of production which the Social Democratic Party stands for.

The "riot" of which the strikers were convicted was started by a particularly mean and vicious strikebreaker. As the unionists approached he greeted them with a sarcastic and profane insultation and in the mix-up which grew out of this he drew a knife and stabbed one of the strikers.

The young striker sentenced to the penitentiary has an aged mother and family dependent on him, but their personal pleas for clemency made no impression on the capitalist judge.

It can only be hoped that these outrages which make the blood boil will also have power to make the brain think and will lead the workmen of Rochester to see that Socialist political action is their only means of emancipation.

Although the clothing cutters' strike, which affects about five hundred men, has been on since late October, the men are holding firm, and still expect to win.

FAILURES OF THE WEEK.

"Bradstreet's" reports 95 failures in the United States during the week, against 200 for the previous week and 171, 178, 208, and 180 in the corresponding weeks of 1903 to 1900. About 87 per cent. of the total number of concerns failing had capital of \$50,000 or less, and 8 per cent. had from \$5,000 to \$50,000 capital.

MUSICIANS' CONVENTION.

The American Federation of Musicians has decided to hold its annual convention in New York City, beginning on May 18. Though this will be its ninth convention, it will be the first held here. The Federation of Musicians belongs to the American Federation of Labor and was established after a fight lasting over ten years to bring the musicians into co-operation with the regular trade unions.

WHAT'S THE USE?

A Too Common Question Well Answered.

Local Jamestown of the Social Democratic Party Tells "What's the Use?" of Workingmen Voting Straight for What They Want, Seen in Municipal Elections.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y., March 1.—The Social Democrats of this city have gone into the local campaign with a full ticket, headed by Dr. A. D. Young as candidate for Mayor. Our party made a very good gain here in the state election last fall and we hope even to improve upon that record. The campaign is conducted on strict Socialist lines, as may be inferred from the following campaign leaflet which the local has issued entitled:

"What's the Use?"

"What's the use of voting the Socialist ticket at a municipal election?"

"Many well-meaning workmen, who do not understand what Socialism is, but think they do, have asked this simple question."

"Well, what's the use of voting at all?"

"What is a vote for, anyway?"

"Many people have the idea, silly as it may seem, that the only use for a vote is to get some sick politician a job. This is the class of people who complain of the 'grafting' that is so prevalent in politics just now. They keep trying and trying to get a 'good man' in office, but invariably fail."

"A vote is a declaration of principles. When you walk up to the ballot box, you say: 'I want so and so.' If you place your cross at the head of the Republican ticket you say: 'I want the Republican ticket.' When you vote the Democratic ticket you say: 'Capitalism is good enough for me. I don't mind being robbed, only I want to smash the criminal trusts.' In other words, you are satisfied with your condition. You think you have enough of the good things of this life; that is, if you are not a capitalist, that is, if you are not a slave for others; that he should be 'paid off' when he makes more goods than the boss can sell."

"A vote for Socialism, however, is an entirely different thing. The man who votes this ticket says: 'I am not satisfied. I do not like my condition. I think I am entitled to the value of all I produce. I think the working class should run this government, and I am in the majority. They are the majority. Were it not for this class doing all the useful work of society, everyone would perish and consequently they should rule."

"Suppose you do vote the Republican ticket because the boss suggests that you do. Will he hesitate to reduce your wages? And would it make any difference if you voted the Democratic ticket?"

"Suppose you go on strike, does not the Republican and Democratic government alike, by the injunction, the policeman's club and the militia, no occasion demand? Have you not read the history of both these parties?"

"But suppose you controlled the government, which you can do, easily enough, would you help or fight yourself? If your class, the working class, controlled all the powers of government, would you set the militia, the injunction, the policeman upon strikers who were merely trying to better their conditions?"

"And suppose you controlled the entire government, municipal, state and national, would it not be natural that your class should take possession of these powers of government and use them for the interests of your class, as is now being done by the capitalist class. What else could you do but take possession of that which your class has created—the means of production and distribution—and from that time on see that the working class received its just dues, I. e., all it produced?"

"This is merely a suggestion of what Socialism means. To find out just what it means will require some study and some thinking and if you have not forgotten entirely how to think, now is the time to do some of it. Subscribe to a Socialist paper. Buy some Socialist literature. Read. Study. Think."

"If we should tell you that Socialism would abolish entirely, poverty, crime, strikes, lockouts, etc., you would say that we were dreaming, so we won't say it. Read up a little bit and you will find it out for yourself."

"And Socialism is not a plan. It merely means that you will sooner or later, be forced by conditions, to take over the powers of government and exercise them in your own interests and when you do this, the only thing you can do is to take possession of what you have created and what really belongs to you now, only you haven't sense enough to know it, as a class."

"Minor elections! Bah! There are no such things. Every chance you get to vote at all, is a chance to strike a blow at the conditions that oppress you, and every blow counts."

"Wake up! Be a man! Vote for what you want—good conditions for yourself and family. In other words—VOTE THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TICKET."

Municipal Platform.

The city platform of the Social Democratic Party is as follows:—"The Social Democratic Party of Jamestown hereby reaffirms its allegiance to the principles of international Socialism, as proclaimed in the Social Democratic Party's national platform."

"Together with Socialists of all countries, we hold it to be the supreme duty of the working class to capture the powers of state from the capitalist class, so that the working class may secure complete control of all branches of government, for the purpose of transferring from the hands of the capitalist class to the whole people collectively, the ownership of all mines, workshops, mills, factories, railroads, in short, all machinery of production and distribution, the same to be owned and operated by the people collectively as their interests or common good may require."

"So long as the great modern tools of production and distribution are the private property of the capitalists, who will permit their use by the working class only on such terms and conditions as are dictated by the interest of the capitalist class, we hold that no permanent relief can come to the workers."

"The giant trusts of today which are almost monopolizing every field of human activity and are the forerunners of still more gigantic industrial combinations of capital, present a problem which can only be solved by the adoption of the Socialist principles in economics, the collective ownership and operation of all means of production and distribution."

"We hold further that the many contests of recent times between capital and labor of all industries, in and out of the city, clearly emphasize the antagonism of interests between capitalist, the exploiter, and labor, the exploited; that the capitalist class, fully conscious of its power and its interests, aims at being satisfied with holding less than the complete subjugation of labor. The workers, too, must recognize this war between the two classes, take their battles into the political field where they are strong; array themselves on the side of the Social Democratic Party, which represents the interests of the working class, vote themselves as a class into complete control of all branches of government, and then enact laws to protect themselves, preparatory to their emancipation."

"We, therefore, enter the municipal campaign pledged, when elected, to enact into laws the following:—"First, The municipalization of the street railway and gas and electric light plants. The city should own its own street railway system for the same reason that it owns its streets and public highways. Gas and electric light plants are public utilities like water works, parks, streets, fire departments, etc., and should be owned by the city. Revenues derived from these public utilities will be used to increase wages and shorten the work-day of the workers and to improve the public service; revenues derived from this source are in no instance to be used in return taxes."

"Second, Employment in public service to be determined by fitness. No employee to be removed for political reasons."

"Third, Abolition of the contract system in public improvements; the city, without the intervention of so-called contractors, to perform its own work, such as constructing and repairing streets, improving parks, and building schools or other public buildings. All such work to be done under the supervision of public officials, the workers to be employed directly by the city."

"Fourth, All public work done by or for the city, including printing, to be performed by union workmen at union wages and hours of work, but in no case shall a day's work consist of more than eight hours, or the wages less than two dollars per day."

"Fifth, In no case shall the police be used to break strikes or interfere with strikers in the peaceful exercise of their liberties."

"Sixth, School books and their supplies to be furnished free to all children, and children of poor parents to be furnished meals free."

"Seventh, The establishment of a municipal coal yard, coal to be sold at cost."

ANOTHER CAPITALIST CRIME.

The Darlington hotel collapse, by which at least twenty-five and possibly many more lives were crushed out—and all of them workmen except two—was not an accident. There is no room for accident in affairs of this sort. Steel construction is a science, a matter of applied mathematics. The architects and builders have no need to guess; they have no right to guess; they can know accurately just what weight a certain frame will sustain. When a building frame collapses during construction, falls together like a house of cards, it is absolutely certain either that the builders have accepted inexcusably bad plans or that they have inexcusably scamped the work.

Why is work done in this way? For just one reason: TO SAVE EXPENSE AND SO TO INCREASE PROFITS.

This is not the first frightful example of such deliberate criminal negligence that we have had in New York.

Nine years ago we had the collapse of the John B. Ireland building, in which fifteen workmen were killed. The coroner's jury and the grand jury pointed out the guilty capitalists. Democrat Fellows was then District Attorney. He never brought those murderers to trial. He was followed by Republican O'Leary, by Tammany Democrat Gardner, by "good" Democrat Philbin, and finally by reformer Jerome, and yet the murderers go free.

In 1888, we had the collapse of the Fordham building. The constructor deliberately gambled for profit against workmen's lives. Neither Gardner nor Philbin nor Jerome has ever tried to bring them to trial.

A year later we had the Windsor hotel fire. Philanthropist Gerry owned the hotel; he knew it was a fire-trap; he saved expense by not providing fire-screens. Gardner and Philbin and Jerome have allowed that blood-stained hypocrite to mock at justice.

Two years ago we had the New York Central tunnel horror. The directors and officers of the road had long known of the danger. To keep down expenses and increase profits they had resisted every proposition to improve it. When nearly a score of lives were sacrificed to their greed, it was not they that Jerome got indicted—not the men who had power and misused it, but Engineer Wisner, a wage-worker, under orders, who risked his own life daily because he had to work for a living.

A few months earlier we had the capture the powers of state from the capitalist class, so that the working class may secure complete control of all branches of government, for the purpose of transferring from the hands of the capitalist class to the whole people collectively, the ownership of all mines, workshops, mills, factories, railroads, in short, all machinery of production and distribution, the same to be owned and operated by the people collectively as their interests or common good may require."

"So long as the great modern tools of production and distribution are the private property of the capitalists, who will permit their use by the working class only on such terms and conditions as are dictated by the interest of the capitalist class, we hold that no permanent relief can come to the workers."

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THE DAVENPORT FIELDMAN DEBATE.

Sunday Afternoon, April 3, the Time Chosen by Mr. Davenport—Great Interest Manifested.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., March 7.—In reply to the acceptance of the Socialist challenge by Daniel Davenport, Counsel for the American Anti-Boycott Association, Local Expressing last Saturday sent a letter expressing its satisfaction in finding an opponent willing to meet Socialism on a free debate and stating that the "Open House" was to be had only on Sunday afternoon and that no other hall in town would probably be large enough for the audience, and asking Mr. Davenport's pleasure as to the exact date. Mr. Davenport agreed that the Open House ought to be had and suggested Easter Sunday, April 3, from 2:30 to 5:30 p. m., as the time. He also accepted the statement of the question as proposed by Comrade Fieldman, taking the negative. "Resolved, That Socialism is just, necessary, and desirable," is the brief and broad statement. Details of division of time and the like are being arranged. Great interest is manifested and the hall will certainly be crowded.

Wherever it has long been known and declared that the poor have no right to the property of the rich, I want it known and declared that the rich have no right to the property of the poor.—John Ruskin.

DISMAL HOMES AND FAMINE PRICES.

By John Spargo.

O, God! this bread should be so dear, and human flesh and blood so cheap.—Thomas Hood.

The people live in squalid dens, where there is no health and no hope.—Thorold Rogers.

We find that George Schults, Thomas Keenan, Martin Albrecht, Kate Rummel, William McKenna, Harry R. Mott, Josephine Hay, William Hay and William McClary came to their deaths on the dates named by inhaling illuminating gas, and we believe that the Consolidated Gas Company is deserving of censure, not only for the bad gas that is being furnished to consumers in New York, but for the system of pressure which is used whereby persons, without any warning, are exposed to the poisonous fumes of bad gas.

Verdict of Coroner's Jury, New York, Feb. 28, 1904:

Equally as important as the question of what a man earns is the question of what he can buy with what he earns. To the average workman, having to spend all or nearly all of his wages to provide a living for himself and his family, the cost of living is just as important as the rate of wages.

Yet workmen have not made any very serious effort to protect and increase the purchasing capacity of their wages. They have no method whereby they can control prices. In their trade unions they have to some extent been successful in securing better wages and better working conditions.

While they are still rebuffed and exploited, receiving only a very small part of the wealth they produce, the workers in the unions have to some extent improved their position as far as wages go. But, notwithstanding these facts, that the manner and comfort of their lives must depend upon the cost of necessities and the things which they have to procure, they have neglected altogether that aspect of the labor question. And it is perfectly natural that the trade union should fail to protect the interests of the worker as consumer.

For the trade union is based upon the idea that so long as the workers get a fair share of the wealth which they produce, of a "living wage" as we sometimes hear the labor leaders say, it is perfectly right and proper that the balance of their product should belong to somebody else. In spite of the fact that the somebody else in question—the capitalist—has done nothing toward the production of that wealth.

If the workers in the trade unions demanded that the wealth produced should ALL belong to the producers, as the Socialists do, if they worked to that end, as the Socialists do, they would be working to protect their interests as consumers as well as makers of wealth.

The fact that the class which employs us owns what we produce, and of course, always the same men, but the same class—give to that class the power to take back from us whatever advantage we have won as producers, over it in the industrial market, whenever we come, as consumers, to buy back a portion of our product in order that we may be enabled to live. Then, as owners and sellers, they have the power to demand prices which place us at their mercy.

When they were divided—when competition prevailed in the commercial world, there was an important limitation to their power in this direction. While competition caused untold ruin and misery, it served to keep prices down, especially in periods of dullness and comparative industrial depression, when wages tended downward and the number of unemployed increased. But now competition is largely a thing of the past and monopoly rules supreme.

Under these new conditions we find that in spite of the fact that wages are on the down grade, and that the number of unemployed workers is steadily increasing, prices are rising upon every hand. We are the prey of unscrupulous and untrammeled monopoly.

During the great coal strike of last year the coal barons took advantage of the situation, and, in face of the fact that there were many thousands of tons of coal stored within a very few miles of the city, forced prices to famine height. The people of this and other cities suffered terrible privation; disease was rampant and people were even frozen to death in their homes.

"When the miners go back to work," we were told then, "the price of coal will come down again to its normal level." But it has not. At the present time we are paying seven dollars a ton for coal which, if the state owned its own coal mines, as it easily could do, and worked them in the interest of the whole people, as Socialists propose, could be sold at a retail price of not much more than one dollar a ton. And the mine-workers could be well paid, of that there is not much doubt.

So too, with the gas supply. At present the Gas Trust controls the gas supply of this City of New York. Through valuable franchises which it, as citizens, have foolishly per-

mitted them to acquire, the handful of people who constitute the Gas Trust are enabled to take advantage of our common need of gas for lighting and heating purposes, and plunder us in the most reckless manner imaginable. The City of New York could very easily put an end to this wholesale robbery of the citizens. It could establish its own gas plant and, while paying its employees much higher wages for shorter hours than any Gas Trust in the world, supply gas of the finest quality for fifty cents per thousand feet. At the present time, we are charged by the Gas Trust at least four times this amount. The nominal price is \$1.00 per thousand feet, but owing to the poor quality of the gas itself, the dishonest meter system and the pressure of air through the pipes to make the meters register faster, we have to pay much more than the nominal price of \$1.75 per thousand feet. There is not a great city in the whole world, probably, worse served in the matter of its gas supply than this city. Deaths from gas poisoning due to the fraudulent high pressure methods of the company are common. The light obnoxious is swamped and the bills are shamefully high! Thousands of citizens after having reduced their consumption of gas, often at their inconvenience and even peril, have had their bills increased fifty per cent or more.

Had the Social Democratic ticket been elected at the last election the City of New York would have established its own gas plant. It would have done this with the interest of the working people alone to guide and direct it. Not only so, but the present plunderers of the people would have been brought to justice and held responsible for the killing of those whose deaths could be traced to its negligence and greed.

But the people of New York State, and New York City, voted for the system of giving valuable franchises away and thus placing in the hands of private individuals and corporations the power to wring profit out of the people by taking advantage of their social requirements. What applies to the Gas Trust applies with equal force to the street railway companies, to the telephone and every other agency of capitalist exploitation of the needs of the people. That a few people should be allowed to take advantage of public needs, or public improvements, for their own profit is a monstrous wrong. When the workmen of New York realize this they will end the rule of the monopolists and vote for the Social Democratic Party, the party of the workers.

The problem of housing is ever increasing population is one of the greatest and most vital problems facing the City of New York. The problem grows vaster and more dreadful every month. The most alarming thing about it, however, is the neglect of it by the city government. Every month it becomes harder and harder for the people to find a place to live. It becomes harder for children to live in the city. And rents mount higher and higher. Every improvement of the transit facilities falls as an aid to the solution of the problem, and only adds to the power of the landlords to draw their revenues from the people. The fact that the subway is under construction, for instance, does not mean that the housing problem will be made any easier. True, it ought to mean that, but already rents are being increased in anticipation of the opening of the subway. Thus, the problem is intensified rather than otherwise. So long as the capitalist system continues there will be no escape from this sort of thing. What every step we make toward the improvement of life in the cities and towns will be diverted to the interests of the capitalist class. To abolish the capitalist system itself is the aim and purpose of the Social Democratic Party. That is its final goal. But, even under the present system, it is quite possible to deal with the problem of housing in a manner that would relieve many of its worst evils, and, at the same time, contribute largely to its permanent solution. So the Social Democratic Party believes. Therefore it declares in its platform for "the erection of modern dwellings with proper provision for light, air, and privacy, to be let at cost." That is to say, the city should build many such dwellings as possible each year and charge only rent enough to cover the cost of building and maintenance. That would not only give the people homes at a lower rent, but would also very materially reduce the terrible ravages of disease due, partly at least, to unsanitary dwellings.

Coal, gas, and rent are not the only things getting dearer. Food steadily advances in price. The Beef Trust continues, in spite of the fact that it is paying \$1.35 a hundredweight less for beef on the hoof than it was paying this time last year, to charge the same famine prices as then prevailed. In spite of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, in spite of injunctions, knowing that the law is imposed by the courts would be only as a drop in a bucket compared with their profits, the beef barons have created an artificial famine—a famine in a land of plenty. When, maddened by the exactions of the Beef Trust, women and children revolted on the East Side last year and paraded the streets demanding food and protection, they were clubbed into submission by the police. At that time the Social Democratic Party pointed out that the only remedy for such conditions must come through intelligent action at the ballot box. "The State of New York," we said in our appeals to our fellow workers, "is perfectly capable of owning its cattle ranches, slaughtering houses, and to sell beef at cost, which would mean at 3 and 4 cents a pound. There is no doubt whatever as to our ability to do this. The problem is much easier than managing schools, and certainly much easier than the building and equipping of a navy—a thing which nations much less powerful than this State of New York do without exciting any special notice. It is ridiculous to say that a few men, with hired labor from the managing staff down to the humblest laborer, can do what the State of New York

or the United States of America cannot do. They direct the production and distribution of the beef supply of ALL the people, but in their own narrow and selfish interests. The whole of the people could do it, through their agents and employees, in their common interest.

Bread, the one indispensable thing—"the staff of life"—has also fallen under the spell of the monopolists' control. The price of flour, and, as a consequence, of bread, has been increased. Why? Has there been a failure of crops causing a shortage? No! There is no suggestion of anything of the kind. Bread is dear, and people must pay famine prices or starve, not because it is impossible to find food for all who want it. Why, wheat enough could be grown in one state of this country to feed all the people in the world! No, Mr. Workingman Voter, bread is dear because the foolish citizens of this republic allow the Flour Trust and the railroads to plunder them. You are told on the one hand that bread is dear because there is "war between Russia and Japan," and on the other hand you are told that bread is dear because of the increased cost of transportation. The war has nothing to do with the price in New York of Dakota wheat. It is a stupid lie. And why should there be any increased cost of transportation? Why, but for the sake of the profit-making railroad owners? And why should you, as a producer of wealth, be content to receive a smaller loaf or less rolls for your money, in order to give these non-producers who own the railroads bigger dividends? These are questions which you must answer, if you are to be a wise voter.

Will you answer them at the ballot box by voting for Socialism—the ownership by all the people of all the things upon which all the people must depend. Houses, railroads, factories, mines, bakeries, gas plants, slaughter houses, food depots—all are socially necessary and should be socially owned and controlled.

Perhaps you think these are strange matters for a political party to choose for its "issues." That is true. It is true, however, only because the masterless in control of both the old parties has always taken good care to see that neither of these parties made issues of the matters of most vital concern to the working class. But the Social Democratic Party believes that voting is a useless thing unless by voting we can better our conditions. The Social Democratic Party believes that voting is a foolish thing if it will only help our enemies. The Social Democratic Party believes that the working class will be benefited by voting when it has the sense to vote for its own interests.

That is why the Social Democratic Party is a party of the working class. And that is why it opposes both the old parties, and all other parties of any description not based upon the principle that the workers who create all the wealth of the world ought to own all the wealth, and, therefore, ought to vote for it.

And that is Socialism.

LITHOGRAPHERS' FIGHT.

Organized Bosses Propose to Force on Them an "Arbitration Agreement," but Workers are Inclined to Resist.

The lithographic workers of New York City—and, soon or later, of the whole country, for that matter—must face the same problem which is making trouble for the unions of building trades. The employers' association has decided to force upon them what is pleased to call an "arbitration agreement"—that is, a contract by which the lithographic workers will pledge themselves, whenever they have a grievance or a demand to make or whenever the employers make an aggressive move to reduce their wages, to submit the question to the decision of Bishop Potter or some such lackey of the capitalist class. The workers of the lithographic trades are not at all pleased to be made to sign such an extent. They are disposed to "have a fight for their money," at least, and it is very likely that by the time this paper reaches its readers a lockout will be in force which will test the solidarity, the intelligence, and the manly spirit of all the printing trades—for all of these should naturally come to the assistance of the lithographers in their resistance to this thinly disguised Parleyism.

TELEGRAPH MESSENGERS' STRIKE.

The Western Union and other telegraph companies, whose Chicago messengers are on strike, after invoking the power of the law against the boys, as reported last week, have taken a new and more drastic step. They are hiring girls to act as strike-breakers. In view of the fact that the companies' representatives declared, in talking for an injunction against the boys, that the men whom they first engaged as scabs were in danger of grievous bodily injury by the strikers, it would seem pretty cowardly and heartless for them to hire girls for the work. No doubt the stories of violence by the boy strikers were mostly lies and the girls are employed in the hope that some of them will be lured or bribed, when the companies can appeal to the sentiment of chivalry against their recalcitrant messengers. Besides which, girls are generally even cheaper than boys. It is pleasing to note from the dispatches, though, that a number of girls have quit, on coming to understand the case, and joined the strikers' pickets.

WILLING SUBJECTION.

The direct aspect of the tragedy of woman is that her efforts at emancipation find their bitterest opposition from their own enslaved sex. Modern woman in the mass does not yet want the ballot. She does not want her rights. She wants to be let alone so long as she can find a man to keep her, and she looks sullenly at the woman who has risen to the light as state whether they are land owners, tenants or hands. Charles has been granted to Wellington, where the local start with twenty members, P. H. Bluff, Jefferson City and Kansas City report putting up municipal buildings. Arrangements have been made up but Clyde A. Berry in the Fifteenth

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from 24 page.)

help and has always assisted others liberally. But this is your fight as well as ours. Capitalism has concentrated its forces here for this campaign, and this is the battle-field of American Socialism just now. This is our time of need, and we appeal with confidence to the comrades of the Socialist Party throughout the country. If every local will send as a little contribution, we shall be able to flood Milwaukee with literature that will change the history of Milwaukee and Wisconsin politics. The local situation is one which Socialists have not had an opportunity to face before in this country. Contributions should be sent to W. R. Gaylord, Secretary, 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Colorado.

The Socialist Party of Colorado has issued the following appeal, to be circulated among all sympathizers throughout the state:

"We are at present fighting one of the greatest battles of the present economic era in Colorado. The combined forces of capital and organized labor are engaged in a death struggle over these mountains and plains. The business interests, the state are paralyzed and strong men are eagerly watching the struggle of the gladiators wondering what the outcome will be. The Socialist Party with its long and honorable record in the work of the workingman is the only one who can look upon the scene with a clear conception of the real situation. He sees in the conflict the fulfillment of the prophesies of the fathers of his philosophy. He knows that this is but the initial struggle in the world-wide conflict which must precede the dawn of the day of deliverance for the working class. Here for the first time in history the lines are clearly drawn. Capitalism is on one side, for it is these labor unions which have declared for Socialism that are the objects of capitalism's fiercest attacks.

That this conflict has begun in one of the younger states does not diminish its great importance to the working class everywhere; in this the danger to the laborer is all the more acute. The Socialist Party in Colorado is keenly alive to the importance of action and realizes that this is the day of opportunity. The military tyranny which has humiliated the state of Colorado, which has imprisoned our comrades in jails and 'mill penes,' which has torn them from their families and driven them into exile and which has inflicted untold loss and outrage upon them, has prepared the minds of the people to receive the economic teachings of the Socialist propaganda as never before.

The National Committee, understanding the situation fully, has generously sent Comrades Carey of Massachusetts and Maynor of Pennsylvania to help us in our emergency, but unless we can accompany these comrades throughout the state with our own workers who understand our problems and their conditions and follow their efforts in the industrial work, clinching the matter by drive, and pushing the enthusiasm they create, the work of the national organizer will result in but little permanent good.

The Colorado State Committee, realizing this, is planning to follow up the work of Carey and Maynor by a campaign of organization and education on a larger scale than ever before. This will cost a large amount of money. Where it is to come from we do not know. The resources of the State Committee are wholly inadequate and they cannot be largely increased from our members within this state. Owing to the industrial crisis many of our comrades are out of employment. Many are blacklisted. Many of them are wandering from town to town in other states seeking work. Some of our best leaders have been almost destroyed by wholesale deportations of their members by a tyrannical military. All of this tends to diminish our resources. Yet this work must be done. It shall be done, and we believe that Socialists and trade unionists everywhere will help us to do it.

"Believing this, we, the Local Quorum of the State Committee of Colorado hereby authorize our Secretary, Treasurer to publish this appeal in the Socialist Party and in the local country and to urge every local of the Socialist party and every labor union to send us a donation for this work. We also urge individual Socialists and trade unionists everywhere to send us whatever they feel they can spare. Every dollar will be promptly receipted and accounted for, and every donation however small will be of great value to the party. In Colorado, not only is the strike down to quite such an extent. They are disposed to 'have a fight for their money,' at least, and it is very likely that by the time this paper reaches its readers a lockout will be in force which will test the solidarity, the intelligence, and the manly spirit of all the printing trades—for all of these should naturally come to the assistance of the lithographers in their resistance to this thinly disguised Parleyism.

MISSOURI.

At the meeting of the State Committee Quorum on Feb. 17 the following communication was received from St. Louis: "The endorsement we gave Comrade Bonaventura was the effect of that he was in good standing (as a dues) and possessed ability as an organizer. This endorsement was by the City Committee and not by the local; but the City Committee wishes to inform the State Quorum that we would not willingly endorse any one who has been expelled from his union. Under the circumstances the City Committee wishes to apologize for their action and requests that you inform all the locals in the state of the facts in the case." Application for charter has been received from Higginsville, where a local is organized with seven members, all coal miners. The application announced last month from Nebo, is from an organization of farmers. Quorum has decided that hereafter all applicants engaged in agricultural pursuits must state whether they are land owners, tenants or hands. Charles has been granted to Wellington, where the local start with twenty members, P. H. Bluff, Jefferson City and Kansas City report putting up municipal buildings. Arrangements have been made up but Clyde A. Berry in the Fifteenth

Congressman District at small expense to the party. Arthur DeRose and wife will cross the state from Kansas City to Hannibal, speaking at various places en route to reach W. L. Garrison of Chillicothe will do some gratuitous work in Fulton, and possibly in Mexico and Moberly. Miss Martha Biegler will do the same in St. Joseph. The Quorum regrets to report complications in Springfield. The charter has been sent back with a communication signed by officers of the local, but so far as we can learn, not by any action of the organization. Local officers have been written individually that the charter is not revoked, but will be held pending an investigation; for as long as there are five men in Springfield willing to abide by party obligations, the charter is theirs. The story of Springfield is a long one—the movement 'being' harassed by old party politicians. A list of the membership has been requested and the Quorum hopes to get this straightened out soon. Application for charter has been received from the Socialists at Jasper, which, in accordance with the rule, will be granted at the expiration of thirty days unless some one files a protest.

In reply to a letter from Local Omaha, which was printed in The Worker many weeks ago, Local Kansas City has sent the following letter:

"Comrades—Owing to the increased work incidental to the present campaign, the Kansas City comrades have been unable until now to complete the investigation of charges made against George E. Boyd; but the matter has been given thorough consideration, the printed report having been carefully studied, as has also been the written statement made by Comrade Boyd.

"As a result no charges have been filed against Boyd and we will be glad to have him instructed to inform you on the following points:

"First—We received George E. Boyd to membership here in the same manner as we receive all applicants, without any of the red tape and investigations you seem to think so necessary; we received him as we receive all, relying solely on the obligation required and on our own ability as intelligent men and workers to select to our membership only those who are in the case might demand. We do not have any investigating committees, judge advocates, prosecuting attorneys, sworn witnesses or executive sessions in Kansas City Local.

"Second—That we consider the charges against Boyd unproven by your own showing—except in the case of signing the petition for the candidate for the National Committee. In considering Boyd's subsequent action, this is a trivial charge.

"Third—We commend your action in the matter of the trial, noting that you are careful not to say that Boyd was NOT present. We have good evidence that he was not. The trial was therefore a farce. Moreover do we condemn your action on your own showing of sending the charges broadcast before the trial and more your action after the alleged trial sending out the circular in which you 'give a little of the evidence' and 'as several locals have already repudiated Boyd' ask that others do so. All this on your own showing.

"Fourth—in view of your own statement of the reorganization of Nebraska, setting yourselves up as the directing force by a trick which has been played out before the eyes of the Socialist movement (or, however, that is only possible with a small membership), ignorant of lawful procedure in organization, we are instructed to say that The Socialist Club of Jackson County looks with suspicion upon the present organization in Omaha.

"This criticism is directed not against the rank and file of the Omaha organization, but against those men who after the election in the movement in May and June 1902, and whom you have allowed to impose upon you."

H. H. Weber, D. W. Tripp, and F. G. Foutrey sign the letter and committee.

It may be noted that the Omaha comrades, when charges were there preferred against Boyd, informed him of them and notified him of the meeting of the grievance committee, but he failed to appear.

HERE AND THERE.

Upon receipt of a request from Local Boston, to take action upon a set of resolutions against holding the national convention or other conventions on Sunday, in order to avoid prejudicing religious people against Socialism, Local Elgin, Ill., adopted instead a series of resolutions approving the action of the National Committee in choosing Sunday, May 1, as the day for the opening of the convention, pointing out that workmen are compelled to hold meetings on Sundays because they cannot get away from their work on other days since "the capitalist class, through possession of the means of production and exchange, is absorbing the very lives of thousands of men, women, and little children who are often compelled to work in mills, factories, shops, mines, etc., on Sundays; these industries being generally owned by so-called religious people," and declaring that "the Socialist Party by bowing to this and that prejudice would place itself in a compromising position and cease to be a Socialist Party in the true sense, and become a mere truckler to the prejudices of the people," which was carried by a just and slavish system of capitalism."

WE NEED NOT FEAR FREEDOM.

I do not know what woman will do when she is free. I am willing to trust her. I do not even know what man will do when he is free. But what I do know is that all outward institutions of human tyranny that the free man are the most dangerous which stand in the way of the free man; and every weapon which revolutionary logic can give me for my own salvation, I will glory to place in my sister's hand for her salvation, too.—Franklin H. Westworth.

"SOCIALISM RECALLED."

"Socialism Recalled," by A. A. Lewis, is a pamphlet setting forth the ideas of our party in the plainest language. Circulate it. Ten copies for a quarter; fifty for \$1.00; one hundred for \$1.50. Socialist Literature Company, 124 William Street, New York.

Hawk and Handsaw Tales.

TOLD BY BEN HANFORD.

Where Are We?

See where we are to-day.

When darkness comes to-night, you strike a match; and in striking that match you pay tribute in the form of profit to Morgan and Gold and Rockefeller and the Match Trust. The next thing you do is to wind up your little alarm clock, so that you will be sure to get up bright and early to-morrow morning and not be late to work and get docked; and when you wind up that alarm clock you pay tribute in the form of profit to Morgan and the Ansonia or Ingraham Clock Trust. Well, morning comes. Your wife, if you have the luxury of such companionship, gets up a half hour earlier than you, prepares breakfast. If she lights a coal fire, every moment that it burns you pay tribute in the form of profit to Morgan and Rockefeller and the Oil and Gas Trust. Next the wife will place a little tin pot on the stove, and you will pay tribute to Morgan and the Tin Plate Trust. She places a little coffee in the little pot, and you tribute in the form of profit to Morgan and Arbuckle and the Coffee Trust; or, if she puts tea in the pot, you pay tribute in the form of profit to Morgan and the Tea Trust. And before drinking the tea or coffee, you put a little sugar in and you pay tribute to Morgan and the Sugar Trust. Then you pay tribute in the form of profit to Morgan and Havemeyer and the Sugar Trust.

Well, likely as not, that drink of trust tea or coffee will make you sick. If so, you send for a trust physician. He comes, gives you a prescription (for a consideration), you send it to the drug store to be filled, and when you pay for that prescription you pay tribute in the form of profit to Morgan and Park, Tilford & Co., or to Morgan and the Potter Drug & Chemical Trust.

Well, it is easily possible that that dose of Trust medicine may kill you. If it does, your body will probably be placed in a coffin made by some casket company, which Mr. Morgan owns. If it does not stop there. When your relatives, if they have money enough, go to buy you a grave they will discover that Mr. Morgan is interested in more than one cemetery, and you who have lived all your life working for Morgan will be placed in Morgan's coffin and buried in Morgan's cemetery.

Nor does it stop even there. After you are dead and buried, let us hope that your unforgotten spirit will go up and look for admission through the pearly gates; but if so, I very much fear that old St. Peter will meet you there, reach forth his hand, and ask you for a letter of recommendation from J. Pierpont Morgan before you can enter Heaven.

And even this may not be the worst. Possibly you may have been a very wicked man, and failed to do penance for your sins, and instead of going up above you may go down below, in which case I feel confident you will find that Hell is all Morgan's—and I'm not sorry for it. I can, however, with safety venture the prediction that before Morgan is in Hell for ninety days he will organize a Trust down there, and force the Devil off his own fire.

See where we are to-day.

This illustration is not extreme. Mr. Morgan is a director or trustee in scores of different corporations and he holds stocks in hundreds of others, while as a bondholder and banker he has an interest (often a controlling one) in yet other scores and hundreds of them. In view of this illustration that neither you nor your wife can spend a nickel, a dime, or a dollar without paying tribute in the form of profit to this trust, that trust, and the other trust, and while these corporations may be separate legal entities, they are all owned by practically the same little group of men, with a master capital of industry and finance working his will with each.

Take, however, in but one side, and the brightest side, of the picture. Not only must you spend your wages with Morgan, but if you work on a railway you must work for Morgan and Vanderbilt and Gould; if you work at coal mining, you must work for Morgan and Rockefeller; if you work for Morgan and Rockefeller, if you work in copper or the precious metals, you work for Morgan and Rockefeller and Clark and Helms.

In my illustration to-day I have pointed out how you are exploited by monopoly in spending your money. You have only been robbed of what you had. You can scarcely believe me when I tell you that this robbery that you see so plainly is of little real importance.

THE GREAT robbery of the working class is accomplished by taking from them what they haven't got. It, no doubt, seems strange to you, Mr. Workingman, to be told that a penniless, propertyless, naked man can be robbed, and that the robbers can get rich of the spoils of him. But it is true. It can be done. It is done.

What's more, it's the paymaster kind of robbery that ever.

THE COMING WOMAN.

With the coming of economic opportunity comes a woman who rises to her full height and does not sell herself for life for board and clothes. To gain the free woman as a mate it will require something more than the ability to buy her; man will have to deserve her. He will have to deserve her to win her; he will have to deserve her to hold her. The free woman will make her own laws; she will laugh at the laws man has made to restrain her as at tales to scare a child.—Franklin H. Westworth.

—In arranging a public meeting, never fail to have Socialist papers for distribution. A hundred copies of The Worker cost 75 cents; two hundred, \$1.20; three hundred or more, 50 cents a hundred.

GOOD SOCIALIST BOOKS AND HOW TO GET THEM.

Do you wish to educate yourself on the principles and history of Socialism? Of course you do. One way to do it is to get a good standard book and read it carefully, and then another and another, setting aside some certain time each week, be it only an hour or two, for systematic reading. Do you wish also to help in spreading the light of Socialism? Of course you do. One of the best ways to do that is to get new subscriptions for The Worker.

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As a premium for FIVE new yearly subscriptions at 50 cents each we will send you any one of the following cloth-bound books:

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For TEN yearly subscriptions, any of these dollar books:

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For the benefit of those who may be able to get only a few subscriptions, or who may prefer to get several paper-bound books instead of a few in cloth covers, the following special offers are made:

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A CALL TO NEW YORK WORKINGMEN.

By George Finger.

Organized labor is about to enter a period of strife this spring which bodes not well for the interests of the workers at present, but which may eventually be good, for the results which it will bring upon the producers of wealth in causing them to recognize the necessity of closer affiliation with each other and of political action.

The employers have learned from their workmen the advantages of organization and have advanced upon the action of the toilers considerably. In the building trades, for instance, the employers in all branches have formed their local as well as national bodies and having got themselves into good working order are about to settle down to business, with the following results:

Last year they formed their plan of arbitration and handed it to the trade unions to sign. Those who refused were locked out of employment and forced to submit to their dictatorial employers. In doing this the funds of the various unions in the building trades were depleted, much to the employers' satisfaction.

This spring the employers, knowing the depleted state of the union treasuries, have not waited for the unions to submit them a new scale of wages, but are submitting the unions a scale. An advance scale? Of course, not. A reduced scale, naturally. Three trades in the building line have or shortly will have a reduced scale handed to them. Outside of the building trades, the machinists are confronted with a two-per-cent reduction in their wages and a ten-hour day; the sign writers in New York City are on strike already, because the bosses demand the open shop; and by May you will see most of the trades working

for less money or fighting to uphold the wages and conditions which they formerly held. This in the face of the fact that the price of your bread, beef, and all foodstuffs has risen without your consideration, other than having to pay the increase.

Now, brothers and comrades, do you not think it time you take a hand in these matters, or are you always going to allow others to control the product of your labor and sell it back to you at any price they see fit? Shake off your apathy and come out into the open field and fight. Assert your manhood and independence, and furthermore, stir up your sleeping fellow toilers to help this fight along.

The statement was made by one of our would-be owners last week, that the wages and labor conditions in this country must be brought to a level with Europe. Are we to go backwards? No! Let progress be our watchword. Even if we have now a little more than our European brothers (and this I will leave to your judgment to decide) let it be understood that what we want and what we are going to get is not merely a greater or lesser portion of what we create, but the full value of our product; and we will not merely be satisfied with our getting it, but intend to wage war until all the workers get it, be they black or white, Jew or Gentile. For as long as one of us is deprived of the full amount of his product or the full fruits of his labor, some individual is receiving more than his share, and we as a whole are suffering in consequence.

Stand on your armor, enter the fray, and let it be a fight to the death. Victory always favors the right. Our cause is for right, the battle is on, wage it valiantly and victory must be ours.

LABORERS' STRIKE.

Bricklayers Give Helpers Hoarty Support.

Employers Have Shamelessly Broken Faith and Forced the Conflict. Belated Building Trades Employers' Association Will Fight for "Open Shop."

The strike of the New York bricklayers' helpers organized in the Laborers' Protective Union is still on. The laborers firmly refused to submit to the change of which the employers' Association arbitrarily attempted to put into effect, in utter violation of its agreement. The bricklayers are loyally supporting their helpers in the fight. Every local voted, when the question was submitted, to go out in sympathy with the aggrieved laborers. In all, some 12,000 men are now out and all building operations in Manhattan and Bronx are at a standstill so far as brick work is concerned.

The employers' association, under the agreement forced upon the unions last year, do not recognize the laborers' unions directly, but only through the mediation of the organizations of "skilled mechanics." The laborers, however, are not impressed as was expected by this aristocratic arrangement. They are not properly humble, in the judgment of the bosses.

The employers demanded of the bricklayers that they induce the laborers to go back to work "pending arbitration" or work with non-union laborers if they refused, but this the bricklayers very manfully declined to do.

The Building Trades Employers' Association seems to have changed its policy since last summer. Another bitter and general conflict is predicted, and Charles L. Eldridge, the employers' president, openly declares that it will be a fight for the "open shop." This means that within a few months after the signing of an agreement proposed by Eldridge and his organization of capitalists, these same capitalists want to go back on their word and begin an aggressive war on the labor organizations.

In the face of such an evidence of bad faith, it is no wonder that the workingmen refuse to submit questions to arbitration and go on doing the employers' work while the employers' friends arbitrate.

DINNER TO JOHN TURNER

Defenders of Free Speech Will Gather at Arlington Hall Next Monday.

The Free Speech League of New York City, which has had charge of the defense of John Turner, whom the United States government undertook to deport by "administrative process," having succeeded in getting him released on bail and a hearing in the United States Supreme Court fixed for an early date, has decided to emphasize its position in opposition to the tendency to restrict free speech by giving a public dinner at which Turner is to be the guest of honor.

The dinner will be held in Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place (East Eighth street), on Monday, March 21, at 7 p. m. Tickets cost \$1 and can be had at the office of The Worker, 184 William street, at the New York Labor Bureau, 64 East Fourth street, at the Brooklyn Labor Bureau, 940 Wiloughby avenue, or at the office of Arlington Hall. The sale of tickets will close on March 19 at 6 p. m.

Edward W. Chamberlain, President of the League, will preside. Besides John Turner, among the speakers will be Alexander Jones, Algonquin Lee, Hugh O. Pentecost, Bolton Hall, Jos. Barondess, and President Overwager of the Central Federated Union.

LITHOGRAPHERS LOCKED OUT.

28,000 Workingmen Are Affected.

Workers of the Lithographic Trade in the Whole United States Refuse to Accept Proposed Arbitration Contract Under Threat of Lockout.

The organized lithographic workers of the United States, some 28,000 in number, were locked out at midnight last Tuesday under the terms of the organized employers' ultimatum, with which they refused to comply. Between five and six thousand of the locked-out men are in New York City. According to the decree of the bosses no union lithographer could be employed after that time unless he had previously signed the obnoxious agreement which they had vainly attempted to force upon the unions.

The situation was discussed at a mass meeting of the New York lithographers held in Cooper Union on Thursday evening, March 10, and presided over by Frederick W. Long, President of New York Union No. 1. The hall was crowded when he called the meeting to order. Mr. Long stated that the press had misrepresented the lithographers, saying that they were misled by "agitators" and that they did not respect the sacredness of agreements and the like. This was not true. They were willing to make an agreement, but they were not willing to have an unsatisfactory agreement forced upon them by the threat of a lockout. The lithographers had had too much experience of the arbitration which the employers now demanded that they pledge themselves to. The decision always went in favor of the employers and against the men. It was to show the feeling of the rank and file on the question that this general meeting had been called.

Richard Mitchell, President of the Lithographic Poster Artists and an active member of the Social Democratic Party, was then introduced. He forcibly set forth the need for united and vigorous action in this crisis. The bosses had united solidly and the workers must do likewise. The employers' arbitration plan, he declared, was designed to undermine the union and bind the workers' hands. If it were accepted, we should soon see boys introduced to displace men and reduce wages. If the men objected, the question would go to an "impartial" arbitrator and would assuredly be decided in the employers' favor. The men should not give up their union and their rights without a fight. To strike the fight now would be to surrender to the employers' power. The issue should be met and the battle fought with all possible energy and fortitude. "And let us remember," he said in closing, "if we win this fight, it will still be but a temporary victory. Our lasting triumph will come when we shall have won the right to our own industry and not as heretofore, in the capitalists' interest. Let us elect our own lawmakers and our own judges and then we shall not need to fight such battles as this."

Wm. A. Cackley, Business Agent of the Lithographic Press Freedom, spoke in detail of the employers' proposition and declared it unfair and unreasonable. To accept it would mean to give up all advantage of organization. He appealed to every man in the trade firmly to refuse to sign any individual contract. Only by harmonious action could the workers protect themselves.

Comrade Sparao was the next speaker. He rejoined the spirit of the class for once showing the spirit to say, "We have nothing to arbitrate." The bosses had replied: "We are the masters of your bread. We are the masters of your lives. We control the tools of industry, and you shall not work and make your living unless you accept our terms." The private ownership of the means of production is what enables these men to speak as dictators. But the time is not far off when that power will be taken from them, when the workers will awake and understand and use their political as well as their economic power to take control of the industry that their labor alone carries on.

He spoke forcibly of the necessity of the arbitration policy, and cited the case of the coal miners, who had lost by untimely arbitration all that they had so nearly won by their great strike. To pledge the lithographers' unions to arbitration under the present plan, under threat of a lockout, would be a shameful surrender.

"Let them lock you out, if they will," he said. "Stand together as one man, and this fight is yours. And as you act together for your class now, so act together for your class on the first Tuesday in November, and lockouts will be forever a thing of the past."

Edward Otto, Vice-President of the union also spoke against the proposed agreement.

The audience warmly applauded the most radical remarks of the speakers. The fighting spirit was abundantly in evidence.

ANOTHER ITEM FROM AMERICAN SIBERIA.

A. H. Flosten of Telluride, Colo., National Committeeman of the Socialist Party for that state, writes to National Secretary Mailly as follows:

"We are having it pretty hot here about strike affairs. Last week a man was shot in the back and when he came to the hospital he was found to have been shot in the back. He was arrested for 'obtaining railroad fare, hotel, and horse hire under false pretenses,' by one of the mine managers, who is the commander of the militia here."

"He was a young man, never up against proceedings before. I happened to meet him with the Sheriff on the street. When I learned his story I volunteered to defend him and thus had my first chance to give the captain and mine manager a roasting. The young man was acquitted."

"Then thirty-four of the miners were arrested for 'vagrancy,' because they would not go to work. Twenty-seven of them were fined \$25 and costs each, or thirteen and a half days' work on the roads. One fellow refused to work and the deputy handcuffed him to a telegraph pole. The W. F. of M. sent an attorney, E. F. Richardson, from Denver here to try the case before the county court. Our statute compels a man to give security for his behavior and costs that may be imposed, in order to get an appeal. I gave notice of appeal and put up \$1,000 bond. The miners were all discharged by the county court."

"In going home from the trial at 9:30 Saturday evening a deputy sheriff who is paid by the mine managers and is one of the worst thugs around here came up to us and he hit Mr. Richardson twice and myself once. He is the kind of fellow that pleases the people here, as the daily paper comes out and endorses his act."

"This letter is supplemented and the lawlessness of the capitalists further illustrated by the two following items, both taken verbatim from the New York 'Times' of March 10 and 15, respectively:

TELLURIDE, Colo., March 15.—One hundred members of the Citizens' Alliance, after a meeting, armed with rifles and revolvers, scoured the town and took into custody between seventy and eighty union men and sympathizers. In some instances doors of dwellings were broken open.

The men were herded in a vacant store-room until all those desired had been captured, when they were marched to the station and loaded into two coaches. As the special train departed the Citizens' Alliance fired volleys of shots into the air.

A. H. Flosten, ex-Alderman and proprietor of the largest store in Telluride, is one of the victims. The mob battered in the door of his house, and, as he resisted, he was struck over the head and forced into submission. Mr. Flosten is a leader of the Socialist Party. Another of the men evicted is Stewart S. Forbes, Secretary of the Telluride Miners' Union.

TELLURIDE, Colo., March 14.—Chris. Evans, financial manager of the United Mine Workers of America, was severely beaten by three masked men with revolvers to-day on board a Colorado and Southern passenger train, bound for Pueblo.

The men boarded the train a mile east of Trinidad, and after attacking Evans jumped off and escaped. Evans was taken to Colorado by President John Mitchell.

LOCAL RAIDS IN NEW JERSEY.

HALEDON, N. J.—Comrade Paul Schick has been elected as Commissioner of Appeals in Manchester Township. His party vote is 44 out of a total of 224.

NORTH BERDEN, N. J.—The Socialist vote in the local election is increased from 43 last spring to 62 this year.

—Literature? Just look over the list offered in this number, best going, easy to get.

—The working class doesn't need "friends." It needs a consciousness of its solidarity and common interests. Given this, the workers will be able to take care of themselves.—Jews Socialist.

FOR THE DAILY.

The "Call" Will Be Its Name.

The Work of Gathering Subscription Pledges Being Organized—Association Will Meet Again on March 24—Progress of the Fund.

At the joint meeting of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, which is to publish the coming daily Socialist and trade union newspaper, and the New York and Brooklyn Conferences, held on March 20 in the New York Labor Lyceum, with Comrade Shobdin presiding, a number of delegates from organizations not previously represented were seated, showing the increased interest in the daily now that Sept. 1 has been set the date of publication.

The question of a new name for the paper, in place of the "Globe," which was taken up by the Board of Management submitted the names "Commonwealth," "Champion," "Challenge," "Sentinel," and "Advance"; a number of other names were suggested by the members present, and after thorough discussion the New York "Call" was finally adopted unanimously.

Pledges for gathering subscription pledges were next considered and two committees of three were elected: one to take charge of getting subscriptions in organizations and the other to supervise the collection of subscriptions by a house to house canvass.

The price for a one month's subscription to the daily and Sunday edition was fixed at forty-five cents. Subscriptions blanks will be issued immediately, and all comrades and friends of the Socialist daily should enter their services in getting the 30,000 subscribers wanted before next September. Get a book of subscription blanks and go to work, so that the paper can be started with assurance of success from the beginning!

The next meeting of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association will be held on Thursday, March 24, 8 p. m., at the New York Labor Lyceum, 919 Wiloughby avenue.

Financial Secretary Gerber acknowledges receipt of contributions to the Daily Fund as follows:

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. Bohme, Union Comm., L. I. 1.00
Clear Makers' Union No. 122, Warren, Pa. 1.00
Workmen's Sick and Benefit Fund: 2.174748

RECEIPTS FROM NEW YORK: 1.00
R. 35, Bridgeport, Conn. 5.00
R. 4, Patterson, N. J. 1.00
R. 61, Providence, R. I. 2.00
R. 40, Passaic, N. J. 2.00
R. 3, Yonkers, N. Y. 5.00
R. 44, Westfield, L. I. 5.00
R. 21, Manchester, N. H. 1.01
R. 7, Syracuse, N. Y. 10.00
R. 48, Troy, N. Y. 1.00
R. 60, Troy, N. Y. 5.00
R. 98, Bedford, Mass. 5.00
Local 237, Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners, Allegheny, Pa. 1.00
Local, Springfield, Mass. list 5.50
Local 10, New York, N. Y. 5.00
Gus. Richter, Glendale, L. I. 2.00
Goetsch, L. I. 5.00
W. Hertle, City 5.00
Chas. Clasen, City 5.00
A. Hohl, City 5.00
J. J. Pilek, City 5.00
Chas. Hertle, City 5.00
Previously reported 2.74748

Total on cash contributions, \$2,814.84

PAID ON PLEDGES.

A. Lee, City 2.00
Schultz, Glendale, L. I. 2.50
Chr. Jensen, Glendale, L. I. 5.00
Ed. Fraum, Glendale, L. I. 1.00
W. Schramm, Glendale, L. I. 2.00
M. M. Bartholomew, City 5.00
Previously reported 3.40690

Total 6.41535

RECAPITULATION.

Cash contributions for week 560.95
Paid on pledges for week 9.05
Previously reported 14,914.78

Total 15,484.78

ANTI-BLACKLIST LAW KNOCKED OUT.

Ohio Supreme Court Holds Unconstitutional a Statute Forbidding Employers to Discharge Men for Joining Unions.

Another labor law that was never meant to be enforced has been knocked out. The Supreme Court of Ohio has declared unconstitutional the statute providing a penalty of \$100 fine and imprisonment for anyone who discharges a workman because he belongs to a union. This law has been upon the statute books for four years and blacklisting has been going on as though it had never been enacted. Its passage originally was simply a demagogic trick to catch votes. In the last dozen years every so-called labor law in Ohio has been declared unconstitutional as quickly as it was brought before the Supreme Court, and it might as well be understood now—since we have had plenty of object lessons—that such will continue to be the fate of similar measures until the workers place in power men from their own ranks who will enact laws and interpret the constitution from the standpoint of their class interests. There is nothing mysterious about that. It is common sense based upon experience.—Cleveland Citizen.

REASONS FOR ANARCHY IN COLORADO.

By Charlotte Teller.

There is no real government in Colorado at the present time. There is a very real anarchy of the highly colored, revolutionary sort which is pushing the development of class consciousness so rapidly that history, because of the haste, writes itself illegibly.

The anarchy now prevailing in the courts of law, in trade and in the expressions of the parliament press can be studied almost without reference to the metalliferous strike which apparently is the stirring cause for this uprising of the "citizens." "Citizens," it is remarked, is a term now usurped by the class which is against organized labor. A brigand fellow in the militia is a "citizen." A miner, if he belongs to the union, is not so considered.

A list of recent happenings in the state will not need any comment; it speaks for itself. "Equalized martial law" was declared in Colorado under the constitution, except "to execute the laws, suppress insurrection or repel invasion when civil authorities have proved themselves helpless."

In no instance have judges, town or county officers found that they could not enforce the law—yet, the governor has called out the militia in hundreds and declared one county under martial law, and another "bordering on insurrection" under "equalized martial law"—whatever that may be.

In Colorado "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall never be suspended, unless in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it," says the state constitution.

There is not one incident which could be claimed as evidence of "rebellion" in any sense of the word, yet the writ of habeas corpus has been issued in the most notable instance being that of Victor Rode at Cripple Creek.

"The military shall always be in strict subordination to the civil power" according to the constitution. The militia has overlooked this clause and paid no attention to injunctions issued by the courts, and to avoid being enjoined, the militia officers at Telluride plead guilty of criminal acts.

Freedom of press and speech is generally admitted to be a constitutional privilege in the United States; yet the writ of habeas corpus has been issued in the most notable instance being that of Victor Rode at Cripple Creek.

The military shall always be in strict subordination to the civil power" according to the constitution. The militia has overlooked this clause and paid no attention to injunctions issued by the courts, and to avoid being enjoined, the militia officers at Telluride plead guilty of criminal acts.

Now, when it is added that thirty-three men were "deported" from Telluride—that is, called without any of the processes of law being observed; that men with money in their pockets and trunks at a lodging house were arrested on a charge of vagrancy and made to do hard labor in the chain gang, that private houses were entered and searched for men supposed to be in hiding, then the most indifferent of Americans may well pause and consider the significance of this list of lawless acts which could only be excused after an open and acknowledged rebellion wherein men were banded together to destroy the life and property of the whole state.

But it has not been proved that the union has destroyed five cents' worth of property or injured one human being. The stories of perpetrated violence, as in the case of the explosion of dynamite at the Vindicator mine, the attempted dynamiting of a train of non-union men, and other news scares cannot be connected with the union, nor any union man. And it is supposed that if the cases are cleared up, the evidence will be a surprise to the supporters of the corporation cause.

The strike from the very beginning has been well-ordered, quiet, and without violence. It is called without any of the processes of law being observed; that men with money in their pockets and trunks at a lodging house were arrested on a charge of vagrancy and made to do hard labor in the chain gang, that private houses were entered and searched for men supposed to be in hiding, then the most indifferent of Americans may well pause and consider the significance of this list of lawless acts which could only be excused after an open and acknowledged rebellion wherein men were banded together to destroy the life and property of the whole state.

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TO SURRENDER TO THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES.

Next day the men were put to work on the streets under military guard, but one man refused to work, saying he would never work under a gun, for which he was STRUNG UP BY THE THUMBES TO A TELEGRAPH POLE. All this occurred in the city of Telluride, county of San Miguel, state of Colorado.

"When the militia took possession of the Miners' Union hall, the program was interrupted by the militia, the attempted dynamiting of a train of non-union men, and other news scares cannot be connected with the union, nor any union man. And it is supposed that if the cases are cleared up, the evidence will be a surprise to the supporters of the corporation cause.

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A TIMELY AND USEFUL DOCUMENT.

Secretary-Treasurer W. D. Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners writes: "National Secretary Mailly of the Socialist Party that the officials of the Federation would like to have Socialists and union men everywhere write to their congressmen and senators for a copy of the statement of the Western Federation of Miners regarding the strike and situation in Colorado, which was recently introduced in the United States Senate by one of the Colorado Senators. This statement was made in reply to the mine operators' statement, introduced by Senator Scott of West Virginia. As the mine operators' statement is an authentic report of the Colorado situation, everyone interested should have a copy for reference purposes."

HAYES ENDORSED IN BOSTON.

The nomination of Max R. Hayes for delegate of the International Typographical Union to the American Federation of Labor for a copy of the report of the Boston Typographical Union No. 13 in spite of strong opposition from certain reactionary elements, who seemed to think that by "exposing" him as a Socialist they could ensure a majority against him.

PARTY NEWS.

National Committee Motion No. 9. By Berger of Wisconsin, has been carried, the vote closing March 9. The motion is: "That any state or territorial organization indebted to the National Committee on May 1 next for dues-stamps received and sold to locals shall not be entitled to delegates in the national convention." The vote stands: Yes—Richardson, with 11 votes; Platten, 4; White, 3; Hensley of Florida, 2; Herndon, 2; Work, 2; Doolin, 2; Walter, 4; Holman, 8; Fox of Montana, 3; Gladin, 3; Lovett, 1; Overman, 2; Boomer, 10; Berger, 10—in all, fifteen members with 60 votes; No—Andrus, 2; Lowry, 2; Berlyn, 17; Caldwell, 9; Barnes, 13—in all, 45 members with 45 votes; not voting—Mills, Fox of Maine, Chase, Turner, Christensen, Hillquist, May, Hallbrook, and Hensley of Vermont. Effort of New Jersey was in a ballot, but the Quorum having decided that his election did not conform to the provisions of the party constitution, his vote was not counted.

Ernest H. Wenzel, member of the party in Baltimore, died Feb. 27. Secretary W. A. Toole of Local Baltimore, writes: "Our head committee of Baltimore, Md., has been elected by the party standing. He was born in Germany about forty-four years ago, but came to America when quite a young man. He was a delegate to the nominating convention of the S. L. P. in 1898 and was a delegate to the nominating convention of the Social Democratic Party in 1900. He was elected as a candidate on the tickets of both Socialist parties at different times. When only a German section of the S. L. P. existed in Baltimore, it was always insisting on the importance of agitation among the English-speaking people. It was largely through his endeavors that the first American Socialist section of the S. L. P. was organized here, the occasion being Commune Day in the year 1893, and I am glad to record that I was a charter member of this section, but sorry to say that I am the only one of the seventeen members who still remain in harness. A sad feature of his death is that his wife is an invalid and destitute. Much of his energy which could have been expended in earning a living or laying up something for a rainy day was spent in trying to enthrone his more pessimistic comrades to action. I always felt and when viewing these few often recurring tragedies. How many of us are destined to fall by the wayside before we reach the goal? How many earnest workers will be sacrificed before the workers are aroused?"

Local charters were granted by the national organization during the last weeks to locals at Yorkburg, Miss.; Overbrook, L. T.; and Salt Lake City, Utah.

On approval of the Quorum, the speakers and ballots for taking the vote of the party membership on the resolution of location for national headquarters have been sent to state secretaries and locals in unorganized states. The voting by regulars closes April 5 and the report of votes must be at the national office on or before April 15.

The New York State Committee reports the endorsement of L. B. Mayes for national secretary. The following resolutions are made and a direct vote of the National Committee called for, his name will be placed on the reserve list on March 29. In view of correspondence received from Colorado relative to application for organization by J. B. Osborne, the National Secretary has requested further information from the State Secretary of Colorado, and the name of Osborne's name will not be placed upon the reserve list.

SPECIAL QUORUM MEETING. The Quorum meeting was called to order in Chicago, March 6. Berlyn, Berger, and Wenzel were present. Berlyn was elected chairman. National Secretary Maffly acted as secretary.

Correspondence from a number of locals making inquiry as to the attitude of the national organization toward the "Appeal to Reason" and requesting action upon same was submitted by the Secretary and thereupon the following resolution was presented by Berlyn and adopted by the Quorum:

"Art. 3, Sec. 4, of the national constitution—The National Committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ—explicitly prohibits the national organization from favoring any one Socialist paper before any other and in binding upon the national organization, the members of the party are free to read or circulate any Socialist paper they choose; and in the light of the section of the constitution above referred to, the party membership should understand that the national organization has no profit or directing interest in any Socialist paper and cannot have under the party constitution."

The National Secretary presented correspondence with Acting State Secretary Gardner of Ohio relative to protest of Ohio State Quorum against National Secretary for alleged violation of state autonomy in assigning dates for Herndon in that state. After consideration Berger moved and the Quorum voted:

"That the action of the National Secretary be approved, because the principle of state autonomy had not been violated in making the dates, since the National Secretary had notified Acting State Secretary Gardner in due time and requested him to assign the speaker to places making application; and furthermore, no protest had been received from the State Quorum against the speaker."

Correspondence relative to two applications for local charters in New York was presented and after consideration, Berlyn moved and it was adopted:

"That application for charter made through J. H. Zenne be recognized and granted on the ground of actual priority of application."

The report of election of state officials by the Committee of New Jersey was received. Berger moved, "That the National Committee

cannot recognize Comrade Chas. Wenzel as National Committee member from that state so long as he was only elected by the State Committee to fill the vacancy. He must be elected by referendum, according to the following clause of Art. 2, Sec. 2: 'The members of this Committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent by referendum vote.' The State Committee is requested to initiate another referendum to elect a National Committee member." The motion was adopted.

A letter from R. A. Southworth, Denver, Colo., relative to J. B. Osborne's application for national organization, with reply of National Secretary, were read and Berlyn moved: "That Quorum approve of reply of National Secretary." Adopted.

Letter from B. Feigenbaum, with bids for printing Jewish pamphlets, was received. Moved by Berger that Feigenbaum be empowered to get leaflet printed and that Comrade Hillquist, National Committee member from New York, be requested to co-operate with Comrade Feigenbaum and represent the National Quorum in the preparation and printing of these leaflets. Adopted.

Letter from International Secretary of Socialist Bureau relative to paper on "Trusts and the Unemployed" for the International Congress. Berlyn moved that International Secretary be requested to strike the subject off the order of the day, as we are too busy to devote our time to academic discussions. Adopted.

The National Secretary presented copy for a leaflet on Socialism for general distribution. He also reported that National Organizer Wills had entered Idaho, that a new referendum for state officials was being held, and that the outlook was favorable.

It was decided that the national convention assemble at 10 a. m., May 1, at Brandt's hall, corner N. Clark and Erie streets, Chicago.

The meeting then adjourned.

REFERENDUM A 1004. It is reported from national headquarters, that Referendum A 1004 is carried by general vote of the party, closing March 10. This proposition is to amend the constitution by adding the following as Article XI:

"In all conventions, committees, or other deliberations of the Socialist Party of America one vote for one member present shall be the rule and proxies shall not be received or permitted nor plural voting allowed."

The vote cast, by states, is as follows:

States	Yes	No
Alabama	334	142
California	153	1
Colorado	74	22
Connecticut	6	3
District of Columbia	82	19
Florida	7	18
Georgia	440	19
Illinois	18	1
Indiana	113	21
Iowa	149	56
Kansas	33	61
Kentucky	181	186
Maine	105	35
Michigan	110	38
Minnesota	225	40
Mississippi	210	1
Montana	83	101
Nebraska	19	32
New Hampshire	74	111
New Jersey	301	208
New York	47	103
North Dakota	245	63
Ohio	78	5
Oklahoma	182	127
Oregon	19	8
Pennsylvania	39	8
Rhode Island	43	7
Tennessee	241	83
Texas	140	244
Washington	26	1
Wisconsin	4,280	2,034
Wyoming		

The vote of North Dakota was not counted for the reason that it had been including members-at-large, voted both "Yes" and "No."

The votes of Arizona, Maine and West Virginia were received March 11, after the vote had been tabulated.

NATIONAL ORGANIZING FUND. The National Secretary acknowledged the following contributions:

Local report, Col. No. 41, sent in by W. Williams, Globe, Ariz.; 1894, Morris Brown, New York City; 1893, J. W. Martin, Bk. Springs, Tex.; 1250, Patrick Smith, Birmingham, Pa.; 98, W. D. Montgomery, Mumbell, Ark.; 49, Ed. Miller, Prescott, Ark.; 279, Third Ward Branch, Chicago; 722, B. Stewart, Pittsburg, Mass.; 374, Local No. 10, 1674, E. V. Pike, New York City; 733, Mrs. C. C. Trask, Oakland, Cal.; 773, Mrs. C. C. Roberts, Springfield, Mass.; 1733, J. P. Mable, Chico, Calif.; 918, Geo. P. Smith, Fergus Falls, Minn.; 1900, John Bear, New Bedford, Mass.; 1844, Local Washington, D. C.; 1071, J. T. Stuyvesant, Porterville, Cal.; 50, T. T. Hunter, Portland, Ariz.; 328, Frank Kallan, Chicago; 164, Local No. 10, 1674, E. V. Pike, New York City; 733, Mrs. C. C. Trask, Oakland, Cal.; 773, Mrs. C. C. Roberts, Springfield, Mass.; 1733, J. P. Mable, Chico, Calif.; 918, Geo. P. Smith, Fergus Falls, Minn.; 1900, John Bear, New Bedford, Mass.; 1844, Local Washington, D. C.; 1071, J. T. 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HONOR TO WHOM HONOR IS DUE

The boring for the Hudson River tunnel was completed March 11. It had been started on July 1, 1900, and the two gangs of workmen were about to meet each other through the opening when, as the New York "Times" reports: "Superintendent 'Doc' B. Fry held them back to allow President McAdoo to be the first person to pass through."

This is typical of civilization. The civil engineer who had figured and planned so accurately that when the ends of the tunnel met there was not the variation of a hair in the courses—was not permitted to enjoy the exhilaration of his professional triumph by passing through the opening before anyone else. Neither were the workmen who had labored under the most dangerous conditions, who had suffered the tortures of disease con-

tracted in an atmosphere of compressed air and stifling dampness, allowed this acknowledgment of their service. No, President McAdoo, who was neither the mental creator nor physical executor of this gigantic undertaking, receives all the credit. All the glory, the greater portion of the wealth which, by the use of this tunnel, thousands of railway employees will produce.

But we will not be unjust. We are informed through the same source that "the Stars and Stripes were raised and President McAdoo in a little speech told the two hundred workmen who were gathered around him how much their long and faithful work was appreciated, and announced that they could take a TWO DAYS' HOLIDAY WITH FULL PAY." Great is our civilization and damned be he who dares to change it!

THE WORTH OF ONE SOCIALIST VOTE.

By Harrison I. Swift.

There are many persons who still dwell in the old political belief that a vote is thrown away unless cast for one or the other of the two large parties, because a third and radical party has no immediate chance of success. This doctrine is a very mistaken one. The vital question is: What relative weight has a vote cast for the various parties? The weight of a vote is not necessarily determined by success. This is a decisive fact in politics and many have not analyzed the reason, or they would not fear to vote with advanced radicals and revolutionists, though in a striking minority.

A little thought will show why one radical Socialist vote may weigh, in point of national influence, as much as ten, fifty or one hundred Republican or Democratic votes.

Every Socialist vote represents a brain surcharged with discontent. The man behind that vote is pledged to changes immeasurably more thorough than the man behind any other vote. By voting his belief he makes a public declaration of what he intends, showing that he is a man of courage. The Democratic party may count eight or nine millions of votes at the next election and go to power, but nothing of value will be gained if they do because their ideas are only a shade different from Republican ideas. Hence the intrinsic value of a hundred, a thousand, a million, or ten million Democratic votes, from the reform point of view, is substantially zero.

It doesn't really frighten the capitalist powers to think of their getting office. Tammany Democrats have power in New York and the capitalists are taking on fresh, as they did under Low. From the reform point of view ten million Republican votes are worthless because that party is pledged to prevent reform.

These facts create the situation which confers terrible weight upon every Socialist vote. The capitalist, having completely tied up the two great parties so that nothing can be done through them, leave only one course open to those who want something done politically—they must go over and vote for Socialism with their third party. Every man who does this damns the capitalist element because it exposes the growing impotence of the most subtle, cunning and unscrupulous manipulators whom the capitalists can engage—the politicians of the two parties—to work up a successful campaign of the voters. Each who breaks away proves that this impotence is growing. Capitalists and politicians know that discontent is present in the working class and far up into the middle class, they know that when discontented men see a neighbor jump out of the old fold these men are more likely to follow than to make the first jump themselves, and they know that if men had not a very large faculty for being deceived they would understand that the politics of the Republic-Democratic sort are carried on primarily to keep the masses from getting any thing.

Hence they see that every man who becomes a Socialist vote automatically appears as the leader of a neighborhood stampede, and then that the great breaking-up of their people-deceiving machines would follow.

This is why the Republicans formed a committee to investigate the growth of Socialism in this country to report at their coming national convention. They did it from fear, because they are awakening to see that the Democratic party is willing to keep these men in line. If they can't do that they will give the politicians campaign funds. If they can't get campaign funds what will be the point of politics—the politicians will have to work.

Now this is the great lesson to be read from these phenomena: comparatively few Socialist votes have caused all this dismay. About 300,000 votes.

Every one of these votes is therefore worth about ten ordinary votes. The four hundred thousand Socialist votes are equivalent to about four million Republican or Democratic votes in awakening serious concern thought. Let those who waver how to cast their ballots next time consider this. If every Socialist sympathizer in the country realized that his vote is worth ten times as much as the vote of the ordinary citizen, the country would be a different place. The Socialist vote at the coming presidential election, which would be in some other revolution. It would be a vote of the people.

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PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from 84 page.)

Massachusetts.
Arrangements are completed for the Fieldman-Davenport debate to be held in Fells Opera House, Bridgeport, on Sunday, April 8, from 2:30 to 5:30 p. m. The doors will open at 1:30; admission is free, and there will be no tickets; no one will be admitted after the debate begins. Comrade Fieldman will open with a 45-minute speech; Mr. Davenport will then have an hour; Fieldman 30 minutes; Davenport 30 minutes; Fieldman 15 minutes to close. New York comrades wishing to attend should be at the Grand Central Station at 10 a. m. All the local papers as well as the Associated Press have asked for places on the platform. Comrade Spargo was unable to speak in Bridgeport and Comrade Fieldman took his place. The meeting was large and enthusiastic. On Friday, March 19, Comrade Fieldman addresses the "Machinists' Union by invitation."

Missouri.
George W. Baird, a member of the Omaha Socialist Propaganda Club who was expelled from the party in Omaha and was afterwards admitted to membership in Kansas City, has been nominated for delegate to the national convention by the latter local.

St. Louis, Kansas City, Medina, Jefferson City and Lincoln. The following cities will take care of the convention should it notify the State Secretary at once. The following dates have been nominated: April 12, May 15, May 25, May 30 (Memorial Day), June 1, June 2, June 7, June 14, June 15, July 4.

Leo H. Scheukel, a member of the local Barbers' Union and formerly president of the Industrial Council, is the candidate for Socialist Party for Mayor of Kansas City. A full ticket has been nominated, including members of the Stationary Firemen's, Bricklayers', Painters', Steam Cooks', Millwrights', Carpenters', Sheet Metal Workers', Barbers', and Brewery Workers' Unions. The only man on the ticket who does not belong to a labor organization is Wm. Scott, candidate for Treasurer, who is a traveling salesman.

Kentucky.
Because of Comrade Dobbs' refusal to New York his resignation as National Committee member for Kentucky became necessary. He will always carry with him the wishes of the Kentucky comrades. There are four candidates to succeed him, J. M. Dial, Jr., A. A. Lewis, F. L. Robinson, and Chas. G. Towler. The result will be known in about a week. Unless some candidate receives a clear majority, however, the State Committee has decided to have another election. Meanwhile, Comrade Dobbs has been authorized to continue as National Committee member until his successor has been elected.

A celebration of the Paris Commune will be held at Newport on March 21, at which it is expected to have Comrade McGrady speak; on March 27 A. M. Minnow of Chicago will speak.

Local Covington has been holding propaganda meetings every Sunday afternoon during the winter and much good has been done.

A Commune celebration will be given in Newport, Ky., by the progressive societies, Hiramsham, Hiramsham, Socialist, and Socialist. The celebration will be held on Sunday evening, March 20, 7:30 p. m., at "Workmen's Hall," Walnut street. Admission will be ten cents and the evening's entertainment will include speeches, vocal music, recitations, and a hop.

Here and There.

When W. R. Healey tried to make a Socialist speech in Orlando, Fla., he was egged and assailed, with the approval and encouragement of the marshal, and his value was stolen. Upon being taken to the city, the marshal justified this outrage on the ground that Comrade Healey had once expressed the opinion that "a nigger was as good as a white man." The Socialist have issued a leaflet, both the local papers having refused to publish their side of the case, pointing out that the real secret of the whole business is that the Socialists have nominated a ticket for the coming election which would be a vote of the people.

The Central Branch of Local Seattle has adopted a resolution declaring the most imperative need of the hour to be an official national Socialist weekly, to be owned and controlled by the Socialist Party and proposing a national referendum to instruct delegates to the Chicago convention to that effect.

State Secretary Elizabeth H. Thomas of Wisconsin, writing in the "International Socialist Review" on the present Socialist campaign in Milwaukee, expresses a confident hope that the election to be held on April 6 will show a good gain. The growth of the Socialist vote in that city has been steady and solid during the last five years. In the spring election of 1895 we had 2,400 votes; in the spring of 1900 this rose to 2,585; in the fall of 1900 to 4,067; in the spring of 1901 to 4,343; and in the fall of 1900 to 4,343.

There were seventy-four delegates present. Comrade R. P. Hamp and W. R. Richards were chairman and secretary, respectively. A strong platform was adopted. State headquarters were removed from Albany to Portland. It was decided to employ a State organizer to build up the party organization. The following ticket was nominated: C. C. Michaelson of Princeton, for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; N. Rasmussen of Portland, for State Food and Dairy Commissioner; R. E. Ramp of Salem, for Congress in the First; and George B. Cook of Portland, in the Second District. The election takes place in June.

What They Think of The Worker.
"I thought, when my subscription for The Worker ran out a few months ago that, as I had so many Socialist papers coming, I would not renew; but I find that none of them quite takes the place of The Worker, and I make it, and am enclosing money for which please send the paper for another year," writes W. E. Boynton, of Astoria, O.

John M. Dillon, of Dayton, O., says: "I have been a reader of your paper for more than four years and have always felt that, as a member of the Socialist Party, I could not do without it. As a means for keeping myself posted on party matters I think it is the best paper I have read."

It is unequalled by any other publication. I admit your readership to give a hearing to all, regardless of their views, or how much they oppose the proposition The Worker may be supporting, even allowing more space at times to your opponents than that given by yourself. I have, since becoming a reader, been a warm supporter of The Worker and I am glad to see you continue fearless in opposing what you think wrong. I hope you will always encourage a free discussion of our party matters for the enlightenment of the rank and file. We need the freest discussion possible so the rank and file will be properly equipped to keep the leaders in line; we need not be afraid of the rank and file and it won't hurt any to watch the leaders well."

Comrade Dedrick of Sparrowbush, N. Y., writes that the local there is gaining new members and is starting in for the hard work of 1901. Incidentally he says, "Your paper is O. K. and gives notice that our subscriptions will soon be coming in from that vicinity."

LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK.

Lectures for the week under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party and auxiliary organizations, whether by Socialist or non-Socialist speakers, and by Socialist speakers before other organizations, are listed below. Unless otherwise stated, lectures are called for 8 p. m., and admission is free.

THURSDAY, MARCH 17.
Erlis Hall, 108 W. Twenty-third street, Room 5. John Spargo: "The Paris Commune and Its Lessons."

FRIDAY, MARCH 18.
West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor. L. D. Mayer: "The Economic Foundations of Our Politics."

SUNDAY, MARCH 20.
Colonial Hall, Hundred and first street near Columbus avenue. Henry J. Mohr: "Why I Speak of Shelley."

Reminiscing Social Democratic Society. Link's Hall, 233 E. Thirty-eighth street. Charles Dobbs: "A Forfeited Trust."

THURSDAY, MARCH 21.
Erlis Hall, 108 W. Twenty-third street, Room 5. Peter E. Burrows: "Towards Socialism."

FRIDAY, MARCH 22.
West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, northwest corner Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor. Walter L. Howard: "The Working Class and Its Position in Past, Present, and Future Society."

Brooklyn.
SUNDAY, MARCH 20.
Ward's Hall, 315 Washington street. Morris Hillquit: "The Misuse of American Socialism."

Duffalo, Mass. Duffalo arena and Fulton hall. A. C. Cade: "Social Facts and Social Ideals."

THE "IRON LAW OF WAGES."

The month of up-to-date (as we may term it, i. e., for professing to regard the great scientific generalizations which the second half of the nineteenth century has bequeathed to human knowledge as more or less antiquated lumber, began in the later years of the nineteenth century itself. The month of March, 1881, was exploited by reactionary writers, when it was not indeed initiated by them. For the great generalizations in question—the doctrine of evolution, the theory of the persistence of force, the discovery of group-communism and group-marriage as the primitive conditions of human society, the recognition of labor as the principle and measure of value in economic life, the conclusions of Marx's great analysis of capitalist production, etc.—all these things are nothing if not revolutionary in religion, ethics, economics and politics. Hence it is not surprising that a persistent attempt is being made by Jesuitical partisans of reaction, when they cannot be directly impugned, to belittle them, and to belittling the belittling of the formulae in the present generation has received them to create the impression that the doctrines themselves are invalid. The further implication is, of course, that there may be after all something to the old for the really obsolete dogmas they have superseded. Our modern intellectual youth is apt to fall into the reactionary traps from sheer ignorance. This is the case with the "Iron Law of Wages," which is represented by the English Fabians and on the Continent by the various groups of "Revisionists," who are all anxious to proclaim a Socialism up-to-date which, when critically viewed, generally turns out to be some antediluvian theory tricked out in current phrases and a little new machinery.

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Hawk and Handsaw Tails.

TOLD BY RED HARRISON.

"Good morning, good people. How are you? The wicked people seem to be doing quite well. How are the good people?"

First Workingman—William C. Whitney died worth \$25,000,000.

Second Workingman—Well, "There is no pocket in a shirt." He didn't take it with him.

Absolute Knave—He might as well, for all the good it will do you.

Speed up the machines. Pull out, boys. Work just as hard as you can. The harder you work, the sooner you'll die. Speed 'em up. Speed 'em up. Kill yourself working. When you die, there'll be a job for me. Speed 'em up. When I die, there'll be a job for the other fellow. Speed 'em up. There's plenty of work in the United States. Speed 'em up. There's a job for every man who wants to work. So Mark Hanna said. And he knows now. If you don't believe it ask him. He'll tell the truth now, unless his tongue is too parched to talk.

Each having lived a long life of constant sacrifice of personal interest to the public welfare, Republican Mark Hanna willed a poor eight million dollars to his heirs, while Democrat William C. Whitney left the beggarly pittance of twenty-five millions to his family. J. Pierpont Morgan attended the funeral of each of these men. That's not to be laid up against him. I merely mention it as further evidence that there is no connection between business and politics.

In addition to the millions left to pay the baker and milkman and keep the wolf of hunger from the door, Mr. Whitney left ten different city and country "estates," each with its palace, and including about 40,000 acres of land. Wonderful man, that Whitney, for an invalid. Perhaps it is not ill that he was not well. He might have got the whole earth.

"A Marriage Contract."

"There is excitement in the Venerable mansion. The mature young lady is going to be married (powder and all) to the mature young gentleman. "The mature young lady is a lady of property. The mature young gentleman is a gentleman of property. He inherits his property. He goes, in a conspicuous, unostentatious way, into the city, attends meetings of directors, and has to do with traffic in Shares."

"As is well known to the wise in their generation, traffic in Shares is the one thing to have to do with in this world. Have no antecedents, no established character, no cultivation, no ideas, no manners; have Shares. Have Shares enough to be on Boards of Directors in central letters, oscillate on mysterious business between London and Paris, and be great."

"Where does he come from? Shares. Where is he going to? Shares. What are his tastes? Shares. Has he any principles? Shares. What awakens him into Parliament? Shares. Perhaps he never of himself achieved success in anything, never originated anything, never produced anything. "Sufficient answer to all—Shares! O mighty Shares! To set those blaring images so high, and to cause an smaller vermin, as under the influence of benzene or opium, to cry out night and day, 'Believe us of our money, scatter it for us, buy us, and sell us, only we beseech you, take rank among the powers of the earth, and fatten on us!'"

The above is quoted from "Our Mutual Friend," written by Dickens forty years ago. One could easily think it was written last night.

"I look on my employers' interests and money just as if they were my own," says the faithful wage-slave. Of course, that is the way he looks at your interests.

Lieutenant-General Adna R. Chaffee, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, recently addressed a large gathering in the Assembly Chamber at Albany, N. Y., on the subject of "Military Progress Since 1861." Among other things, he said the following of special interest to workmen in view of the use to which the military is most likely to be put in this land of free men:

"The new field gun that has been adopted and will soon be issued is something when compared with the field gun of 1861. It fires a shot weighing fifteen pounds, with a muzzle velocity of 1,700 feet per second, at the rate of twenty shots a minute—equal to gun energy of 4,700 foot tons a minute, as against about 125 foot tons for the old twelve-pounder."

"A BATTERY OF SIX OF OUR NEW FIELD GUNS REPRESENTS MORE EXECUTION THAN THE 100 UNION GUNS AT GETTYSBURG."

Six thousand seven hundred foot tons a MINUTE, and that from a light FIELD GUN. Quite a difference to a workman, whether he be in front of or behind those sixty-seven hundred foot tons a MINUTE. But he'd never know it, if it hit him.

"It was evident that, if this barrage were carried, the entire street would be secured. The other batteries were still weaker than the first. The 'middle class' had given their guns and had re-entered their houses. THEY LENT US THEIR THUNDER. THAT WAS ALL,"—Victor Hugo.

J. Pierpont Morgan has unloaded hundreds of millions of dollars of debt to worthless securities on persons largely of the "better" middle class. Is it any wonder that he has to be guarded by detectives night and day?

Workingman in New York out of a job, nearly starved, killed himself. Why did he not draw on that three billion dollars that the workmen of the United States have in the savings bank?

—We didn't elect any of our candidates last Tuesday, but then we didn't elect any of the capitalist candidates, either.—Erie People.

GOOD SOCIALIST BOOKS AND HOW TO GET THEM.

Do you wish to educate yourself on the principles and history of Socialism? Of course you do. One way to do it is to get a good standard book and read it carefully, and then another and another, setting aside some certain time each week, be it only an hour or two, for systematic reading. Do you wish also to help in spreading the light of Socialism? Of course you do. One of the best ways to do that is to get new subscriptions for The Worker.

We have a plan by which, while pushing the circulation of this paper, you can provide yourself with the best books on Socialism. Read these six propositions. Then go to work.

Offer No. 1.
As a premium for FIVE new yearly subscriptions at 50 cents each we will send you any one of the following cloth-bound books:
1. Engels—Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.
2. Engels—The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State.
3. Engels—Fourier: The Social Philosophy.
4. Kautsky—The Social Revolution.
5. Ladd—The Future of Socialism.
6. Ladd—The Social Philosophy.
7. Marx and Engels—The Communist Manifesto.
8. Marx—The American Farmer.
9. Vandervelde—Collectivism and Industrial Revolution.
10. A complete set of the Kerr Pocket Library of 40 booklets.

Offer No. 2.
For SEVEN yearly subscriptions we will send you any one of these 150 books:
11. Morris—News from Nowhere.
12. Plechanov—Socialism and Anarchy.
13. Plechanov—The Social Revolution.
14. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
15. Marx—The Religion of Socialism.
16. Marx—The Ethics of Socialism.
17. Marx—The History of the French Revolution.
18. Darnley—German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle.
19. Lafargue—The Evolution of Property from Savagery to Civilization.

Offer No. 3.
For TEN yearly subscriptions, any one of the following books:
20. Marx—The Religion of Socialism.
21. Marx—The Ethics of Socialism.
22. Marx—The History of the French Revolution.
23. Darnley—German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle.
24. Lafargue—The Evolution of Property from Savagery to Civilization.

Offer No. 4.
For TWELVE yearly subscriptions, any one of these 150 books:
25. Marx—The Religion of Socialism.
26. Marx—The Ethics of Socialism.
27. Marx—The History of the French Revolution.
28. Darnley—German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle.
29. Lafargue—The Evolution of Property from Savagery to Civilization.

Offer No. 5.
For FIFTEEN yearly subscriptions, any one of these 150 books:
30. Marx—The Religion of Socialism.
31. Marx—The Ethics of Socialism.
32. Marx—The History of the French Revolution.
33. Darnley—German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle.
34. Lafargue—The Evolution of Property from Savagery to Civilization.

Offer No. 6.
For EIGHTEEN yearly subscriptions, any one of these 150 books:
35. Marx—The Religion of Socialism.
36. Marx—The Ethics of Socialism.
37. Marx—The History of the French Revolution.
38. Darnley—German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle.
39. Lafargue—The Evolution of Property from Savagery to Civilization.

Party locals and Socialist clubs that maintain reading rooms, as well as the reading circles that are being formed in many places, should especially take advantage of this offer. A local club, or circle with twenty members, if it will get but one subscription a week, can ADD TO ITS LIBRARY AT THE RATE OF ONE OR TWO VOLUMES A WEEK, without cost and with advantage to all the members. The only condition is that if the premiums are to go to an organization, all the subscriptions gathered by the members shall be sent in through the literature agent or secretary, to avoid confusion.

PAPER-BOUND BOOKS.
For the benefit of those who may be able to get only a few subscriptions, of who may prefer to get several paper-bound books instead of a few in cloth covers, the following special offers are made:

A—Any one of the following for ONE new yearly subscription:
1. Plechanov—The Philosophy of Socialism.
2. Plechanov—The State and Socialism.
3. Plechanov—The Social Revolution.
4. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
5. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
6. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
7. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
8. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
9. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
10. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.

B—Any one of the following for TWO new yearly subscriptions:
11. Plechanov—The Philosophy of Socialism.
12. Plechanov—The State and Socialism.
13. Plechanov—The Social Revolution.
14. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
15. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
16. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
17. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
18. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
19. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.
20. Plechanov—The Social Revolution in Modern Times.

In ordering books under Offer A or B always use the blank below.

Please find enclosed \$..... in payment of subscriptions for which send me book number In special offer as a premium.

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ANNUAL REPORT.

(Continued from page 1.)

Ohio; but ordered, 19 to 2, that it be counted.

By Mills, that result of referendum A be declared unconstitutional; defeated, 3 to 10.

By Critchlow of Ohio, that the National Secretary recognize resolutions only when coming from the local in good standing in unorganized states and state organizations in good standing in the organized states; defeated, 4 to 9.

In July the Nebraska State Quorum presented charges against Mills and Critchlow for alleged violation of the state autonomy provision in the constitution. Motions by Kerrigan of Texas to refer to national convention, by Tu ruer to dismiss charges, by Dobbs to ask Kansas State Committee for explanation, by Christensen to express disapproval of Mills' and Critchlow's action, by Mills to decline order, and by Christensen's motions out of order, and also to declare charges against himself out of order, were all defeated. On question by National Secretary, it was decided that Mills and Critchlow were entitled to vote on motions affecting themselves. On question by Critchlow, he was declared not guilty of any breach of party tactics, principles, or responsibilities in the matter.

Motion by Kerrigan, Richardson of California, Berger, and Berly, resulting in omission of regular National Committee meeting and provision for national convention to meet in Chicago, on May 1.

By Hilliard of New York, that convention choose delegates to International Congress at Amsterdam; carried, 21 to 3.

In October the National Committee on recommendation of the National Secretary and Quorum, granted a state charter to West Virginia, notwithstanding irregularities in the application. The National Secretary then proposed the two following resolutions:

"That, hereafter, applications for state charters by newly organized states be not approved or recognized unless the state organizations presenting same have conformed with the method of procedure provided by the rules of the National Committee adopted January, 1903." Adopted, 19 to 2.

"That no state or territorial organization shall extend its activities beyond the limits of its own particular state or territory unless with the consent or approval of the national organization, which has no jurisdiction over states or territories where no state or territorial organizations exist." Adopted, 17 to 2.

On Oct. 1, the National Secretary submitted to the National Committee an application for a national charter following upon a state convention, regularly called and held in accordance with the national constitution and the rules of the National Committee. Afterwards protest was made by Kerrigan of Texas and Gochel of New Jersey, on the grounds that the platform adopted by the state convention contained a plank discriminating against the negro race. After correspondence between Arthur State Secretary Molyneux and the National Secretary had been submitted to the National Committee, work moved that the charter be withheld until the negro plank is eliminated. This was carried, 14 to 3. (The condition has since been complied with and the charter granted.)

Publicity.

In February the National Secretary began the issuance of a weekly bulletin to report the activity of the national party and its organizers and speakers and other matters of importance and interest to the Socialist Party. Socialist and other progress in other countries, reporting election returns, and events of interest and significance concerning the movement have also been included. All of these bulletins have received universal publication in the Socialist press of this country and have been widely quoted in the European Socialist press.

The weekly reports to the National Committee have also been issued regularly and have been sent with the bulletins to the press, the state and territorial secretaries, and the local in unorganized states. Through this medium the party organization has been kept fully informed of the business transacted by the National Committee and the national office.

The report closes with the following words:

"The National Secretary desires to express his appreciation of the services rendered by Comrade W. B. Clark since February last, and more recently by Comrade C. R. Martin, as assistants in the national office, both of whom have shown themselves capable and enthusiastic in performing their special duties.

"He also wishes to acknowledge the uniform courtesy and fraternal co-operation which have been extended toward the national office by the state, territorial and local secretaries, the Socialist press and the general party membership during the year 1903.

"He has felt strongly and endeavored to respond to the evident and expressed desire of the party members and their officials generally for the opportunity of a permanent organization which would fitly represent the Socialist movement of America, and he trusts the coming year, already large with great possibilities for Socialist progress, will see a continuance of this spirit, which, united with devotion to the movement's interests and adherence to its lofty ideals, will finally see the complete triumph of the principles for which the Socialist Party stands."

—The real problem is not one of wages, high or low but of ownership. No per cent. of wages will affect the question of ownership.—Horace Traubel.

—Mr. Bryan says that Mr. Cleveland was "separated from public duty by a lack of conscience." Mr. Bryan was separated from public duty by lack of votes.—The Atlanta Journal.

—For his magazine articles, Mr. Cleveland gets paid by the hour. No charge is made for anything that may appear between the lines.—The St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

—What are you doing for the Worker?

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from page 1.)

Sunday, March 20, they held a Commune festival; speeches, recitations and songs were given in Jewish, German and English. Comrade Morris spoke in Jewish and Comrade Knopf in English.

A. M. and May Wood Simons will speak in Old Belton Temple, Broad and Cherry streets, Philadelphia, Sunday evening, April 3.

Silvio Origo, the Italian National Organizer, will spend two or three days in Philadelphia about April 26, organizing Italian branches of the Socialist Party.

Dates have been arranged in the State for National Organizer Goebel as follows: Rochester, March 29; Pottsville, March 30; Allentown, March 31; Lancaster, April 1; Luzerne County, April 2, 3, 4, 5; Shamokin, April 7; Williamsport, April 8; Austin, April 10; Bradford, April 11; Shesfield, April 12; Barnes, April 13; Butler, April 14; New Castle, April 15; Franklin, April 16; Erie, April 18.

The State Committee is making arrangements to tour Edward Moore through the state in the early part of April. Comrade Moore is one of the ablest speakers in Pennsylvania and is well known for the active part he took in the agitation during the coal strike. Locals should not fail to take advantage of this opportunity to hear Comrade Moore.

Marshall E. Smith will take the leading part in discussing "The West Point of Socialism," at Jefferson hall, Ninth street below Dickinson, Philadelphia, on Sunday evening, March 27.

Receipts of the State Committee for the last two weeks were as follows: Franklin, \$2; Philadelphia, \$2; Chester, \$2; Lancaster, \$2; York, \$2; Harrisburg, \$2; Scranton, \$2; Sharon, \$2; March 28th, \$2; York, \$2; Erie, \$2; and Williamsport, \$2. Contributions towards paying off the State debt: 25th Ward Branch Philadelphia, \$1; 33rd Ward Branch Philadelphia, \$1; Sellersville, \$1.

James Purdie of Philadelphia will give a plain talk on Socialism in Reading on Thursday evening, Mar. 31.

Massachusetts.

Delegates from the various towns of Hampshire County met at Chicopee Falls, Mar. 17, and formed a county club for the purpose of working unitedly and systematically throughout the county. The following officers were elected: John H. Kelly of Chicopee, chairman; Chas. F. Warren of Springfield, secretary, and Comrade Burkland of Holyoke, treasurer. It was decided to meet the first Sunday of each month, and the next meeting will be held at the headquarters of Local Springfield, No. 479 Main street, on April 3, at 2 p. m.

At the last meeting of the Board of Directors of the Socialist Educational Association a committee of three was appointed to work in conjunction with the State Committee to raise funds. It was decided to ask George D. Heron to give his lecture on Parallelism about April 25 for the benefit of the fund for the county "New Liberator." Comrades are requested to push the sale of tickets for the hall to be held in Berkeley Hall on April 18, and result funds to F. W. Wolff, 17 Alpine street, Somerville, Mass.

A. M. Simons will lecture on "Socialism" and Mrs. Simons on "Women and Socialism" in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Friday, April 15, 8 p. m. The proceeds will be given to the fund for establishing a Socialist weekly paper in Boston. The tickets cost ten cents. This is the fourth meeting in the course given by the Boston Socialist Women's Club. Other clubs that intend to engage these excellent lecturers are urged to make arrangements as soon as possible. The expense is no moderate that the smaller clubs need not hesitate to apply.

A ball, for the benefit of the coming "New Liberator" will be given by the Socialist Educational Association, in Berkeley Hall, 4 Berkeley street, on Monday evening, April 18. There will be a concert from 7.30 to 9 and dancing from 9 to 2 o'clock. Merril's orchestra has been engaged. Tickets cost 25 cents.

Robert Martin will speak on the question "Is Socialism the Solution of the Labor Problem?" Sunday, March 27, 8 p. m., at 600 Washington street. A general discussion will follow the lecture.

The first meeting of the Boston Socialist Women's Club will be held April 1, 8 p. m., at 330 Shawmut avenue. "The Advantages of Socialism" will be discussed by Mrs. E. V. R. Goodwin, on the basis of the Rev. Charles Yall's "Principles of Scientific Socialism." Dr. Antoinette Konikow and Agnes Wakefield will discuss Carl Thompson's "Principles and Program of Socialism." As some of the members favor and some oppose celebrating the Boston Centennial, the question will be debated by the entire club and voted on. Business will be put last in this meeting, in order to give ample time for the educational work. Members are therefore requested to invite friends who are interested in the club.

The Boston Socialist Sunday School meets in the Metropolitan Club's hall at 30 Huntington avenue, each Sunday at 3 p. m. In the session of March 27, the lesson will be on "The Beginning of Slavery—When? Where? How?" followed by "The Story of a Slave."

R. M. Uolman, retiring State Secretary, issues the following letter to the comrades of Minnesota: "Being about to retire from the office of state secretary, it seems proper at this time to call attention to the growing necessities of our organization. The growth of the party in the last two years makes it imperative that the state secretary devote considerable time to the work of the office. To make this possible, in the least expense, the state convention elected Comrade J. B. Nash to this office. Comrade Nash is the organizer for Local Minnesota, and by combining these two offices the work of both can be done at the minimum expense. He will receive a salary of \$80 per month; \$30 to be paid by Local Minnesota and \$50 by the state organization. His entire time will be occupied with the work of these two offices, and I can assure you that there will be plenty to do. The

work outlined by the State Convention for the coming campaign will require a greater staff than has heretofore been possible, but can easily be met if the comrades will all do their share. Six candidates on the state ticket and eleven presidential electors have been nominated. It requires \$50 each to place these names on the ballot, or \$500 in all. Seven delegates to the national convention at Chicago, May 1, were elected. This expense will be at least \$300. It is also proposed to keep from two to four organizers in the field after the middle of May until election; also the State Lecture Van. The State Executive Committee thinks this is not only possible, but absolutely necessary if Minnesota is to keep pace with other states in the great movement for the uplifting of humanity which is sweeping the country. State Secretaries are therefore requested to bring this to the attention of every comrade of their respective locals, and every believer in Socialism in the state is asked to make contributions to the state fund. We ask all who can afford it, to make a regular monthly subscription from now until election. On leaving the office of state secretary, I wish to thank the comrades for their earnest and faithful co-operation, and ask that the same be extended to Comrade Nash, who is an untiring and zealous worker for the cause, and who will prove a great credit to the grand movement which he now represents. In the future kindly address all communications to J. E. Nash, State Secretary, 45 South Fourth street, Minneapolis, Minn."

Michigan.

Michigan is getting ready for the 1904 campaign. Five thousand circulars will soon be sent out to separate addresses outlining the plan of campaign and the circulars will go to every corner town in the state. It is hoped that about 300 towns, villages and school districts will be placed on circuits at each of which will be comrades who will take charge of meetings, care for speakers and distribute advertisements and literature. Speakers are wanted and it is thought that from ten to twenty-five competent speakers and organizers can be kept busy from about May 25 till the November election. The state organizer and campaign manager, C. J. Lamm, of Dryden, who is also the Socialist candidate for governor, hopes, with the co-operation of comrades, to be able to advertise all the meetings and to supply a large quantity of good literature for distribution.

Nebraska.

Comrade McCaffrey continues his success in the work of organizing. He has organized locals at Geneva, with seven members, at Le Roy, with seven members, at Wilcox, with six, and at Bartley, with seven.

A. D. Alexander of Garfield sends \$1 for the campaign and organizing fund, and previously \$1.25 from the comrades there. Gustav Woldensky, of Mynover, an old time German Socialist, sends \$1 for dues and campaign fund; he reports 31 Socialist votes at the last fall election. B. H. Vail, who has returned from California, contributes \$1 to the fund. A comrade at Greenham contributes \$1 in literature and \$1 cash for the campaign. A. D. Shirley of Local Wellfleet orders a lot of ammunition and supplies with which to wage war on capitalism in Lincoln County. Philip N. Darr reports \$1.25 from Grand Island comrades for the campaign. J. Ryder of Sutton raises \$1 with which to push the work.

South Omaha is in the midst of a municipal campaign. The comrades have secured a large store room at 225th N. street for headquarters. It is expected that they will have J. W. Clayton give them an address before the campaign is closed.

Blair held city convention on Mar. 12 and nominated a complete city ticket, headed by George Rutherford for Mayor. The platform adopted is practically the same as that adopted by the rest of the state.

The following nominations for delegates to the National Convention have been received:

Local Blair, R. McCaffrey, Wm. Malley, W. B. Clark, C. Christensen; alternates, J. P. Roe, G. W. Ray, P. J. Hyland, A. L. A. Schlemeyer, Plattsmouth nominates Wm. Malley, B. McCaffrey, T. P. Lippencott, C. Christensen; alternates, J. P. Roe, A. L. A. Schlemeyer, J. J. Condon, P. H. Madison.

Oregon.

The members of the temporary Local Quorum of the State Committee of Oregon are A. H. Astorson, H. C. Yarrow, Gustav Hockett, George E. Cook, temporary state treasurer, and Wm. McDevitt, 70 Park street, temporary state secretary. The state convention elected R. F. Rapp chairman of state convention, and W. B. Richards, secretary of convention, as members of the temporary state committee to act with the local quorum in the matter of making and filing the certificate of nomination of the state and district nominees.

The state convention located state headquarters at Portland, subject to a referendum of the locals of the party. The State Secretary's records show 41 locals in Oregon, 45 of which are in good standing, and 16 of which are delinquent for January or February dues.

The Oregon Local Quorum is issuing call for contributions to a state campaign fund. This fund will be used to keep organizers in the field during the campaign, for the purpose of organizing new locals and reviving dormant ones. All the comrades are urged to assist in making this fund as large as possible, so that Oregon may furnish inspiration to all the other states by showing an immense and significant increase in the number of Socialist votes and in the growth of Socialist organization, which is even more necessary than mere votes.

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THE LOCKOUT OF LITHOGRAPHERS.

Employers' "Individual Agreements" Are Meeting with Little Favor—Men Realize Need of United Action—Bosses Plan Introduction of Child Labor.

There are few new developments in the general lockout of lithographic workers except the usual output of misrepresentations from the organized employers' headquarters, which are eagerly taken up and published under big headlines by the capitalist press of both old parties.

The bosses, solidly organized themselves, insist that the workmen of the trade must come to them as individuals and sign an individual employment contract, in which are many seductive phrases, promising good treatment and fair adjudication of grievances, but without any power on the side of the wage-workers, if they should come back as individuals, to hold employers to these pledges. The men fully realize that the promises of capitalists are as unreliable as those of princes proverbially are, that once the workers' organizations are broken the bosses would have no scruple about violating their pledges and would find abundant pretexts for so doing, and that the only hope of the employees is in united action.

The bosses charge the officers of the union with bad faith in the method of submitting the employers' proposition, but the union's reply shows that the defect was an accidental one, resulting from haste, and that it was promptly rectified. From the employers' own circular we take one extract, showing how little their attacks affect the minds of the lithographic workers. In editing this circular the agent of the employers, after dealing with due paths how the bosses are acting in the interest of the workers' wives and children, is so incensed as to insert this telegram from the association's representative in Detroit to its New York headquarters: "Our men (meaning the lithographic workers) express surprise at reported action of their leaders, but have implicit confidence in them and NONE IN US." No fool, the Detroit lithographer.

It is believed by the workers that one of the prime objects in the attack made by the employers' association (which is in close touch with the Typothetae and with Party's organization) is to arrogate all rules in regard to apprenticeship and so to introduce child labor in many parts of the work, reducing the payrolls, and throwing men out of employment. The Worker is in a position to say, from independent information, that this belief is well founded.

It is worthy of note that Henry V. Royer, an active member of the lithographic employers' association, has been in Albany a great deal during the present legislative session, using his influence quietly to weaken labor legislation.

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Hawk and Handsaw Tales.

TOLD BY BEN HANFORD.

Supreme Wisdom.

Supreme Wisdom has spoken out of the mouth of the Supreme Court.

Said to say, Supreme Wisdom is as infallible—that is, not now. So much the worse for Supreme Wisdom.

By a verdict of five Supreme Judges to four Supreme Judges, the Northern Securities Company is declared to be unlawful.

The irreverent layman, puzzling as to how these supreme intellects reached their 5 x 4 wisdom might think it came via the dice box. For instance, how could it be for the nine judges to meet, and first throwing dice as to which side to the contrary they might "make it off" to decide the assignment of the particular judges to their respective sides.

But it is at least doubtful if our Supreme Judges do this. In fact, there is strong constructive evidence that they do not. Chiefly because, it would be too dangerous. If our Supreme Judges were to shake dice to arrive at their decisions, the people would win some of the time. They never have done so in the Supreme Court. Nor is the habit likely to be formed at an early date.

The People's Interests.

In the Northern Securities case, however, the people's interests were not represented in any way by any one. The only possible way in which the interests of the people could be served in this and similar cases would be through an action seeking the taking away from James J. Hill (and all other capitalists of industry) of their private property in capital (in this case railways) and making that capital social and public property. To serve the interests of the people not only would it be necessary to make privately owned capital social property, but it is necessary to make the change in ownership without substantial compensation to the so-called private owners. This would be called by the Supreme Wisdom of the Supreme Court of the United States, CONFISCATION. And if that were the issue we should see no division in the ranks of these blue blue men. No 5 x 4 decision then.

A railway privately owned is simply means of exploitation by transportation. Mr. Hill's only purpose in the ownership of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railways is to get wealth without rendering an equivalent in labor. That is all that Jesse and Frank James wanted. Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan sit in their office in Wall Street and by OWNING things brought to them, Jesse and Frank James did not OWN railways, but they owned six-shooters. So they took their six-shooters and WENT AT THEM other people's money.

Brothers and Hill and Morgan both got the same result by different methods, of which the James Boys' method is far more honorable. The purpose of both parties is to get wealth without giving an equivalent in labor. That is the aim of every thief, great and small.

Six-Shooters and Rifles.

Now, to understand the decision of the Supreme Court in this case you have to look upon the Great Northern Railway as if it were a six-shooter in the hands of Jesse James Hill, the bandit, and through the possession of that six-shooter of private ownership of a public necessity every traveler that way must hold up his hands and deliver his wealth to Hill. The Northern Pacific Railway is a six-shooter in the hands of Jesse James Morgan, and he is just as industriously performing his function of holding up travelers as his brother, capitalist industry (using an obsolete old industry) Hill. Now, these modern James Brothers (Hill and Morgan) have carefully figured it out that they would do better to temporarily lay aside their six-shooters, and instead employ a repeating rifle. This was to be done by a merger of their private property in the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railways into "one great corporation owning both." I.e., the Northern Securities Company. Instead of two six-shooters, they decided to have a repeating rifle.

But the Supreme Court of the United States says they shall not rob us with a rifle. It does not say that robbery is bad, and that robbery shall cease. It simply says to Morgan, Hill and Morgan that those modern "gentlemen of the road" shall stick to their old-time six-shooters.

The People Pay All.

Some people really believe that the Supreme Court has made a decision in favor of the people by declaring that Morgan and Hill must not rob us with their new rifle, the Northern Securities Company. But if a highwayman takes all you've got, what is the difference to you whether he does it with a rifle or a six-shooter?

The theory of the court is that if Hill has a six-shooter (the Great Northern Railway) and Morgan has a six-shooter (the Northern Pacific Railway), that Hill and Morgan will shoot and rob each other. Nothing of the kind is likely to occur. Whatever they do afterward, they will first rob the people.

They may then quarrel over the division of the swag, but the people will not only furnish the swag, but the COURT OF THE QUARREL should there be one.

The Only Solution.

Under a just government in the interest of the people the problem presented by this case could be prevented in the form with but one solution. Either Hill and Morgan must be disarmed of their six-shooters or we must see to it that every member of the community is supplied with a six-shooter. Now, it is obvious that all cannot be supplied with six-shooters (private ownership of a railway) if we are to continue the use of steam railways. Therefore, if we are not to have swags, we must have social ownership.

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and still their six-shooters, their private ownership of railways. It is useless to change one private owner for another. We must do away with all private owners. The railways must be owned by all the people. And when the people take them from their present owners we should make the same compensation to those owners that should be made to Jesse James on taking from him his six-shooter.

Jesse James Hill in Jail.

Nor would it do any good to send Jesse James Hill to jail. I will admit that I am so profoundly human that I should like to see him there. But if that six-shooter is going to be in the hands of any one, if that railway is to be the private property of any one, it might as well be Hill as another, and as well jailed as "honest" man. Placing Hill in prison would undoubtedly make some other financial highwayman cautious for a time, but there is no reason to suppose that the cultivation of caution on the part of thieves will add to the wealth and security of honest men.

The Trusts Uninjured.

Notwithstanding all the scare head lines in the daily papers, so far as the trusts are concerned, the decision amounts to nothing. While on its face it appears to be a 5 x 4 affair, it is in reality 4 1/2 x 4 1/2. Four judges are for, four judges are against, and one judge (Brewer) subscribes to the verdict of the court in this case, but so qualified his affirmation that it is altogether uncertain how he would stand on any other case.

This is more than mere justice. It is good politics. It has taken three years to get a decision in this case. Five Republican judges are seening on record as opposed to the trusts, and Mr. Roosevelt and the Republican party can now go before the country as the sure-thing trust-busters. When the votes have been cast the court can then reverse itself, for which it has many shaming precedents nicely laid down by itself. There are three Democratic judges on the bench and they were all opposed to any trust busting.

The Real Thing.

There is, however, one use which will be made of the decision which will surprise some of those who have been so delighted to find that the Supreme Court was "all right." I have not seen it referred to in any of the papers so far, but we shall find just what kind of trust-buster it is in the next great trust case involving these "conspirators," "monopolies" and "trusts" known as labor unions. The Attorney-General of the United States will not "run amuck" seeking out the capitalist violators of the law, in railroad, industrial and other corporations. Certainly not. But when some railroad workers' organization has difficulty with employers, then we shall understand the full meaning of this decision of the United States Supreme Court against "conspiracies in restraint of trade."

In such a case the Attorney-General of the United States will not be at pains to inform the people that the decision applies only to "the case at bar." He will then inform us that the decision laid down settles and defines a "fundamental principle of law," and he will govern himself accordingly. That will not mean waiting three years to get another decision on another case.

It will mean the instant issue of injunctions by United States Courts, and the enforcement of those injunctions will be placed in the hands of the United States Army. That will mean prisons, stockades, bullpens, street for exercising the right of free speech and free press, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and trial by jury, and every other cowardly and infernal act by which despots in all ages, past and present, have sought to maintain their interests.

This is what the decision will mean in action. Let every union workingman take due notice thereof and govern himself accordingly.

The printing plant of "Rebottnik," the Polish Socialist weekly published in Chicago, has been destroyed by fire. The loss is \$2,000, with insurance for only \$300. In spite of this heavy blow, "Rebottnik" has re-appeared, after a suspension of only two weeks.

The General Committee of the Grand Labor Industrial Exposition and Food Show will meet

on Sunday, March 27, 8 P. M., at New York Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4th St.

Very important Business will be Transacted.

All Members and Comrades are requested to attend promptly.

NINTH Annual Spring Festival, Entertainment and Ball given by the Progressive Workingmen's Societies of Bronx Brx

Saturday Even'g, March 26, at Eblings Casino, 111th Street and St. Ann's Avenue.

Songs, Living Pictures, Moving Pictures, and other amusements.

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March Celebration of Local Hudson County, Socialist Party

EVOLUTION OF A LABOR LEADER

By Ella Reeve Cohen.

The concentration of capital, private ownership of machinery and all labor-saving inventions have caused many of the barriers of skill between workmen to be broken down. The labor market is glutted with men, women, children, anxious to sell their labor power. Skill is no longer a factor in the competition.

Old-time trade unions upheld the interests of one class of workmen against another. Even different branches of the same trade were organized in warring factions. This principle operated strongly against the growth of the spirit of solidarity among the workers.

With the rapid changes that have been going on in the industrial world, trade unionism or the economic organization of the working class, has necessarily changed many of the old-time methods, and the old cry of "no politics in unions" is not raised so often when a Socialist takes the floor in a union meeting. While this evolution has been going on with the rank and file, as the restlessness and discontent increases with their terrible exploitation, we behold a most singular phenomenon. The so-called "labor leaders" stand aside from the progress of events in their world, recognize no evolution in their organization, and sound the same old cry, "Harmony" between capital and labor, and even tell the workman to consider that the man who is grinding his labor down to the lowest degree of existence, is the man whose interests are identical with his own. "Arbitration," another slogan—what has it accomplished for the workers? Can any one point to a single instance where arbitration has resulted in permanent gain to the workers?

It is time we were trying to explain this phenomenon, the fact that the "labor leaders" or mis-leaders of many of our largest bodies of workers are not in the line of evolution. Contrast the sayings of Mitchell, Gompers & Co. with the ringing words of the SOCIALIST leaders of the world, working class in the old world—uttered so long ago as '48 at the International Convention in London of Socialist workers and Trade Union Congress—there were many of the regulation "leaders" there also who preached "harmony," "no politics," etc., but an avalanche of Socialism broke upon their weak words. Men who are seen and not feared, the evolution or revolution of their class, stood up in that Congress from France and Germany and Italy and started the old British trade unionists from their medieval complacency.

Jaurès, the French M. P., said, "We are in favor of political action because we want economic freedom."

"You may have traitors in any party, but the worst traitor and most dangerous foe is he who, as you go out to fight, says, 'Leave your weapons at home.' The most powerful weapon of the working class in their struggle is POLITICAL ACTION, and the most dangerous enemies of the working class are those who advise them not to use that weapon."

Does not Mr. John Mitchell or any of the "friends of labor" know this as well as Jaurès of France? Do they not know that the only thing the capitalist class fears is a working class that will act as a class politically? When they regulate Socialism in conventions and through the press, are they thinking of the best interests of the workers or seeking for the patronage and approval of the ruling class?

Oh, that we had labor leaders in every branch of industry who would enlighten the army of exploited men as to the present history of their class in countries like Germany, for instance, a history that one does not get from capitalist newspapers. Since the Congress of '98 Germany has almost doubled the Socialist vote, which was then one and three-quarter millions. August Bebel, in his speech on political action in that London Congress, said: "It has been said that the political action of the workers is harmful to their class. In Germany everything that has been done for the workers economically or politically has been done through the political action of the Social Democracy, through their political strength. And the German workers know this so well that they

OUT OF THE CROWD.

Out of the crowd he came and did his work. The simple man sufficient, strong and sweet. Taking his place in the mix, not pushing on beyond or lagging behind. Letting who pass him who might, letting who rob him who would. Out of deep shadows emerging when called. Then back again into the beloved shadows contentedly retiring. The simple man, the man you meet every day and every where. A drop in the stream that passes by your door. The anonymous sap of the earthtree announcing fruit. Lost in the mingling all, averaged in the human lump. Creator creating yet never imprinting his song. Do you know what it means to be very great? To be very great is to be very simple. The simplest man on the earth is the greatest man on the earth: Greatness shrinks from greatness: It disappears on the track. It has work to do and does it accordingly to the work. The singer has a song to sing and sings it according to his song. He does not sing it according to your ear or your applause. The men with dirt on their hands, the exploited men. The men whose common trades who go about their work with no thought of fame. The men who care for the world in its night and its day and yet are unnamed on the list of saviors. The men who plant in the spring and gather in the fall and are not mentioned in the reports. The men who would not seat at your table or invite to your feast in equal places. These are the men of the crowd who save the crowd from you.

These are the men of the crowd who save the crowd from itself. These men of powerful anonymous intentions. (Climbing the trace of love. You have taken your lamp and looked for fame and wished to stand alone. You have worshiped showmen greatness singing its miser wenders. But greatness does not come dressed up in the pompous and salmons of the multitude. Greatness is in the sufficient man, being sufficient for what he may. The plainest man is great if he is as big as his task. The noisiest reputation is contemptible if it fails to fulfill. And fulfillment is always equal in the impartiality of the last award.

I am not afraid of the crowd. The crowd will do me no harm. The crowd will not destroy me, the crowd makes me what I am. In the sweep of the general purpose I star my personal will. The crowd is the infinite treasury upon which all greatness must draw. The crowd is the infinite treasury upon which all identity must draw. Even identity, that proud relic of ages battle-worn. Lost in the hut of the hermit is found in the crowd.

NOT A BAD DEFINITION. In a school teachers' collection of funny answers given by pupils to questions in examination, we find the following, which ought to be set down as a stroke of genius rather than as an ignorant blunder: "Political economy is the science which teaches us to get the greatest benefit with the least possible amount of honest labor."

A BRITISH VIEW OF AMERICAN "HUSTLING."

TOLD BY BEN HANFORD.

HOW TO ROB A MAN WHO IS BROKE.

The collapse of one of the skyscraper buildings of New York, while in course of erection, and the attendant loss of life, affords a sufficiently tragic warning of the dangers to be apprehended here from the adoption of the much-vaunted American method of "hustling." There has been already a number of fatal accidents in connection with building operations, consequent upon the hurry-scurry methods of modern industrialism, and there is every reason to fear that the number will be rapidly increased with the steady pressure which is constantly being applied to secure more and still more rapid production. Life and limb are frequently being sacrificed to accelerated output, and still the tendency is to increased rapidity, and to a greater output by every individual workman. The appetite grows with eating, and the greater the output, the greater the production, the greater the demand for increased productivity. The very increase in production which should mean greater ease, wealth, comfort and leisure for the producers, is turned into a source to dog them to still greater efforts. Because they have produced so much, that is no reason for them to enjoy more; rather, it is so that they shall be spurred to still greater efforts. Thus "hustling" not only means risk to life and limb, it means also increased precariousness of employment, more want and starvation, and lower wages, as the reward of doing more work.

It is not only in the building trade, moreover, that American methods of "hustling" are being introduced. In every industry the tendency is to accelerate the pace, to speed up and intensify labor, and to increase the output. In the engineering industry the operation of the bonus, or "premium," system is being gradually extended, the object being to increase the product of every workman by the incentive of a bonus which, while it represents an addition to the earnings of the individual workman, means a reduction in the total wages paid and a greater output for less pay, and with a corresponding reduction in the number of those employed. In the cotton industry, again, a persistent effort is being made to induce the weavers to tend an increased number of looms, and this has in more than one instance led to a strike. As the Bureau Weaver Association says in this connection: "In Hartford there are 90,000 looms, which, on the basis of four to each person, find employment for 15,000 weavers. If you increase the number of looms a weaver has to mind from four to six, you will only be able to find work for 10,000 people, and if you adopt the eight-loom system you will only require 7,500 weavers, compared with 15,000 at present. This is sufficient to make us hesitate before accepting such a revolutionary change as is proposed to us. The net loss in wages would amount to nearly \$5,000 a week, or \$250,000 per annum. The loss would be as keenly felt by the grocer, the draper, the tailor, and all other tradesmen as by the weavers. For these and other reasons we think it is in the public interest that these proposals be resisted at all costs. We think so, too. It is a monstrous thing that improved machinery and more perfect methods of production should be used, not to bring more pleasure and leisure into the lives of the workers, but to increase their toil. And yet there are professed friends of the workers who would prefer them than that the workers should be free to work with their own hands, and to produce and to consume the things which they had produced. Without these things they cannot live except in the asylum or the jail."

How to rob a man who is broke. To save himself from death, asylum or jail, the man who is broke must have work. To work he must have means of production. Who OWNS the means of production? The capitalist. The captain of industry.

Who USES the means of production? Workmen.

No at last our man who is broke stands, but in hand, face to face with the man who owns the means of production. The fear of the prison, the asylum and starvation have driven that penniless man along the path which led to the employment office of that owner of the means of production with a force irresistible as that which drives the earth onward in its orbit. To be at all, he must be there. To continue to be, he must gain access to the means of production.

How to rob a man who is broke. There stand face to face what legal fiction calls two free men. One free man the OWNER of means of production, with money in his purse and money in the bank, with a comfortable and inviting home, and in no hurry. The other free man homeless, penniless, hungry, his only chance of life dependent on his USE of the other man's means of production. These two men do not differ, and argue and haggle. The man who is broke does not propose to buy or rent means of production. The FREE contract between these FREE men takes the form of one man hiring the other to work for him by the day, week or month.

Suppose that our man who is broke is allowed to use the means of production can create new value equal to \$10 in a day's work, how much will his wages be if the OWNER of the means of production employs him?

Suppose that our man who is broke can create \$20 of new value by a day's work, how much will his wages be? Suppose he creates \$40 by his day's work, how much will his wages be?

You might not think it, but his wages will be the same whether his labor produces worth to the value of \$10 a day, \$20 a day, or \$40 a day.

What will his wages be? Given a man who is broke, given a FREE laborer, who must have work or perish, what will he work for? What will he work for?

That is all the FREE Captain of industry will offer, and that the FREE laborer must take or perish.

Every day that he works for wages he must produce wealth of a value GREATER than his wages—otherwise he is discharged. The only purpose of the OWNER of the means of production is to have workmen USE his means of production, have their labor create a value GREATER than their wages.

—Has your rent been raised or do you fear a raise? Come to Grand American Hall, 7 Second Avenue, on Wednesday evening, April 4, and hear what Socialists have to say about it. Admission free.

Address William Malloy, National Secretary, Rooms 302-304, McCague Bldg., Omaha, Neb.

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Hawk and Hand saw Tales.

TOLD BY BEN HANFORD.

HOW TO ROB A MAN WHO IS BROKE.

How to rob a man who is broke. How to rob a man who is broke. How to rob a man who is broke. These things are not impossible, nor even difficult. They are not even rare. They are every-day occurrences. They are habit, custom. They are almost the universal rule. So common they do not excite comment in themselves. It is the correct statement of them that is financially correct.

Ordinarily they appear in the form of "business," "commerce," "industry," "commerce," and the like, and are regarded as quite the thing, and quite the right thing to do as a matter of course. How to rob a man who is broke. Captain Kidd, Jack Sheppard and Jesse James were able men and truly great robbers. But that trick was beyond their powers. Their notion of robbery was, first of all, to find a man who was broke, and then to rob him. They did not rob a man who was broke equal to the task of getting wealth from a man who had no wealth.

That is the "business" of the modern Captain of Industry. And so rich are their rewards that the old knights of the road, chevaliers de l'industrie, safe-breakers, counterfeiters and pirates of the past would ache in their graves could they but dream of the capitalist's way.

How to rob a man who is broke. A man who is broke in this becomes hungry and must get or perish. He possibly has no resources open to him—he can beg, borrow, steal, work or starve.

If he is caught begging, he is thrown into jail; besides, he won't get much, anyway; regardless of Supreme Court, and the Monks' Merger, there are beggars in plenty, and plenty of competition between them.

If the man who is broke and hungry is caught stealing, he is thrown into jail; besides, stealing isn't what it used to be; Rockefeller will soon have most everything worth stealing. Over in a New Jersey town recently three men worked hard all night cracking a safe and got twelve cents. Needless to remark that Mr. Rockefeller was not one of the three men. Mr. Rockefeller does not work nights. Besides, he knows that sooner or later he'll get the twelve cents, anyway.

A man who is broke and hungry and has no resources open to him, is thrown into jail; besides, stealing isn't what it used to be; Rockefeller will soon have most everything worth stealing. Over in a New Jersey town recently three men worked hard all night cracking a safe and got twelve cents. Needless to remark that Mr. Rockefeller was not one of the three men. Mr. Rockefeller does not work nights. Besides, he knows that sooner or later he'll get the twelve cents, anyway.

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MASS MEETING

to protest against HIGH RENTS AND HIGH PRICES OF NECESSARIES OF LIFE.

The Second Agitation District, of the Social Democratic Party.

Down Town Young Peoples Soc. Dem. Club,

Wednesday, April 4, at Grand American Hall, 7-9 Second Ave.

Speakers: A. M. & MAY WOOD SIMONS, of Chicago in English, and ALEXANDER JONES, in German.

Commences at 8 P. M. sharp. Music by the Socialist Band. Doors open at 7.30.

All comrades and readers of THE WORKER are requested to attend this meeting.

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

[Note.—In New York and Wisconsin this party is officially recognized under the name of Social Democratic Party. The party emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch.]

The Socialist Party of America is a national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of the International Socialist Alliance, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it into a political party with the object of concentrating the powers of the proletariat and overthrowing the capitalist ownership of the means of production and distribution of the means of consumption by the entire people.

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SOMETHING NEW

... GRAND ...

LABOR EXPOSITION AND FOOD

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE LABOR

APRIL 23 TO MAY 8,

—AT—

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE

LEXINGTON AVENUE, 43RD AND 44TH STREET.

WONDERFUL PROGRAM EVERY DAY!

CONCERT, SINGING AND DANCING!

HIGH CLASS VAUDEVILLE!

ARTISTS OF ALL NATIONS!

AMUSEMENT FOR EVERYBODY!

Bavarian Brewery in Operation, Little Germany, Japan Tea

Parlors, Wild West Inn and Other Attractions.

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TEN CENTS

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Do you wish to educate yourself on the principles and history of Socialism? Of course you do. One way to do it is to get a good book and read it carefully, and then another and another, setting aside a certain time each week, be it only an hour or two, for systematic reading.

Do you wish also to help in spreading the light of Socialism? Of course you do. One of the best ways to do that is to get new subscriptions to THE WORKER.

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As a premium for FIVE new yearly subscriptions at \$2.00 each, we will send you any one of the following cloth-bound books:

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5. Engels—The Social Revolution.
6. Engels—The History of Socialism.
7. Engels—The History of Socialism.
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"WORTH THINKING OF," INDEED.

In the New York Times" of April 1, under the headline "Worth Thinking Of," we find this editorial article, founded upon a news report published in the same paper the preceding day:

"The case of Mike Farley is one which should give the intelligent worker a topic for profitable thought. He was a skilled workman" (forty years of age, according to the news report) "with special experience in operating the hoisting machinery for lifting steel shapes and other structural

For us, we suppose that the story is not altogether true. The case of skilled building mechanics is not, in fact, quite so desperate as is here represented; and their unions have provision for paying benefits to strikers for some years.

him to resume profile industry. On Wednesday morning he received a letter from the prison authorities, informing him that he had been released, which he did gladly, since by his own admission he had not had other food for three days than such scraps as he could find in the street. He went to work with enthusiasm, rejoiced in the opportunity to work, and when his day was finished he dropped dead. Privation had so enfeebled him that his vital powers failed under the strain of labor, and he was carried home to his family. The cause of his death and privation are the government's answer to the question of the unemployed.

"It should need no argument to show that there is something wrong with a system which imposes such sacrifices upon those obedient to its rules. If the wives of the mechanics connected with the building trades who are now planning to keep their houses and families out of the union have been from a young wedding they might say some things which it would profit their husbands to ponder."

We do not ourselves vouch for the truth of this story. We give it on the authority of a reputable capitalist paper. If we find in it a most powerful argument against capitalism rather than against trade unionism, it would ill become the capitalist advocates to deny the facts they have just allowed. If it be true, we agree that it is well "worth thinking of"—and thinking of again.

Here we are told that an especially skilled mechanic, evidently an Industrialist and sober man (since lax and drunken men do not get a good repute for skill), a man in the prime of life, who had been engaged during our late "period of unexampled prosperity" in doing useful and arduous and even dangerous work, was yet, with all his skill and industry and with all the blessings of capitalist prosperity, living on such a precarious tenure, so near to the verge of poverty, that eighteen days of unemployment rendered him so utterly destitute that he had nothing to eat during the three succeeding days but scraps picked up in the streets.

We are given to understand that this

wages and raise the prices of your food, are also organized to fight Socialism, doesn't it seem likely that Socialism will be broken down?"

Justice Kavanaugh issues Most Sweeping Injunctions to Date

LIMIT PRODUCTION.
Cotton Mill Lords Say Factory Oper-
ations May Work Only Half Time-

FALL RIVER, Mass., April 5.—An agreement was made to-day by twenty cotton manufacturing corporations controlling about thirty-five mills to

curtail their production because of the unsettled conditions of the print cloth and cotton markets. On Thursday night ten of the plants will be closed, and the following Monday morning. After that they will be run only three or four days a week until further notice.

When trade unions try to meet a limit

to the running and driving of workers by the bosses, a great howl is raised against these wicked "conspiracies to restrict production and ruin industry." Here we have the organized capitalists issuing a unison that only so much cloth shall be made, although the workers are willing to make more and other people need more. Nor is this the first time, by a long way.

WHO "MADE" THAT \$46,000,000?

Lawson and Rogers have "made" forty-six million dollars in exactly the same sense that a burglar "makes" money—and so much by a night's "work." Only they did it with less personal exertion

and risk, in a large and more cowardly way, than does the burglar. How they cheated others of their own ilk, who were "on the make" in the same fashion, or how they tried to make each other in a way that would make each in, ordinary crime bluish for shame, we care not, except as it exhibits the demoralizing influence of capitalism and the depravity of the capitalist class. It is for the workers who really made it, produced by the labor that \$40,000,000 of value, that we are concerned.

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MAN ON WHEELS IN MICHIGAN.

DETROIT, Mich., April 4.—The "Motor" Association has decided to make a campaign for the open shop. Detroit has for the last seven or eight years had the reputation of being one of the strongest union cities in the United States. The unions of the building trades will oppose the employers' move, but a general impact is feared.

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WHY HE WAS FIRED.

A judge out in Montana has fined Copper King Helms \$20,000 for contempt of court for denying inspection of his mine. This kind of a ruling is startling and pleasing news, if the inspectors' business had been to enforce labor laws. Such was not the case, however. The inspectors were sent to enforce a claim of Copper King Clark. Helms is a successful business rival of Clark. He got the judges are very likely to see capitalists punished for impeding the enforcement of labor laws.

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TWO FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.

This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.—*Los Angeles Herald.*

2,000 EVICTIONS IN A WEEK.

Some fifteen hundred evictions were issued by the various courts of New York City during the first three days of the present week, and the number for the week will undoubtedly run far above two thousand.

The lower East Side is at the fever of excitement, and well it may.

Here live hundreds of thousands of the city's poorest toilers. They work from morning till night and from childhood to the old age—and live in misery under the iron hand of capitalism.

Their dwellings are perhaps the most miserable on the face of the earth. It is sufficient to note that, according to the official report of Town House Commissioner DeForest, there are in the city 350,000 "dark rooms"—rooms without any window or light.

And these poor victims of capitalism, who dwell in dark, foul, disease-breeding, fire-trap tenements and who pay for a quarter to a third of their meager wages for the privilege of even such shelter—they have been served with notice of increases of rental in many cases of as much as 30 per cent.

The increase is general, affecting all parts of the city, but most bitterly affecting the poorest and hardest-worked and most helpless of the workers. Uptown raises of 10 per cent. are common—and even that is keenly felt.

For a large part of the East Side tenants—what with low wages, what with high prices of food, what with unwilling idleness by the employers' orders—it is simply a matter of impossibility to pay the increased rates.

It must be said that these people have shown a fine spirit of resistance and solidarity—a spirit that the workers of other parts of the city, who sometimes pride themselves on their fancied superiority to the East Side Jews, might well imitate. "House strikes" are numerous—the whole population of a great tenement, thirty or forty or fifty families, with one accord refusing to pay more rent, holding their ground as long as possible, and then allowing themselves to be put on the street altogether.

There is talk of rioting. It is not the victims of oppression who talk of violence, but the cowardly and heartless class that exploit and oppress them. Their consciences accuse them. They know that they have done everything to provoke their tenants to violence.

Yet, for its immediate effect, it is to be wished that the other workingmen tenants of all parts of New York City would follow the example of united resistance offered by the East Side Jews.

At next week, not two thousand, but twenty thousand dispossession orders should be necessary, on the West side, in Yorkville, in Harlem and the Bronx, and wherever the attempt is being made to raise rents—to the tenants would stand together and refuse to bow to the arbitrary dictation of the landlords, it is likely that for the time the concerted movement of the proprietors to push rents up would be defeated and they would be glad to see for peace.

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FOR THE DAILY.

September 1 is Fixed as the Date of Issue and Now is the Time for Every Socialist to Put His Shoulder to the Wheel.

The comrades of New York have decided to issue the first number of the New York "Call," our Socialist daily newspaper, on Sept. 1 next. Do they realize the amount of self-sacrifice, and devotion for work needed to bring out the daily at that time? It does not mean simply to pass a motion to issue the daily, but that every comrade in Greater New York and within two hundred miles of the metropolis shall prepare to devote all of his spare time to obtain subscriptions, distribute advertising matter, visit trade unions and other labor organizations, and generally to call the attention of workingmen to the fact that on Sept. 1 the first Socialist and trade-union daily paper will be published.

We publish below a call to action which is being sent to every local of the Socialist Party in New England and Middle Atlantic States. We hope to see that solidarity which we often preach about abundantly manifest itself and that the response from local and comrades everywhere to act at once will meet our most sanguine expectations. Comrades, rally every one of you for the daily; by united action we can build up a subscription list which will stir terror to the proprietors of the capitalist dailies, and at the same time enlarge the Socialist family by educating them to become class-conscious workingmen. Comrades, let the cry of the "Call" be heard in every town and hamlet in the East. You can do it if you will. Socialist workers, unite! Let us make a great success of the Socialist daily. The following letter is now being sent to all local branches in the States mentioned above. We shall be glad to furnish subscription blanks to locals in other States upon application for them.

To All Locals of the Socialist Party, Greeting:

After two years of hard preparatory work, the comrades of Greater New York have definitely decided to publish the Socialist daily newspaper on Sept. 1 next, in time for the Presidential campaign.

We need not dwell long on the importance of having a Socialist daily to uphold our principles against the malignations and misrepresentations of the capitalist press, nor of the good it can do to educate the working class to see with us the justice to be derived from Socialism.

When we state that Sept. 1 is the date of the first issue, we positively mean that the greater city of New York is now hard at work canvassing for subscribers and completing arrangements for the festival to be held for the benefit of this fund.

We are now considering and formulating plans as to the plant, editorial staff, etc., and expect in a reasonably short time to inform the comrades throughout the party press the result of our deliberations in this direction.

Ever since we have started this enterprise we have solicited donations and pledges and we now request all comrades of your local who have as yet not paid their pledges in full, to kindly do so at once. We also request, if possible, that another donation to the fund be made from your treasury, or a collection be taken and forwarded. Kindly see to it that outstanding pledges are immediately collected and the money promptly forwarded.

We further call your attention to the importance and necessity of securing as many subscribers as is possible before Sept. 1. At least 40,000 subscribers for the month of September, and in order to accomplish our aim we must enlist the co-operation of all our comrades in the New England and Middle Atlantic States.

In all cities and towns wherever possible, the "Call" will be delivered through the newspapers, so that all who subscribe will have the paper delivered as early as any other New York paper.

Our main object in securing subscribers for the first month is to obtain as many readers as possible in advance and it will then depend upon the character of the "Call" to interest them sufficiently to prefer reading our paper in preference to others, and to call the attention of their friends to it as well.

The subscription price is 45 cents per month for Sunday and daily edition and we request you to forward as many blanks as you wish upon demand. Subscription blanks are printed in books of ten each, all numbered, and must be accounted for.

In New York we are carrying on a systematic house-to-house canvass for subscribers and we recommend to your local to adopt the same method.

We are also securing subscriptions by going direct to the trade unions, distributing our leaflets among the members and asking them to subscribe. We also recommend the adoption of this plan as well by the comrades of your local. If you will adopt either one or both of these plans we will gladly furnish the literature for distribution free of charge. We urge you to carefully consider these plans and hope every member will make up his mind to work hard from now on until Sept. 1, securing subscribers and advertising for the coming Socialist daily.

Comrades, our battle cry has always been, Workers, unite! We therefore beseech every one worthy of the title comrade, to unite in harmonious action for the publication of the "Call" on Sept. 1 next, so that the miseries of the toiling masses can be shown to the world, the practical doings of the capitalist class and the old party politicians brought face to face with the truth, and the cause of Socialism carried on to victory. Awaiting your prompt response informing us of the action you have taken, we remain, Yours fraternally,

WORKINGMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION.

Please address reply to William Butcher, 279 Hooper street, Brooklyn, New York, Chairman of Committee on Publications.

The House-to-house Circulation Committee for the "Call" has been broken down to serious work and will push it forward with system and energy. At the last meeting of the committee plans were adopted with a view of making a thorough canvass for subscribers among the enrolled Socialist workers. The secretaries of

assembly districts in Greater New York will be requested to call special meetings, at which representatives of this committee will be present. Comrades Wegener and Edlin were appointed as a sub-committee to write the necessary circulars. It was decided to print canvassers' certificates. Every assembly district will be asked to elect a circulation organizer who is to become part of the House-to-house Circulation Committee.

The next meeting of the committee will be held on the coming Monday, 7:30 p. m., at 64 E. Fourth street. Members should try to be present promptly at that hour, so that the work may be done without delay.

DAILY CALL BOOTH

AT THE EXPOSITION.

The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association and the New York and Brooklyn Daily Call Conference have decided to maintain a booth at the Labor Exposition and Food Show as a means of raising funds for the benefit of the Daily Call. A suitable location for the booth has been secured on the ground floor.

The committee has designated the following plan for the booth: It will be composed of articles that may be donated: Dictionaries—the books of H. L. Mohr, 10 Second avenue; Utterton—the books of Frank M. Hill, 1787 Madison avenue, or of Mrs. T. M. McKel, 1801 Lexington avenue; Brooklyn—with Comrade Steinbock of the Labor Retaliator, at the Labor Lyceum, 640 Wiloughby avenue.

Comrades are urgently requested to rally to the support of this enterprise and make the booth a great success. Every comrade should donate some article and all donations, large or small, will be put to good use. Some may prefer to give money for the purchase of prizes for the committee, as it is desired to have a large and well selected stock at the booth.

The committee will meet on Monday evening, April 11, at 64 E. Fourth street. Any comrades who are willing to help in attending the booth on one or more days during the continuance of the exposition are requested either to attend this meeting or to notify the committee of their willingness to serve.

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from 3d page.)

Wood Simons of Chicago will be the speakers.

New York City.

The General Committee of Local New York will meet on Saturday, April 13, promptly at 8 o'clock, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, first floor. The vote for delegates to the national convention will be canvassed and announced, and other very important business will be transacted. The delegates from the various assembly districts are therefore urged to do their utmost to be present in time.

The comrades are reminded that the subscription lists for raising the necessary funds for defraying the expenses of our candidates for the national convention are returnable to the financial secretaries of their respective assembly districts with whatever amounts collected not later than April 15, and the secretaries will please forward these lists with the amounts collected to the Financial Secretary of the Local, V. Solomon, 64 E. Fourth street, not later than April 20, and the amounts collected will be acknowledged in the party press. Each comrade ought to contribute as much as possible towards this important fund.

The 12th A. D. will hold a special meeting on Friday evening, April 12, at 232 East Broadway, which all members are urged to attend.

The regular meeting of the West Side Affiliation Committee will be held on Monday, April 11, 8 p. m., at 342 West 107th street. All comrades are earnestly requested to be present.

Local New York's vote on the election of the National Committee was as follows: 1st, 3d and 5th A. D.; Morris Hillquit; 2d, 4th and 6th A. D.; Butcher; 3d, 7th and 8th A. D.; 10th, 11th and 12th A. D.; Hillquit; 13th and 14th A. D.; Hillquit; 15th and 16th A. D.; Hillquit; 17th and 18th A. D.; Hillquit; 19th and 20th A. D.; Hillquit; 21st and 22nd A. D.; Hillquit; 23rd and 24th A. D.; Hillquit; 25th and 26th A. D.; Hillquit; 27th and 28th A. D.; Hillquit; 29th and 30th A. D.; Hillquit; 31st and 32nd A. D.; Hillquit; 33rd and 34th A. D.; Hillquit; 35th and 36th A. D.; Hillquit; 37th and 38th A. D.; Hillquit; 39th and 40th A. D.; Hillquit; 41st and 42nd A. D.; Hillquit; 43rd and 44th A. D.; Hillquit; 45th and 46th A. D.; Hillquit; 47th and 48th A. D.; Hillquit; 49th and 50th A. D.; Hillquit; 51st and 52nd A. D.; Hillquit; 53rd and 54th A. D.; Hillquit; 55th and 56th A. D.; Hillquit; 57th and 58th A. D.; Hillquit; 59th and 60th A. D.; Hillquit; 61st and 62nd A. D.; Hillquit; 63rd and 64th A. D.; Hillquit; 65th and 66th A. D.; Hillquit; 67th and 68th A. D.; Hillquit; 69th and 70th A. D.; Hillquit; 71st and 72nd A. D.; Hillquit; 73rd and 74th A. D.; Hillquit; 75th and 76th A. D.; Hillquit; 77th and 78th A. D.; Hillquit; 79th and 80th A. D.; Hillquit; 81st and 82nd A. D.; Hillquit; 83rd and 84th A. D.; Hillquit; 85th and 86th A. D.; Hillquit; 87th and 88th A. D.; Hillquit; 89th and 90th A. D.; Hillquit; 91st and 92nd A. D.; Hillquit; 93rd and 94th A. D.; Hillquit; 95th and 96th A. D.; Hillquit; 97th and 98th A. D.; Hillquit; 99th and 100th A. D.; Hillquit.

The general vote on the election of the seven delegates and alternates from Local New York to the national convention closes on Saturday, April 13, at 6 p. m., and the return blanks are properly signed, together with the individual ballots, must be sent to the Organizer on or before that date to be counted. Votes received after that date will not be counted.

A call for the election of a delegate and alternate-at-large to represent the state of New York at the national convention has been sent to the various assembly districts to be voted upon. The following comrades have been nominated: For delegate-at-large, John Spargo and Fred. M. Deane of Albany. For alternate, the following comrades have been nominated: Wm. Goeller of Queens and W. E. Merrill of Schenectady. The vote will close on April 13, and assembly districts that do not meet before the close of the vote are requested to call special meetings.

Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease will lecture on "World Movements" in the Hebrew Educational Alliance auditorium, 2 Broadway and Jefferson street, on Wednesday evening, April 12, under the auspices of the New York Socialist Literary Society. Five cents admission will be charged.

L. London Bernstein, lately secretary of the 12th A. D. and a member of the Executive, has moved to Washington, D. C., and transferred his membership to that local.

All members of the 26th A. D. are urgently requested to attend the next meeting on Friday, April 8, 8 p. m., at Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street.

BROOKLYN.

The Brooklyn May Day Conference, J. A. Well, Secretary, addresses the comrades of Kings County as follows: "As you are aware of the fact that our party organization has called a conference to celebrate the First of May, the large hall of the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum is engaged for the celebration, and it is up to you to make a success of it. I am sorry to say that thus far only one of our district organizations has had a representative at the May Day Conference. If our party is to be the leader in the battle for Labor's emancipation we ought to be in the front in this demonstration. I cannot think of a leader who follows the army instead of heading it. Let this be sufficient to remind you that every district is expected to be represented at the Conference, which meets every Sunday at 2 p. m. in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum."

The Kings County Committee will meet Saturday evening, April 9, in the Labor Lyceum.

On Sunday, April 24, beginning at 2:30 p. m., a general meeting of party members of the borough of Brooklyn will be held in the Labor Lyceum for instruction of delegates to the Chicago convention.

The 1st and 2d A. D. will hold a high-class concert and entertainment in Wurster's Hall, 315 Washington street, Sunday evening, April 24. Tickets cost 15 cents.

The secretary of the Brooklyn Daily Call Conference wishes to impress upon the delegates the importance of being present at the next meeting on April 14, 8 p. m., at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Plans to assure the success of the Fourth of July picnic must be formulated at once. Every Socialist or labor organization in Brooklyn should be represented by two delegates and see that they attend.

Members of the 1st and 2d A. D. are urged to be present at a special meeting at Wurster's Hall next Sunday, April 10, after the lecture. Comrades interested in the success of the concert in aid of the lecture course are also requested to attend.

Here and There.

The Holtermakers' and Peasants' Unions of Rome loaned the use of their hall on their regular meeting nights to the Socialists when Comrade Bennett was there. The attendance at his meeting exceeded one hundred and the Holme comrades are well pleased with the result.

State Secretary E. B. Latham of Texas recently requested to attend a special meeting at Wurster's Hall next Sunday, April 10, after the lecture. Comrades interested in the success of the concert in aid of the lecture course are also requested to attend.

The Socialist women of Kansas met in conference at Wichita on March 30. The following comrades were present: State Secretary E. B. Latham of Texas, Secretary of the National Socialist Union, and the secretary of the Kansas Socialist Union.

The state convention of the Socialist Party of New Hampshire will be held at Socialist Hall, Blanchard building, 97 North Main street, Concord, April 21. The convention will open at 11 a. m. The State Committee will be in session at the same place on the evening of April 20.

The Socialist Party of New Haven is holding the following meetings and dates for the city election to be held Tuesday, April 10—Selections: William E. White, William Bartlett, John Kilgusman. Constables: John Seuberg, William Lofstedt, Anton Frank. Aldermen: First Ward, David O. Swift, Third Ward, Albert Somers; Fifth Ward, Arthur B. Cornelius; Seventh Ward, Henry Lathe; Ninth Ward, Isaac Hollister; Eleventh Ward, C. M. Hill; Thirteenth Ward, Louis Flapenberg; Fifteenth Ward, John Gendernick. Bob Friedman will speak at Aurora Hall, Friday, April 8. Courtney Lemon will speak Sunday, April 17. Silvio Origo and others will also speak during the campaign.

Mr. B. L. Thomas of 6 Adelaide street, Jamaica Plain, N. Y., is delivering lectures upon child labor, and if any of the comrades in New York or elsewhere wish to give him any information upon this subject, it will assist him in his lectures and he will be greatly indebted.

Gaylord Withshire lectured in James-town Thursday night and in Erie, Pa., last Saturday. He had good audiences in both places.

DEB FOR UNION PROPAGANDA.

The "Appeal to Reason" (Grand Rapids) has issued the form of a ten-page pamphlet entitled "Rites in the Trade Unions" its exposé of the Corporations Auxiliary Company and similar schemes of the organized capitalists for disrupting the labor unions. The pamphlet is sold for 5 cents a copy or a hundred copies for a dollar. Comrades who belong to unions will do well to distribute among their fellow workers in conjunction with the "Labor Politics and Socialist Politics" or Spargo's "Shall the Unions Go Into Politics?" These two pamphlets are to be had from the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York City, at \$1.50 a hundred and \$1.25 a hundred, respectively.

AN IMPRESSIVE PROTEST MEETING.

Thousands Join in Protest Against Landlords' Evictions—Speakers Show that the Only Settlement is by Socialist Agitation.

Thousands of workingmen and women who are suffering from the cruel extortions of landlords and other capitalists responded to the call of the Social Democratic Party and the Young People's Social Democratic Club for a great meeting of protest at Grand American Hall on Wednesday evening. The hall was packed to its utmost capacity and hundreds were turned away from the doors. The audience was closely attentive and enthusiastic by turns. It was a question of life and death for them and their little ones with which the speakers dealt and they deeply felt its importance.

Edward Meyer of the Young People's Club opened the meeting and introduced John C. Chase, formerly Mayor of Haverhill, as the chairman.

Chase read first a telegram from Milwaukee announcing the splendid gain of the Social Democratic Party in the city election there, which was greeted with loud applause. He then spoke briefly on the purpose of the meeting and urged upon his hearers the necessity, if they would do any thing to relieve their own sufferings, of making a prolonged, energetic, and well organized effort. To protest and stop with that would do no good. The speaker then called for a protest.

It was necessary to educate and organize the workers and to use the political power of their numbers to overcome their oppressors. So long as the men who toll in the shops and factories and who live in the miserable tenements, making profits for employers and then paying an extra tribute to landlords, shall continue to divide their votes between the two old parties, both of them dominated by capitalists and landlords, so long the evils complained of would continue.

A. M. Simons of Chicago was introduced as the first speaker. The question of high rents and high prices which had taken such a acute form here in New York of late was, he said, but one phase of the "Class Struggle in America"—the subject on which he was anxious to speak. Capitalism has overrun and conquered the United States, and everywhere under capitalism the working people live in poverty, exploited and robbed on every hand. This was not a question for New York alone nor for America alone, but a question for the working class of the world. So long as we submit to a system which puts the means by which we live in the hands of other men, so long we have no right to call ourselves free. He sketched the development of the class struggle between capitalists and workers in the United States and the prostitution of all public powers to the service of the possessing class, and showed that, though to-day we are not free men, we have the power to win freedom whenever we have the intelligence to unite and use our ballots for our own class interest.

Benjamin Hanford was the next speaker. He too dwelt on the universal class struggle. We have no need of Rockefeller and Morgans, he said, no need of bosses and landlords. Our class builds the houses as well as the factories and railroads, and they do the work which makes us owe their whole product or else we shall continue to suffer poverty and class rule. The newspapers had been telling of the probability of riot, he said. The capitalists grind the workers down and drive them to desperation and then cry out in horror at the thought of resistance. He did not believe in violence.

He said it was foolish to try to kill capitalists and landlords as because it was foolish. The only way to kill capitalism and landlordism was to use the peaceful method offered by the Social Democratic Party. Let us vote to put our own class into power. When at the ballot-box the working class takes command of legislatures and courts and police and military force, then no power on earth can prevent the coming era of peace and happiness for all.

Mrs. M. R. Blue showed how capitalism destroys the workingmen's homes for the capitalist's profit. The children of the master class have every opportunity for education; but the public schools are neglected and poverty compels the workers' children to go into the factory and grow up in ignorance. The poverty of the workers, on which the capitalists' profits depend, drives the women of the working class to leave their homes and go out to work in order to keep the wolf from the door. For an increasing proportion of the working class true home life is an impossibility and the pretense that Socialism will destroy the home is a piece of capitalist hypocrisy that the toilers must resent and rebuke. Socialism is the only hand that will help, but still more is it the only hope of the women and children of the working class.

Alexander Jonas closed with an address in German. He would not flinch from the landlords, he said. The people have given them the right to own the people's homes and exact rent for them. Under the system that the workers have endured they have a right to whatever they can get out of their property. But now we want that the rights of their means wrong to the workers, destruction to their happiness and the welfare of society. We should not blame the landlords. Every man who has voted to uphold the capitalist system should blame himself for his sufferings under it, and should resolve to correct his mistake. We have in the hands the power to decide and enforce our decision that non-producing class shall no longer be allowed to live in luxury by our toil and sweat. Not "Down with the landlord" but "Down with capitalism and up with Social Democracy and Freedom" must be our cry.

"We shall not be happy until we have at least Fifty Thousand readers. Comrades, get busy."

"If you get a half-dozen copies of this paper, you may know that you are thereby requested to distribute them among your neighbors."

"How many of the members of your local or branch are regular subscribers of 'The Worker'? Get those who are not."

TO SAVE THE FAMILY.

In their hearts the privileged classes well know that it is not because the Socialist DOES NOT desire to preserve the family that sets them quaking with concern. It is because at last HE DOES. For the first time in history the workers of the world are now extending a determination to preserve the family—to preserve it from exploitation. And when the worker actually begins to preserve his own family, and demand for its consumption the product of his labor, the idler knows he will have at last a Socialist enemy to his family—Frank H. Westworth.

DEB FOR UNION PROPAGANDA.

The "Appeal to Reason" (Grand Rapids) has issued the form of a ten-page pamphlet entitled "Rites in the Trade Unions" its exposé of the Corporations Auxiliary Company and similar schemes of the organized capitalists for disrupting the labor unions. The pamphlet is sold for 5 cents a copy or a hundred copies for a dollar. Comrades who belong to unions will do well to distribute among their fellow workers in conjunction with the "Labor Politics and Socialist Politics" or Spargo's "Shall the Unions Go Into Politics?" These two pamphlets are to be had from the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York City, at \$1.50 a hundred and \$1.25 a hundred, respectively.

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DEB FOR UNION PROPAGANDA.

THE TENANTS' REVOLT

ON THE EAST SIDE.

We take pleasure in presenting to the English-speaking Socialists of New York City two articles from the Jewish Socialist daily "Forward." The paper which has taken the lead in the present remarkable movement of the tenement-house dwellers of the Lower East Side against the conspiracy to raise rents.

What Sense Is There In These Rent Strikes?

BY ABE CAHAN.

"Where is the sense of these rent strikes, seeing that robbery is the foundation of all modern society?" A union man and Socialist formulating the question in this manner is suggestive of the school teacher with a defect of speech who should punish his pupil for mispronouncing words precisely as he did, or of the father spanking his boy for faults inherited from himself. The two illustrations suit our case in all except the question of facts. For, indeed, so far from being to the discredit of the Jewish quarter, the present anti-rent movement is a manifestation of vitality of the most encouraging nature.

If an effort to alleviate the burdens of the working class is to be regarded as a waste of energy, then the entire trade-union movement should be looked upon in the same light, should be declared futile and ludicrous. Unions organize trade strikes. What, then, is the distinction between a trade strike and a rent strike?

The one aims at raising the workman's income; the other strives to reduce his expenses. Robbery is the foundation of modern society. But who are the robbers? In their class confined to owners of factories and workshops, to those who fleece labor in the process of production? No. The entire capitalist class—bankers, merchants, every loafer rolling in luxury, every idler who comes in for a share in the feast prepared by labor—must be included in that great band of modern robbers, known as "captains of industry." The exploiters of toil are to be taken collectively, and the landlords certainly do not content themselves with a back seat in that class.

"Surplus value" or unpaid labor is certainly not the exclusive portion of the manufacturer, but is divided by the various elements going to make up the great robber class of modern society; and it would be more than unfair to the landlord to represent him as playing the second fiddle in this bacchanalia of feecing.

The feeing of labor proceeds in two directions simultaneously. The workman is despoiled at the factory as a wage slave, and the workman is despoiled at home as a citizen; he is robbed both as a producer and as a consumer, as a seller of labor and as a buyer of the necessities of life. What is the function of a trade union? It offers the workman protection in his capacity of producer. What is the function of a movement like these rent strikes, or the rent strikes which were waged by the Jewish quarter two years ago? To offer the workman protection in his capacity of consumer.

Is This Tenants' Campaign Strictly Socialistic?

BY DR. K. FORNBERG.

As soon as the German Socialists learned that the government of their country contemplated a higher tariff upon the necessities of life, they set to work preparing for a long and strenuous struggle against the measure. They began an agitation among the masses, followed by a series of determined battles in the Reichstag.

In this parliamentary war the Socialists were not only beaten on the points at issue, but they also lost some of the privileges they had enjoyed before. The bill became a law; the new tariff was introduced; the movement in this direction lost its practical significance; yet even then the Socialists of Germany continued the fight and still fighting with the same energy and courage against the high tariff. They have continued their agitation among the masses, and it was partly owing to this persistent fight of theirs that they scored the glorious victory of the sixteenth of June 1903, when there were more than three million votes.

Socialists are opposed to every sort of tariff upon the necessities of life, but in this particular instance it was against the advanced tariff that the crusade was directed.

Who were the leaders of this campaign? Bebel and Kautsky were at the head, with Bernstein, Heine and other Social Democrats as their faithful supporters. Bebel, Kautsky, and other revolutionary leaders of the movement were aware that the question at issue was one in which the various classes of the population were united in their interests against one powerful class, the landlords, the great landed proprietors of the country.

Bernstein, Heine, and other chaplains from among the so-called "unofficial Socialists" (even opportunists) knew too well that the practical results to be expected were of a rather precarious and intangible character.

revolutionary and scientific position, but who by others are classed as "impossibilists."

We make no further protest, except to say that, in our opinion, such work as the East Side comrades are doing in this tenants' agitation, if accompanied and followed up, will doubtless be by educational work, and not the larger line of the Socialist philosophy, is of the utmost benefit to our party and to the working class, for which our party stands.

archists would brand trade unionism, the eight-hour movement, our entire political program as palliatives—"cold medicine" we used to call it in the Yiddish phrase. The entire social system must be upset; nothing short of that will do. If any of our comrades, we would be of any avail, they argued, we should be of use to the workers. The present system could not be changed too soon, but while it stands it would be worse than absurd to content oneself with golden visions of the world to come.

"The capitalist class is a gigantic hog," we used to say to our anarchist friends, "and from a hog it pays to extract a hair at least," as the Yiddish saying goes.

In those days, we often pointed out to the anarchists that every immediate victory of the laboring class is a source of encouragement and inspiration to those who benefit by that victory; an encouragement that brings him nearer to the struggle for that glorious day when the gigantic hog will be no more, and the social garden will be free from the ravages of its insatiable snout. We used to urge that every dollar or two won by the workman through his own struggle was no "cold medicine," but an effort towards infusing fighting blood into his veins, converting him into a warrior for the abolition of capitalism.

The trade-union movement in the Jewish quarter has been growing apace. It has had its ups and downs, its spurts and its periods of weakness, but upon the whole trade unionism has taken root. The spirit which impels the struggle for his rights, to combat robbery, has imbedded itself in the hearts of our workmen.

When the Meat Trust raised prices to an unnatural level and the entire ghetto burst into protest, that protest was the child of our trade-union movement. The meat strike was the offspring of our trade unions.

This is the case with the present rent strikes. They are the outcome of that same spirit, the offspring of that same struggle against Capital, which has grown up in our quarter owing to the work of Socialists and trade unions.

In a great many instances the present rent strikes have already been crowned with success. In many others, the landlords find it difficult to raise the rent, because the judges are rather slow to antagonize this swelling wave of popular sentiment. There are still other cases, and hundreds of them, where landlords who originally contemplated raising the rent of their tenants, have been led by this organized movement to change their minds.

At least a thousand poor families have already profited by this movement. Would results like these be discredited by a trade union?

This alone would be enough to justify one's participation in this popular struggle of our district. But this is not all. The benefits reaped are by no means confined to the lowering of rents in these cases.

Every victory against the robbery of capital is a victory against the robbery of labor. It is only that long series of victories, the great culmination of which will be the obliteration of the present mode of production and distribution from the book of life.

The silent feature of the situation lay in this, that the advance in prices of the necessities of life involved a great public distress; that the artificial advance in the cost of living resulting from the higher tariff was detrimental to the interests of the masses; that it was beneficial to the predatory rule of the landlords; and that it was the obvious duty of all Socialists to combat this evil with every resource at their command.

And the Socialists threw themselves into the fight with all the pluck and energy for which they are noted, and the fight is still under way, with the Socialists as energetically in the lead as ever.

And the results? This question does not worry them. Success or defeat, the interests of the cause, the cause of popular enlightenment, the cause of Socialism and fame of the party, are sure to derive incalculable benefits from the crusade.

Food-prices and rent belong to the same category of things, the effect of both being to absorb the earnings of the great masses of the people. The rent plague in the Jewish quarter of New York is an evil of the same magnitude as the increased tariff on the necessities of life in Germany. Over there the tariff has been abolished. Here there is no telling where our greedy landlords will stop.

It was only just, therefore, only a matter of course, that the Socialists should be the first to take up this fight. It was the sacred duty of Socialists to open an agitation, to stir up the people, even if there had been no prospect of practical success.

grace as well as a case of heartlessness and brainlessness had the Socialists failed to improve this moment for purposes of their revolutionary propaganda, had they not availed themselves of this case of capitalist exploitation for the enlightenment and the revolutionary education of the masses, it is highly gratifying, therefore, that the various districts of the Social Democratic Party as well as branches of the Workmen's Circle are gradually joining this anti-rent movement. It shows that the majority of Socialists in our midst have a proper appreciation of the duties and importance of militant Socialism.

Unfortunately, however, there are other comrades who suppress their own sympathy for the tenants and hatred for the landlords and force themselves to keep aloof from the present struggle because, forsooth, they think it not Socialistic enough. The anti-rent movement has failed to meet with the approval of certain Socialists who lay claim to a monopoly of scientific Socialism. There is a tendency in some quarters to create an impression that the struggle is not a class struggle because it does not originate in the factory or workshop; or else we are told that the revolutionary energy of the movement must be spared for more important undertakings. There is an effort to weaken the interest of the masses in this practical struggle by means of "philosophic" reflections to the effect that capitalist society is capitalist. Now, since it is futile to expect that capitalist society will be done away with by means of this struggle against the shamelessness of landlords, therefore, it is argued, this movement for lower rent is a side issue.

It takes but little thought, however, to discover how fallacious and anti-socialistic an argument of this sort is. He who regards a popular protest like this where great masses of proletarians get into line and struggle against the feeing of a capitalist class (landlords) as a side issue or a trifle, should, to be consistent, retire from every form of political activity under modern conditions.

For those with whom the anti-rent movement is a trifle there ought not to exist such a thing as a minimum program; those who call the anti-rent movement a side issue have no business to participate in municipal politics; they have no business to take a hand in the immigration question; they have no right to take an interest in international politics or in questions of the management of affairs in the colonies, Ireland, and so forth. These things are still further aside from the great issue of Socialism and from the direct class struggle than the rent question.

All this is exactly what the Socialist opponents of the anti-rent movement are doing. It is not Social Democratic policy. It is an anarchistic policy. Social Democrats, the world over, follow tactics of quite a different nature.

"The Social Democratic Party is the only party struggling for equal rights and equal liberties of all men and against repression of every sort. It is the only party that struggles for every race without distinction. The position of the proletariat as a class demands that it should resist every sort of exploitation and repression."

"It is from the proletarian class character of the Social Democracy that it has derived inspiration for a series of most important political problems, more far-reaching than the more exclusive class interests of the proletariat; and it is to this sort of work that the Social Democracy owes much of its popularity with other elements of the population than the working people."

This is the way the duties of Social Democracy are comprehended and expounded by a scientific Socialist like Karl Kautsky.

Who then is the real scientific Socialist? Who is right?

OUR MAY DAY NUMBER.

The May Day Number of The Worker will have eight pages instead of four, and will be devoted almost exclusively to propaganda matter of a sort both sound and popular. The purposes of the party, its methods, and its recent progress will be described and special articles will be devoted to the Socialistic way of many "live questions"—High Rents and High Prices, Labor and the Law, Imperialism at Home, The Open Shop, The Employers' Organizations, What Do We Want, Trusts, The Evil of Child Labor, and others.

The price is the same as for the usual four-page issue: 100 copies, 75 cents; 200, \$1.20; 300 or more, 50 cents a hundred.

MAY DAY CONFERENCE.

The May Day Conference, composed of delegates from the trade unions and subdivisions of the party, held another meeting on April 7.

The attendance was not quite satisfactory; most of the delegates from our assembly districts and labor organizations were conspicuous by their absence. This is to be regretted, as the time for completing the arrangements for the parade is approaching and this continuous absence of some of the delegates has a demoralizing effect and tends to lower the enthusiasm of others who consider that it is of vital importance to celebrate the First of May with a magnificent parade.

New delegates were seated as follows: R. Weinberg, 31st A. D.; John Huber, Bricklayers' No. 11; M. Stepman, Turnverein Vorwaerts.

The secretary was instructed to notify organizations whose delegates do not attend.

The delegates present made reports from their respective organizations, mostly to the effect that they have decided to participate in the parade and will contribute their share towards covering the expenses of the Conference.

The various committees made their reports, which were as follows: H. Tausner reported that he had visited the Turnverein Vorwaerts and the Socialist Music Band and that both these organizations will participate in the parade. He was unable to find out where the Bohemian Central Union meets. C. P. Robinson reported that he will visit the District Council of the Carpenters next Monday.

street, Twenty-fourth street to Third avenue, Third avenue to Forty-third street, Forty-third street to Lexington avenue and Grand Central Palace.

It was decided to buy of Local New York 10,000 leaflets, 5,000 each for general propaganda and 5,000 dealing with high rents and increased cost of living. Two dozen transparencies with appropriate mottoes and a sufficient quantity of Chinese lanterns were ordered.

Comrades Elshodin, Kappe and Hann were elected as a committee to visit the Executive Committee of the Exposition and secure free admission for the parade. It was also decided that should be taken to have order during the meeting in the Grand Central Palace, and that at least one hour be granted for speechmaking.

Some delegates reported that there is a rumor that the United Hebrew Trades will refuse to march as far as Forty-third street, and in order to avoid the trouble a committee of three, composed of R. Weinberg, M. C. Levine and I. Stern, were appointed to visit the United Hebrew Trades and induce them to accept the route as stated above.

The next meeting of the Conference will take place on Thursday, April 14, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street; and the delegates are requested to be there on time.

The following contributions were made: Butcher's Union No. 174, \$3; 35th A. D., \$1; 32nd A. D., \$2; Turnverein Vorwaerts, \$3; Mechanists' Lodge No. 335, \$2; 26th-10th A. D., \$2; P. B. 22; Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society No. 91, \$2; total, \$16.

LOOKOUT AND STRIKE OF CRACKER TRUST'S BAKERS.

The Cracker Trust or National Biscuit Company, which has been fighting the International Union of Bakery and Confectionery Workers of America for the last few years, and which about a year ago locked out thousands of its employees in Chicago, has resorted to the same tactics in this city. About two weeks ago it locked out its employees in the International Union, and as soon as the company became aware of this fact, the eight employees of the newly-organized union were discharged. The reason given by the company is, that it had no objection to any organization of its own employees, but that could not allow its men to affiliate with the International Union, which it does not want to do much harm to the company. The men were promised re-employment if they would sever their connections with the union, but they positively refused, and have found no work since. They have been employed in the "Unions" department and to their surprise all the other employees of this department, guided by a spirit of solidarity, struck next day in sympathy. None of them went back since the strike started, nearly two weeks ago, and the other employees of the Trust in this city are ready to join the strikers and locked-out men, if the International Union of the bakers should so decide. An effective agitation is now being planned against the products of the National Biscuit Company.

Two of its independent manufacturers, the Greenleaf Biscuit and Manufacturing Company and B. B. Clark have signed an agreement with the union and adopted the label. Several others will follow the bakers in trying to bring the Cracker Trust to terms.

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from 3d page.)

April 24, and back to Cleveland up to and including April 30.

Dates for George H. Goebel have been arranged in Ohio as follows: East Liverpool, April 18; Cleveland, April 19; Sandusky, April 20; 21; Xenia, April 22; Cincinnati, April 24. The rest of the month will be spent in Indiana.

John W. Brown will close his work in Montana the last week in April and will fill engagements in Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota, Illinois, and Ohio on his return.

M. W. Wilkins will close his work in Idaho, April 15, and start East, filling engagements as follows: Rock Springs, Wyo., April 17; Laramie, April 19 to 21; Kearney, Neb., April 22; Omaha, April 23; Atlantic City, April 24; Sigourney, April 26. After the convention he will go West again through Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, and Colorado.

NATIONAL ORGANIZING FUND.

Contributions to the National Organizing Fund for last week were \$52.00, making a total of \$3,107.00.

The Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville in sending its \$10 written: "This is the oldest of three clubs in New York City whose purpose is to educate young men and women in the principles of Socialism, to enlist them in the work of the party, and at the same time to bring them together for social pleasure and acquaintance. We feel that our club has been a good thing for its members and that it has done some service to the party. We hope for still better results in the future, and we hope also that clubs of this sort will soon exist in every part of the country where Socialism has gained a foothold."

Massachusetts.

The quarterly report of State Secretary Irish shows receipts of \$300.14 (including \$20.18 balance on Jan. 1); expenditures, \$404.07; balance, April 1, \$111.17; debts on hand, \$48; assets, \$332.55; total, \$332.55.

Georgia Willis, Cooke, the well-known author and Socialist lecturer, is giving a course of six lectures in Parker Memorial Church, 11 Appleton street, on Wednesday evenings. He will speak on "William Morris and Socialism," April 20, and on "Wagner and the Music of Humanity," April 27.

The "Leader," New England's weekly Socialist paper, has suspended publication for lack of funds. All subscribers will receive The Worker until their subscription expires and the comrades of the Leader Publishing Company say, "Thank you readers for their past favors, we trust they will now give their support to The Worker."

The state of New York casts \$12,000 on referendum B that as to removal of national headquarters—\$30

for Chicago, 140 for Indianapolis; and \$36 for Washington. Locals Albany, Buffalo, Ft. Edward, Gloversville, Ithaca, Jamestown, Johnstown, Kings, Long Island City, New York, New Rochelle, Newburg, Oneida, Port Jervis, Queens, Richmond, Sparrowsburg, Syracuse, Schenectady, Troy, Utica, and Yonkers made returns.

So far as reported to the State Secretary's office sixteen delegates to the national convention have been elected in this state, as follows: Locals New York and Richmond—Alexander Jones, Morris Hillquit, Geo. D. Herron, Henry L. Elshodin, Algron Lee, William E. Ben Hanford, Wm. Butcher, Peter J. Flanagan, and Warren Atkinson; Local Rochester—Frank A. Steverman; Westchester, Rochester, Orange, and Sullivan Counties—H. W. Westling; Jefferson, Lewis, Madison, and Oneida Counties—Charles Dobbs; Fulton, Herkimer, and Oneida Counties—A. L. Hyros-Curtis; Erie, Chautauque, and Steuben Counties—Chas. P. Huah.

New Jersey.

Comrade James presided at the State Committee meeting on April 10. Local Camden reported 31 members in good standing for March; Essex 190; Hudson, 358; Union, 78; other locals failed to report. Treasurer's report showed receipts of \$35.76 and expenditures of \$38.17. Comrade Cassile was asked to address the organization Committee. Protest of Br. & Essex County against individual ballots was tabled. The Secretary was instructed to request Local New York to transfer Comrade Nebel to New Jersey, his residence, as this state recognizes his eligibility. After thorough discussion it was decided that six delegates be sent to the national convention and that \$55 be allowed to each for expenses, provided that each may submit bill for additional expenses, if any. An appeal will be made to the state to provide funds. Local Essex was requested to hold a state picnic, with the aid of Locals Hudson, Passaic, and Union, the proceeds to go to the state campaign fund.

The vote for delegates to the national convention was as follows: Camden, 354; Burrows, with 37 votes; Newark, 354; C. Ufert, 326; Wales, 323; Glens, 320; Kronsberg, 290; Rubinstein, 281; Reilly, 280; Strohbell, 208; E. Ufert, 233; Birschmidt, 223; Day, 211; Cassile, 207; Goebel, 180; Kreck, 164. The State Committee reports were ordered published in the "Socialist Review" and comrades are urged to obtain subscriptions. Comrade Huah, in his report, said that Comrade Cassile was elected to notify Kearns of his nomination for Governor.

Pennsylvania.

Local Allentown reports that Comrade Goebel's meeting was a great success and will be followed by others. They will arrange a meeting for Comrade Moore in the latter part of April. Comrade Smith of Shamokin reports that Comrade Goebel spoke there on April 7, and gave a very clear explanation of the Social Democratic Party and the working class by supporting the Socialist principles. His address was attentively listened to and enthusiastically received and made a good impression on his hearers.

The Central Branch of Local Philadelphia is holding meetings every Sunday afternoon at 1235 Pine street, for the freed working people.

The vote on national referendum B 1904 for location of national headquarters is as follows: Chicago, 302; Indianapolis, 48; Washington, 14.

Receipts of the State Committee since last report were: Philadelphia, \$8; Allentown, \$2; Sellersville, \$2.10; Brownsville, \$1; Rosensteel (four members-at-large), \$2; Charleroi, \$0.00; contribution to help pay off debt, Sellersville, \$1; Andrew Loveless, \$1 for the campaign fund.

Local Laurium, Mich., had only eleven months old, but in the municipal election last week we polled 97 votes and the local papers are saying that Socialism is a thing to be reckoned with in the near future.

State Organizer Lamb of Michigan is making a strenuous effort to get the Socialist forces there organized in such a way as to meet the needs of the coming campaign. He plans that at least 3,000 meetings in 500 places shall be arranged from state headquarters.

Courtesy Lemon will speak on Socialism at the Labor Lyceum, on Sunday evening, April 17, in Union Hall, 97 Orange street.

New York City.

As this city edition of The Worker goes to press we learn that the Harvard-Davenport debate, mentioned on our first page, is fixed for Thursday, April 21, at Cooper Union. An admission of 50 cents will be charged to cover expenses.

The General Committee of Local New York will meet at the Labor Lyceum on Saturday, April 16, instead of April 23. The meeting was called for this Saturday to discuss the latest developments in the May Day Conference and also because the Industrial Exposition opens on April 23 and most of the delegates "will probably go home."

At the meeting of the General Committee last Saturday, L. Specter was seated as delegate from the 10th A. D., in place of L. Rice, resigned, and N. P. Geiger from the 7th, 9th and 25th A. D., in place of E. Spindler, resigned. Seven new members were accepted. The suspension of Comrade Frolich was carried. The Organizing Committee was instructed to issue a call for the national convention. The City Executive Committee was instructed to hold state meetings, especially in the East Side, and to have the speakers deal with the rent question where suitable. The vote for delegates to the national convention was announced and Comrades Hoover, Goldberg, E. Meyer, Mayell, and James were elected a committee to carry out the election of delegates to the state convention. The City Executive Committee was instructed to hold state meetings, especially in the East Side, and to have the speakers deal with the rent question where suitable. The vote for delegates to the national convention was announced and Comrades Hoover, Goldberg, E. Meyer, Mayell, and James were elected a committee to carry out the election of delegates to the state convention.

At the meeting of the City Executive on April 5 a letter was received from Thomas Abbott of Worcester asking for the speaking dates in New York City, and the Organizing Committee was instructed to inquire into the standing of Comrade Abbott. The First Agitation District reported that they would hold an agitation meeting about rent and prices on Thursday, April 7. The sug-

gest of the Murray Hill and Second Agitation Districts to get together was referred to the General Committee.

The vote of Local New York and Richmond for delegates to the national convention resulted as follows: Alexander Jones, 355; M. Hillquit, 346; A. Lee, 327; Wm. E. Ben, 317; Fred Paulsch, 161; G. Dransner, 127; H. C. Wilshire, 108; M. M. Bartholomew, 108; Fred Martin, 107; Courtney Lemon, 100; Dr. J. Halpern, 64; N. P. Geiger, 65; Elias Wolf, 64; C. A. Sprenger, 61; N. R. Reichenthal, 30; Chas. Lane, 34; L. B. Rodin, 32; Wm. Edlin, 31; L. D. Mayes, 30; Herman Reich, 30; Wm. Edwards, 22; J. G. Keady, 22; L. A. Markel, 19; R. Korn, 18; M. Gillis, 17; J. L. Cobb, 15; S. O. Pollock, 9; Frederick Thomas, 8; Sam Benais, 8. Accordingly Comrades Jones, Hillquit, Lee, Herron, Elshodin, Elshet, and Paulsch are elected delegates, and Comrades Dransner, Wilshire, Bartholomew, Fred Martin, Lemon, Halpern and Geiger are alternates.

The following contributions on their last to the expenses of the delegates to the national convention were so far been received: Morris Hillquit, \$5.50; Sam Fanner, \$1; Chas. Hochberg, \$5; L. Rice, \$1.40; R. Scheer, \$0.00; H. G. Wilshire, \$4.25; L. Wandellier, \$0.00; J. Lehr, \$2.00; E. Erelit, \$3.25; A. Schultze, \$0.80; Jacob Freedman, \$2.00; total, \$20.80. The comrades are requested to return lists with money collected to district secretaries, who should promptly account to the local committee. Those that have not received lists and wish to contribute to this fund may make their contributions direct to him. All contributions will be acknowledged in The Worker and "Volkszeitung."

The entertainment and dance to be held by the West Side Agitation Committee next Sunday, April 17, at the West Side Hotel, 34 W. Forty-second street, will undoubtedly be a success both as an entertainment and as a way of obtaining funds for the coming campaign. A number of the progressive social organizations upon the West Side—the Liederkreis, the German Freu Schule, and others—will lend their assistance, besides other voluntary aid. Mr. Joseph O'Brien will give some of his latest hits, using the music published by Feist & Shapiro Hensel, one of the few union music publishing houses. Admission costs 10 cents. A special meeting of the West Side Agitation Committee will be held Saturday evening, April 16, at the West Side Union Hotel, 342 W. Forty-second street, to make final arrangements.

At the meeting of the 18th and 20th A. D., \$2 was donated to the May Day Conference and Comrade Hoehle was elected delegate to same. The financial secretary reported that the net proceeds of the New Year's entertainment were \$55 and that the usual 10 per cent, \$5.50, had been paid over to the State Committee. Comrade Hoehle was elected Recording Secretary in place of Comrade Schultze. One hundred tickets were raffled for a good watch for the benefit of Comrade Paulsch, who has been in hospital for some time, are ready for distribution and comrades who did not attend the meeting are requested to help dispose of them.

All working women as well as workmen in the Yorkville districts should hear Miss Johanna Dahme's lecture on "Woman's Political and Economic Position," to be given at 1407 Avenue A on Thursday evening, April 21.

A mass meeting on high rents and increased cost of living will be held in Mitchell Hall, 1424 street and Eighth avenue, on Saturday evening, April 10, at which J. C. Frost will speak. This meeting is arranged by the Harlem Agitation Committee, at the request of the 23d A. D. Leaflets will be distributed and letters sent to the enrolled Social Democratic voters. All Harlem comrades should be present and bring their friends.

At the last meeting of the Downtown Young People's Social Democratic Club the delegates to the conference of the Young People's Clubs submitted the plans of organization adopted by the Conference and were asked to report. They still must find the approval of the other two clubs. It was decided to take part in the May Day parade and to ask the Yorkville Young People's Club to co-operate; two delegates were elected to the May Day Conference. The regular monthly lecture on Tuesday evening, April 10, will be given by Algron Lee, who will speak on "What Socialists Work For." All members should make it a point to bring their friends to this meeting, which will be held in the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street. The Entertainment Committee will give a full report of the last affair at the next meeting. Organizations and subdivisions of the party kindly take note that the next entertainment and ball of the club will be held on December 3; 50 per cent of the net proceeds will go to Local New York.

The 12th A. D. meets Friday, April 15, 8 p. m., at 232 E. Broadway.

BROOKLYN.

At the meeting of the Kings County Committee, April 9, 20 new members were admitted from the following districts: 1st A. D., 10; 17th A. D., 20th A. D., 1; Br. I, direct, one branch in the 3d A. D. (Italian) with nine members, and in the 18th A. D. with twelve. The vote on national committee for New York was reported as follows: Hillquit, 62; Hunt, 2; Butcher, 127. Also the vote on National Referendum B for location of national headquarters was reported as follows: Chicago, 34; Indianapolis, 25; Washington, D. C., 4. A total of 107 total vote cast by the branches on each referendum has been sent to each branch. A committee was elected to get a permit to raise an S. D. P. banner at City Hall Square. It was decided to hold state meetings as soon as possible and branches arranging such are requested to write to J. G. Hoover, 73 Tremont street, New York City. The delegates to the May Day Demonstration Committee reported arrangements made and requested that each branch send a delegate to the next meeting at the Labor Lyceum, Sunday, April 17, at 2:30 p. m.

QUEENS.

At the last meeting of Queens County on April 8, the question of raising dues to aid State Committee was laid over to May 28. It was decided to send delegates to the state convention. A picnic will be held on May 23. The following

SOMETHING NEW AND INTERESTING!

... GRAND ...

LABOR EXPOSITION AND FOOD SHOW

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE LABOR PRESS,

APRIL 23 TO MAY 8, 1904,

-AT-

GRAND CENTRAL PALACE

LEXINGTON AVENUE 43RD AND 44TH STREET.

WONDERFUL PROGRAM EVERY DAY!

CONCERT, SINGING AND DANCING!

HIGH CLASS VAUDEVILLE!

ARTISTS OF ALL NATIONS!

AMUSEMENT FOR EVERYBODY!

Bavarian Brewery in Operation, Little Germany, Japan Tea

Parlors, Wild West Inn and Other Attractions.

ADMISSION, ... TEN CENTS.

Quarterly report was read and forwarded to the State Secretary. Good standing members, 150; new members, 14; stamps bought during quarter, 200; so 1, 157; on hand, 135; agitation meetings held, 28. At the previous business meeting on Mar. 11 a communication was read stating that nomination of Comrade Koopman to fill vacancy on State Committee caused by resignation of Abbott was received too late, and that Comrade Geier was therefore elected as the only nominee. A communication was received from Long Island City stating that the comrades of said local decided to uphold their charter and representation of delegates to all meetings; this was referred for action to the committee appointed by Local Queens. Corona and Woodside reported progress; Jamaica, 4 new members; Wyckoff Heights, 14 new members; Glendale, cleared 340 on so-called Mar. 12, voted against raising dues for state organization. Woodhaven and College Point were not present. Balance in hands of treasurer to date, \$42.23.

LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK.

Lectures for the week under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party and auxiliary organizations, whether by Socialist or non-Socialist speakers, and by Socialist speakers for other organizations, are listed below. Unless otherwise stated, lectures are called for 8 p. m., and admission is free.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the wrapper.
The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously received.
No bills or receipts sent to individual subscribers.

VOL. XIV.—NO. 5.

THE HANFORD-DAVENPORT DEBATE.

Ben Hanford Has Little Trouble in Crushing Capitalist Advocate.

Nothing But Moth-Eaten Old "Objections to Socialism" Brought Up on Mr. Davenport's Side—Hanford Eloquent Exposes Infamies of Capitalism.

On Thursday evening, April 21, an audience which filled Cooper Union heard a debate between Ben Hanford and Daniel Davenport, in which the Socialist orator annihilated the noted counsel of the American Anti-Boycott Association in a way that set the audience wild with delight.

The resolution debated was: Resolved that Socialism stands for the interests of the working class and the progress of the race. The large hall was filled, notwithstanding that an admission fee of ten cents was charged, that the arrangement of the debate was ignored by the daily press, and that it was arranged too late to be definitely announced in "The Worker."

Morris Hillquit acted as chairman and stated that the debate was additional evidence of the fact that the Socialist movement has grown so steadily and assumed such national importance that it can no longer be discounted even by those who are opposed to it.

Mr. Davenport used the same feeble arguments as in his debate with Sol. Friedman in Bridgeport and was even weaker than on that occasion; and there was the same striking contrast between the force and fire of the Socialist speaker, inspired by his great cause, and the lackadaisical indifference of the board representative of an outworn but still all-powerful order.

Mr. Davenport used some of the old dust-covered and moth-eaten arguments which he had previously resorted to in the Bridgeport debate, already reported in "The Worker" of April 10, and the repetition of these musty and long-discredited objections to Socialism would doubtless be as tiresome to readers of "The Worker" as they were to the Cooper Union audience. This report will therefore be confined to a synopsis of some of the most striking points in Hanford's eloquent exposition of the infamies of capitalism and the benefits of Socialism.

Capital a Weapon.
Hanford stated that capitalism can best be defined by a correct definition of capital. Capital is not merely means of producing wealth, but is modern means of production owned privately, owned as the private property of non-producers. Under this system of private ownership by non-producers, wealth is produced by the labor of non-owners. Capital is really a weapon of exploitation, a weapon of robbery with which the capitalists hold up the workers. This robbery may be legal, but a legal wrong is ten thousand times worse than any other wrong.

Capital is like an octopus; it exists only to suck the blood of its prey and wherever you cut off one of its tentacles two will grow. But the octopus has one vulnerable point—its eye. In order to overcome it you must cut out its eye. The eye of the octopus of capitalism is the government. The workers can cut out its eye and render it helpless by capturing the powers of government. The workers will use the powers of government to make social property of that which is now used as a weapon to rob them.

Mr. Rockefeller and God.
This system has carried with it religious morality and law. Bring Mr. Rockefeller into court—he is on your side, not mine, Mr. Davenport. Mr. Rockefeller believes in the Bible, but his Bible is his ledger—you have all read in the newspapers how he brought his youthful ledger to his Bible class to show the scholars how to lead moral and successful lives. Certainly Mr. Rockefeller believes in the Bible, but to him it is his ledger. Mr. Rockefeller believes in God, but he spells it with an L—L-O-L-G-O-D. Ask Mr. Rockefeller what is omniscience and he will tell you that it is someone who knows everything—about money; his idea of omnipotence, someone who finds money everywhere present; omnipotent, one who can make money out of everything.

With the right to organize, the printing press, and the ballot, we will do away with all capitalists and their agents, paid and unpaid. I do not mean that we will kill Mr. Rockefeller but we will take over to public use all the property of the Standard Oil Company and make it ours. Note that I did not say mine; it will be yours as much as mine and as much as any. We will take it from him for the same reason that we would take the bottle of chloroform, the blood and the knife from a burglar at midnight.

No Map of the Future.
In his reply Mr. Davenport did not attempt to dispute any of my statements regarding capitalism, but was very anxious to have a plan of the future Socialist state. We Socialists are not foolish enough to pretend to have a detailed and exact plan of the future society, but I can give you a plan in a sentence. Plant an "acorn" and you will get an oak—but you cannot expect to know how many branches it will have or just how many leaves there will be on each branch. We do know, however, that the future society will be based on co-operation and common ownership of the means of producing wealth, and that this will bring harmony, liberty, and fraternity. Of course, this will not be a sufficient outline for Mr. Davenport, but I hope it will not prevent him from joining our party, for he joined the church although they did not give him a map of heaven, nor tell him what wages he would be paid there, or

Who Will Pay?

Mr. Davenport made a mistake to raise the question of compensation to the present owners. If the question of compensation is raised when their confiscation of our product is stopped by making the means of production common property, then there will be a counter-claim. Your clients will be lucky indeed if they make restitution and escape retribution. Thousands of workmen are crippled and killed in order to continue this system, to provide luxuries for its beneficiaries and to pay agents to perpetuate it. Who will pay for this confiscated capital? Let those who raised the dead and made these cripples whole and then we'll pay. We do not want the personal property of the rich, we want the means of production. Reggie Vanderbilt is said to have a thousand pairs of trousers—we would not take a button from one of them but if he owns a mill where cloth is made we will take it and make it social property. You are fearful that we will rob some poor man of something that he hasn't got, but you support a system which robs us of our very lives. The capitalist who demands compensation for his has been taken from the workers and the only labor performed by its owners is like that of the thief, the pickpocket, and the midnight assassin.

My opponent raised religious objections to Socialism. The capitalists "steal the liver of Heaven to serve the Devil Inc." If there should be a religion under Socialism, a man would not join a certain church in order to sell groceries, a man would join a Bible class in order to be promoted in a Standard Oil clerkship. The love which Christ preached cannot be practiced under this system which makes men enemies.

In discussing incentive, our opponents speak as if all the great deeds of the past had been done for money. History can show many men who had money and did good but none who did good and made money. Milton received about \$74 for his great poem, "Paradise Lost." If money was the incentive why can't you get a greater poem from some one else by paying \$75. Poe was paid \$10 for the "Raven." Why not offer an \$11 incentive and get a better poem? Lincoln, our great statesman, died poor. He was a lawyer but he refused money cases and I am sure he would not have taken a bribe from the American Anti-Boycott Association. My opponent invokes the name of Jesus Christ. Did Christ make money? Who does make money? Capitalists and counterfeiter!

THE CAPITALIST PRESS.
It is true that as a rule responsible editors do not order "fakes" and do try to keep them out of their papers. Nevertheless, the "spirit of the office" in every newspaper is such as to encourage "faking" by reporters and correspondents. When the reporter learns that only "interesting news stories" are acceptable, he is apt to put in to make his news "interesting" whether the facts warrant it or not. When he learns that news stories so told as to harmonize with "the policy of the paper" yield laurels to the writer, the unvarnished truth is put to shame, he is apt to fall into the habit of writing up (or down) to "the policy of the paper." And in this tendency he is not discouraged by the fact that in good copy.

Again, it is true that only a few newspapers are run as adjuncts to stock-jobbing operations. But the more important fact is also true, that most newspapers can be influenced by subtle and secret though well known coercive methods to respond to the demands of stock-jobbing whenever occasion requires. How many of the Chicago papers, for instance, could escape the "business" influence of the Chicago banks, if any stock-jobbing scheme in which the Chicago papers are interested were at stake? Yet only one Chicago paper is actually run by a banker. Deliberate lying news reports for the purpose of misrepresentation is indeed not the practice of newspapers of standing. But it is the history of most newspapers of present standing—and every newspaper man of experience knows it—that they do promote policies and objects surreptitiously by means of fanciful descriptions, ingenious insinuations, and deliberate suppressions. There are very few newspapers in the United States that can be depended upon in emergencies to direct their course by journalistic considerations—not even by the low ideals of the business, could escape the higher but less profitable ones. It may be, of the editorial chair. When great interests are at stake, almost any newspaper in the country must yield to influences entirely alien to the primary obligations which every newspaper owes to its readers—The Public.

THINK FOR YOURSELVES.
You find willing slaves and hypocrites in every organization. They it is who make hell on earth a reality. Oh, you who wish to help bring peace on earth, dare to think for yourselves; then do your duty by word and deed; show the poor people that the way to real freedom lies in having a will of their own and making good use of it. When the truth is taught to the young, poverty and all hell conditions will be done away with, and heaven will be found right here. False teaching is what keeps us in hell here, and no one knows where such teaching will lead us.—James Russell Lowell.

The Worker.

NEW YORK, MAY 1, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

IS COLORADO IN AMERICA?

MARTIAL LAW DECLARED IN COLORADO!
HABEAS CORPUS SUSPENDED IN COLORADO!
FREE PRESS THROTTLED IN COLORADO!
BULL-PENS FOR UNION MEN IN COLORADO!
FREE SPEECH DENIED IN COLORADO!
SOLDIERS DEFY THE COURTS IN COLORADO!
WHOLESALE FORESTS WITHOUT WARRANT IN COLORADO!
UNION MEN EXILED FROM HOMES AND FAMILIES IN COLORADO!
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS QUESTIONED IN COLORADO!
CORPORATIONS CORRUPT AND CONTROL ADMINISTRATION IN COLORADO!
RIGHT OF FAIR, IMPARTIAL AND SPEEDY TRIAL ABOLISHED IN COLORADO!
CITIZENS' ALLIANCE RESORTS TO MOB LAW AND VIOLENCE IN COLORADO!
MILITIA HIRED TO CORPORATIONS TO BREAK THE STRIKE IN COLORADO!

TO NEW YORK WORKINGMEN.

Fellow workmen of New York, May Day is at hand. Do you know what that means? Do you know what May Day stands for?

This is the time set apart by the thinking, the struggling, the intelligently discontented workers of the world to express their discontent, their aspirations, their demands, their feeling of unity with their fellow workers of every land, their defiance to oppressors and oppression of every sort.

We have need of that spirit here in New York. Here where organized capital rules with despotic awe, here where insolent wealth flaunts itself in the face of the poverty of the toilers upon which it lives, here where we have the richest mansions and the most miserable tenements in the world, here where we have million-

aires and paupers, here where the exploiters are even now planning to reduce wages and enrich themselves still more by forcing the workers into still worse poverty—here and NOW we need to express that spirit.

New York's May Day demonstration will be held at the Grand Central Palace on Sunday afternoon and evening, May 1.

Workmen, turn out. Gather in force. Show your loyalty to your class, your enthusiasm for the great cause of Labor, by an impressive demonstration against capitalism and all its abuses.

Come in your organizations. Carry your flags. Bring your wives and children along—for the emancipation of Labor means even more to them than to you. Come in the spirit of comrades and fighters for freedom and rally for another year's advance.

FOR THE DAILY.

Interest in the Project Not Confined to New York—Haverhill, Mass., a Socialist Daily Would Greatly Help Party in New England.

Perhaps there are many among those who will see "The Worker" for the first time this week who do not know that a serious movement is on foot to establish a Socialist daily in the English language in New York City. The undertaking is a difficult one, but the need for such a paper is very pressing. The good work which our German and Jewish dailies in this city—the "Volkszeitung" and the "Forward"—have done in their fields indicates what a great addition to the equipment of our party will be the establishment of the "Call." About \$15,000 has already been collected for this purpose and a strenuous effort is being made to raise the rest of the \$50,000, which is held to be necessary for a safe start, in time that the paper may appear on Sept. 1 of this year.

All contributions for this fund will be welcomed by Financial Secretary Julius Gerber, whose address is 64 E. Fourth street, New York, and will be acknowledged in "The Worker." Any Socialist who has a dollar—or a five or a ten, for that matter—clamoring to be spent, is invited to put it to good use for the cause by contributing to this fund.

The interest that is taken in the plan outside of New York is shown by the following statement adopted by Local Haverhill, Mass.:

"The Haverhill local has decided that the time has arrived to give its undivided support towards the establishment of a daily Socialist paper in New York City.

"This action has been taken because we realize that a daily paper occupies a place in the ranks peculiarly its own—a place for which there is no substitute.

"We believe that New York City offers the best field for the enterprise at this time, and that it is a daily paper in started and conducted successfully there it will aid materially in starting similar papers elsewhere.

"Wherever New York dailies go, on account of their immense circulation, covering a wide range of territory, our paper will go, abetting the light of truth upon the questions and affairs of the day while they are yet fresh in the public mind. This means much, especially to New England and also in view of the coming presidential campaign.

"It appears that enough progress has already been made towards such a paper in New York to merit and demand the support of every local in the entire country, and our hope is that they may realize the great need of concentrating their entire energies upon this project.

"We therefore believe in doing all in our power to make this movement a success and have adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas, the situation confronting the Socialist movement demands a daily Socialist paper; and

"Whereas, New York offers the best field for such a venture at this time, having already succeeded in raising nearly enough money to start such a paper; and

"Believing that with the proper co-operation of the Socialist locals throughout the country the project will be carried to a successful issue.

"The Haverhill local pledges its undivided local support to the project of starting and maintaining the New York daily Socialist paper.

"The Haverhill comrades have this week held an entertainment for the purpose of raising money to contribute for the daily.

MAKE IT A GREAT SUCCESS.

The Industrial Exposition for the benefit of "The Worker" and the "Volkszeitung" is now open in the Grand Central Palace, at Forty-third street and Lexington avenue.

Every workman who appreciates the necessity of maintaining and strengthening our press, the organs of the Social Democratic Party and the trade-union movement, in order that they may tell the truths that other papers, for business reasons, suppress or distort, and to educate the workers and inspire them for the struggle for economic freedom, will do all in his power to make this enterprise a social and financial success.

Comrades and sympathizers, do not only come yourselves. Bring your wives and children. Invite your friends to accompany you. Make the Grand Central Palace during the coming week the rendezvous of the thinking men and women, the self-reliant, the lovers of liberty among the working class of New York.

Comrades, these are your papers. It is your gain if they do well, your loss if they suffer. This exposition for their betterment is your affair. It is for you to say how great its success shall be.

THE DIRTY WORK.

There would be no one to do the dirty and the menial work, says an objector to Socialism. Under the Co-operative Commonwealth where economic equality prevails, there would be no menial work. Labor becomes menial only under conditions where wealth and poverty are found side by side, where one individual has power over another through economic necessity for the means to support life.

As to the dirty work, so called, we observe that sanitary appliances and machinery are in a large measure solving that problem.

However, we admit that there will be certain forms of work, such as trenches to be excavated and roads to be built, which today we leave to the socially inferior. Yet with the advent of the Co-operative Commonwealth, objection to this kind of labor would largely disappear. With human effort systematized and our prodigious waste eliminated so that we could supply abundantly our economic wants in two to four hours daily application, these arduous forms of labor would be reduced to a means for healthy exercise. Such labor to the extent required would not be drudgery for any healthy person.

It is the excess of work, the long hours of steady, unremitting toil to which most of mankind are obliged to submit, which makes labor drudgery.

Yet it must be conceded that there may be some forms of labor less desirable than others. If there are not a sufficient number of individuals whose tastes naturally lead them to choose the forms of labor alluded to, such toll can be made attractive by sufficient reduction of the hours of application to these duties, until the equilibrium is found.

Thus it is, we claim, that with the menial nature of certain forms of labor eliminated through the economic equality of a people and drudgery abolished by a great reduction in the hours assigned to arduous forms of manual labor, our objections are fully answered.—Charles C. Hitchcock.

HOMES OF THE FREE.

Of all the people in Greater New York, less than 5 per cent. own (free of mortgage) the homes where they live—and those who do are mostly of the sort of people who do not build houses or do any other useful work. In Philadelphia, barely more than one-fourth of the people own their homes free. In San Francisco, the figure is 15 per cent.; in Boston, it is only 8 per cent.; in Chicago, 11 per cent.; in Milwaukee, 10 per cent.; in St. Louis, 18 per cent.; in Denver, 16 per cent.; in Buffalo, 13 per cent.; in Pittsburgh, 15 per cent.; in Cleveland, 10 per cent.; and so on, all over the land. Of all the sixteen million families in the United States, city and country together, less than one-third own their homes free, about one-seventh own them subject to mortgage, and a clear majority are tenants. And what is worse, the population of mortgaged homes and of tenement houses is increasing.

WORK AS YOU STRIKE.

his power to make this enterprise a social and financial success.

Comrades and sympathizers, do not only come yourselves. Bring your wives and children. Invite your friends to accompany you. Make the Grand Central Palace during the coming week the rendezvous of the thinking men and women, the self-reliant, the lovers of liberty among the working class of New York.

Comrades, these are your papers. It is your gain if they do well, your loss if they suffer. This exposition for their betterment is your affair. It is for you to say how great its success shall be.

CORRUPTION AND SOCIALISM.

Corruption is also witnessed to-day in certain of our affairs which are already partially socialized. But what is the cause and what is the cure for this evil? First, as to the cause. The corruption we witness is surely not owing to the principle of co-operation, but rather to the cancer of capitalism which still encompasses our co-operative form of effort.

This should be obvious to all, but we will illustrate by referring to our postal service. Here in this partially socialized enterprise we note certain features calling for severe criticism.

We pay excessive rates to the railroads for transportation service. We pay to these same corporations scandalously exorbitant charges for rental of the postal cars—a larger yearly rental, it is said, than the cars cost when new. Certain frauds connected with the purchase of postal supplies, etc., are also acknowledged. In each case either individual or corporate greed for gain or profit is responsible for these evils.

Now what is the remedy? We find it in two words: More Socialism. Extend our co-operative principle and take over to ownership of the people, operation by the people and for the people, the railroads, the car shops and the supply factories. This done, legislators and others would have no personal interest in railroad dividends or profits, and corruption in this quarter would cease.

Yes, our critics say, but there would still be many inducements to corruption left. We acknowledge that corruption will doubtless continue to manifest itself until the grasp of the octopus of capitalism is entirely removed. The remedy still is more Socialism, and thus until all industry is socialized. For co-operation we cannot have the true Co-operative Commonwealth until practically all industry is socialized.—Charles C. Hitchcock.

OUR PARTY NAME.

What is called the Socialist Party in most states of the Union is called the Social Democratic Party in New York and Wisconsin—just as it is in Germany. The difference is one of name only. The Social Democratic Party, which cast 33,000 votes in New York last fall, the Social Democratic Party which elected nine Aldermen in Milwaukee this spring, is identical with the Socialist Party which cast 25,000 votes in Massachusetts last fall and which raised its vote in Chicago from 11,000 to 15,000 this spring. This Socialist or Social Democratic Party cast a vote of 58,000 in its first national campaign of 1900 and raised this to a quarter of a million in the whole country in the state elections of 1902, and has made still further progress in many localities since that time. Its emblem in New York and Ohio, where official emblems are used on the ballot, is the Arm and Torch. It will have a straight ticket, presidential, congressional, state and local, this year as always, and it asks for the votes only of those who honestly wish to help in bringing in Socialism.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

THE WORLD-WIDE CLASS WAR.

Everywhere Capitalism Appeals to Brute Force to Maintain Its Rule.

How Patriotism is Perverted and the Flag Made a Mask for Class Oppression—Social Peace Impossible Till Socialism Comes.

The press dispatches of the last week have brought us word of the outbreak of a bitter struggle between Capital and Labor in Hungary and of the outrages committed by the ruling class in the attempt to crush the workers' resistance. State Capitalism prevails there in the railway world. The capitalist government owns and runs the railways for the benefit of the capitalist class. On those state railways, just as on the privately owned railways of the United States, the workers are poorly paid, over-taxed, and subjected to constant danger of life and limb, in order that big profits may be realized. They have at last gone on strike against the existing conditions. As soon as the strike was declared the government took measures to break it and suppress the expression of discontent. The latest news is that thirty-four workmen have been killed by the military (only one was killed on the other side—the dead are always on Labor's side in the class war), that a general strike in sympathy may be declared, and that the government proposes to put the whole of Hungary under martial law and establish the rule of "blood and iron."

All this is horrible—in Hungary. But it is only another manifestation of the same universal class war that is being waged here in the United States and all over the civilized world—waged brutally, ruthlessly, relentlessly, murderously, by the capitalist class and, as yet, with too little vigor and self-assertion on the workers' side.

We remember Homestead. We remember Pullman. We remember Buffalo. We remember Littleton. We remember the Cœur d'Alene. The dead are ours. It is workmen's blood that has stained the earth at all these places and many more, shed in the name of "law and order," shed under the shadow of the Stars and Stripes.

During this same week the press dispatches have brought us news of conditions in the coal-mining camps of Pennsylvania. It is said that President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers—"safe" and conservative John Mitchell, even—has found it necessary to advise the striking miners there to provide themselves with arms for self-defense against the private army of "thugs" whom the mine-owners have imported. We do not know whether to believe or not. And it is hard to imagine Mr. Mitchell taking so bold a step under any provocation.

But so much is certain, that the capitalists have surrounded their mine with a stockade—THEIR mine, in which they never worked. THEIR mine, which the present strikers and other miners before them developed—have put in a galling guard, have hired a band of armed guards, and are conducting a campaign in all respects like some robber barons of the Middle Ages, with their "right of private war" in all respects, that is, except that the medieval robber barons at least were brave, while the modern profit barons keep at a safe distance and hire others to do their fighting for them.

This is peace and "law and order" as it exists in America to-day.

Do we remember Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill? Are we ashamed of the rebels who fought and the rebels who fell there, not in the name of "law and order"? If we remember and are proud of them, how shall we express our shame at the deeds that have been committed behind that same hypocritical mask, for the same motive of greed and arrogance, under the flag that the men of '76 first raised?

A state of war has existed for months in Colorado. Martial law prevails. The writ of habeas corpus is suspended. Arrests are made and prisoners held without trial, or even accusation, at the arbitrary will of a military officer. Public meetings are forbidden. Houses are searched without warrant. The press is put under a militia colonel's censorship. Laws enacted by the elected legislators and orders issued by the regularly constituted courts of justice, are contemptuously brushed aside. "Military necessity," in Rough Rider Bell's phrase, is the one supreme authority.

And against whom are these violent measures taken? Against foreign invaders? No. Against lawless brigands? No. Against rebels, even? No. Against THE MEN WHOSE LABOR HAS MADE THE STATE OF COLORADO WHAT IT IS; against the striking miners—miners striking for the enactment of an eight-hour law, which had been demanded by a majority of 40,000 of the voters of the state.

And note how patriotism has been used as a subterfuge, how the flag has been made a mask for the malign purposes of the mine owners.

The strikers in the Cripple Creek and Telluride districts belong to the Western Federation of Miners. In order to disorganize them, in order to interfere with the work of the union in guiding and directing the strike, it was thought necessary to arrest or keep in confinement the two chief officers of the Federation. It was done. But how was it done? On what charge were they put under arrest?

The authorities and the capitalists from whom they take orders did not dare to accuse Moyer and Haywood of committing or inciting or conniving at violence. They knew that they could not prove such a charge. It will do very well to arrest a common striker arbitrarily and hold him without accusation, or call it "vagrancy" or "disorderly conduct." But the intended victims being the heads of a great organization, it was thought necessary to get some better pretext for their arrest. So they were arrested for DISSEMINATING THE FLAG—on the ground that they had published a poster on which was printed a picture of the American flag with inscriptions telling what the capitalists and their political and military agents had been doing.

We reproduce in facsimile the pictures of the flag with the inscriptions by which it was "desecrated." Underneath the flag on this poster were printed the following remarks, signed by Charles Moyer, President of the W. F. of M., and Win. D. Haywood, Secretary-Treasurer:

"These are absolute facts and are not the only outrages that have been perpetrated in Colorado in the name of law and order. It has been charged and never successfully denied that the corporations contributed \$15,000 towards the election of the present Republican administration, but Governor Peabody has been unable to 'deliver the goods.'"

"The unions have not been nor can they be abolished, and before the strikes in Colorado are settled, we will have demonstrated the right to organize for mutual benefit. The eighth day as decreed by over forty thousand majority of the voters will be established."

"If you desire to assist the striking miners, mill and smeltermen of the Western Federation of Miners of Colorado in this battle for industrial and political freedom, send donations to Win. D. Haywood, secretary-treasurer, 625 Looking Exchange, Denver, Colo."

Look at that flag. Read the thirteen sentences printed upon it. Read them well. Put yourself in the place of the victims. YOU MAY FIND YOURSELF THERE, IN FACT, if you don't think and act MOON.

The truth of those thirteen sentences against the political and military authorities and their capitalist backers is not denied. But in these days IT IS DISSEMINATION OF THE FLAG TO USE IT FOR THE PURPOSES OF TRUTH.

What do you think of that flag, fellow workmen?

Who do you think has desecrated it—Moyer and Haywood? Or Bell and Peabody? Ed Roosevelt and Rockefeller?

What do you think of the sort of peace and law and order that allows of such events as these?

What do you think of the sort of patriotism that sanctions what has been done in Colorado?

Do you like it? Do you want more of it? If so, just wait. Just wait quiet. If you will get it. Just wait nothing; salute the flag, take off your hat to every rich man you meet; don't speak your mind; don't have a mind; don't think; let the eminent citizens do your thinking for you; just work and work and work and vote your old party ticket. Do this and you will get all you want of "law and order" and peace and patriotism—bayonet peace, and order, capitalist peace, the sort of patriotism that speaks always for the thing. TIT-K. And if you are going to think, think NOW and think RIGHT.

And having thought, be a man. Say what you think and VOTE WHAT YOU THINK, regardless of old affiliations.

We Socialists want a change. We want a complete and radical change. We wish it to come not in order that it may come by the peaceful method of the ballot. We want YOU to help.

THE UNAFFILIATED SOCIALISTS.

This is the age of organization. If you wish to make your work effective, you should not remain isolated, but get to work with others who have the same views and purposes as yourself and work in harmony and co-operation. It is pleasant, as well as more effective. If you are a Socialist and not yet a party member, you should lose no time in joining. If there is no local in your town, become a member-at-large and get the aid of your state organization in forming a local. If you don't know whom to address in your state for information, write to William Miller, National Secretary, Room 300, 230 Dearborn street, Chicago, and he will promptly refer you to the right person.

THE DIRTY WORK.

"Who will do the dirty work under Socialism?" Who does it now? Those who are forced to it by their poverty. Do you think it is fair that the most repulsive work should be the worst paid? Do you not think a democracy of workers could devise a juster plan than that which the autocracy now imposes on us?

WON'T FEAR CONFISCATION.

In 1880 the farmers of the United States owned over 74 per cent. of the land they worked. In 1890 they owned less than 72 per cent. of it. In 1900 they owned less than 65 per cent. Even if this keeps on a little longer, the farmers won't be so easily scared away from Socialism by the cry of "confiscation."

—Do it today. What? Get a subscriber for "The Worker."

WHAT UNIONISM CANNOT DO.

Whatever Its Usefulness as a Means of Ameliorating the Workers' Wrongs, the Union Can Never, Without Socialist Action, Put an End to Exploitation.

When the Socialist Party declares its fraternal sympathy with the trade unions in their struggles, it means what it says. It recognizes that the trade-union on the economic field, like the Socialist movement on the political field, is born of the natural and irrepressible antagonism between the interests of the owning class and those of the producing class. And it recognizes, too, that the trade unions have a useful work to do for the working class, not only for the immediate good that they can do, either in temporarily improving the conditions of labor for special trades or in special places or, what forms a larger part of their work, in resisting the aggressive attacks of the capitalist class upon the established standards of labor conditions, but, above all for the service it does as the fighting organization of the working class, organized on a basis of class interest, teaching class consciousness even when it does not know it, fighting and winning or fighting and losing but always fighting and fighting again, and training the working class in organization and class feeling.

As Socialists, understanding the philosophy of the class struggle, we understand this, and it is no more from words when we express our sympathy with the unions. Nevertheless, we know and it is necessary that we should on all possible occasions point out that the trade unions alone cannot go to the root of the labor question, that there are strict limits to their possibilities, that there is much that their members naturally and rightly aspire to but which they cannot do.

The methods of trade unionism can never put an end to the exploitation of labor and the division of society into ruling and subject classes. They can only seek, with more or less success, according to circumstances and according to their own wisdom and boldness, to get for the workers a larger share of the wealth which they produce.

Let us suppose a perfect trade union—a thing which does not and probably never will exist. Let us suppose, that, is a union which includes absolutely every worker in the trade. Let us suppose that this and other trades are so thoroughly organized that, when this union goes on strike, it would be impossible for the capitalists, with all their equipment of subsidized press, employment agencies, courts, vagrancy laws, militia, and so forth, to get strike-breakers. No one supposes that any union will ever be so strong as this, but let us concede that it might be.

Now suppose this union demands for the workers of the trade it covers a wage equal to the value of the product of their labor. What would happen?

Here the question of the efficiency of trade unionism by itself to secure full economic justice is brought to a clear test. What would happen?

What would happen is this. A simple

done, the sooner will our press be put in a position and condition to perform well the functions that it now performs so imperfectly.

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ple trial of endurance would ensue, and the capitalists would win.

If the workers were to receive the full value of the product of their labor, there would be nothing left for the capitalists' profit. The capitalists own the factories, the mines, the railways, or whatever other means of production might be concerned in this supposed case. They, as owners, have the legal right—and pure-and-simple unionism concedes them this right—to decide whether these factories or other means of production shall be used or not and, if used, upon what terms.

If the union should say to the capitalists, "You must pay to your workers the full value of their product," the capitalists, who in that case would get no profits whatever out of the industry, would reply by simply shutting down the works.

It would come, we say, to a plain trial of endurance. And it would be a question of the capitalists' dollars against the workers' pennies. The capitalist has wealth stored up from the past labor of the workers. The workers have no such accumulation. The capitalist is not going to starve, he is not going to suffer personally. He can afford to close his works for weeks, for months, for years even, and live on his past accumulations, than to concede the workers' right to get the full value of their product, leaving him no profit.

How long could the average worker—even the skilled and well organized and well paid mechanic—live without wages—not an individual, but a whole class in a life-and-death struggle in which they would have to depend upon themselves? Could they endure for years? Certainly not. For months? Hardly. For a few weeks, perhaps. Then the workers' savings would be exhausted, and they would have to decide, either to make some compromise, to go back to work and allow the capitalists some profit out of their labor, or else to go out of the sphere of pure-and-simple unionism, to take possession of the means of production—the factory, mine, railway, or whatever it might be—and operate it for themselves, regardless of the former owners' will, and pay themselves their full product.

But, as we say, to follow this latter course would be to go outside the sphere of trade-union action. It would be to adopt and put into practice the Socialist program. And only by the adoption of this program—the ownership of the means of production by the producers—the workers ever be freed from exploitation.

Therefore it is that we call on our fellow workers of every trade, as of every race and nation, to look these facts squarely in the face, and see the one way to their emancipation, and to unite and work to bring it about, not through some blind and violent catastrophe that might at last be forced upon us by necessity, but by orderly and intelligent political action.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

What It Is, What It Ought to Be, What It Must Be, and How the Reader Can Help.

The usefulness of the party press to the Socialist movement is perhaps fully realized by most of its adherents; but it is often taken too much as a matter of course and both its difficulties and the possibilities for its improvement underestimated.

It is not an easy thing, either on the business side or on the editorial side, to publish a really good Socialist paper. Our capital is limited, the material equipment of our papers often ridiculously inadequate to what they must attempt to do. We are prevented, by many matters by our obligations to the movement, in others by the vigilance of the capitalist class, from resorting to many methods which other papers use to "make both ends meet."

For fifty-cent papers we are free in their circulation receipts above the narrow margin between the price of the paper and the "fixed charges" of its publication that for any of our papers a very large circulation is necessary to make this margin cover "operating expenses," even on the most modest scale. This is true of the labor press also and of the religious press and of every weekly. But all of these have received of which Socialist papers cannot avail themselves. They take advertisements of any sort; a Socialist paper is often discriminated against by advertisers on account of its politics; it cannot take advertisements of such bodies, though these are often the best paid; and it cannot take out-party campaign advertising, which is the mainstay of a few non-Socialist labor papers. It follows that our party papers, if they are not to be run always at a deficit covered by donations and the proceeds of balls and picnics, must be given a very much larger circulation than most of them now have.

With few exceptions, our papers are owned—as is The Worker—by co-operative publishing associations composed exclusively of party members, and with provision in their charters forbidding the distribution of profits in the unheard-of event of there being any profits to distribute—so that all income must be devoted to the publication of the paper or other propaganda.

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LABOR POLITICS AND SOCIALIST POLITICS.

Why the Working Class Must Have a Party of Its Own—Why this Party Must Be Radical and Independent—In Other Words, Why Workingmen Should Join and Support the Socialist Party.

Until within the last few years, it was the almost unanimous opinion of trade unionists that there must be "no politics in the union." They argued that workingmen differ in political and that to introduce political questions into the union would break up the union. They had not yet learned that the labor question is essentially a political question—that, as the manufacturing capitalists' interests prompted them to be high-tariff Republicans and the agricultural capitalists' interests prompted them to be free-trade Democrats, so the wage workers' interests, being distinct from all others, required a distinct course of political action. They have not all yet learned that yet. But they are learning.

Two observations have helped to teach them.

Labor Leaders in Politics.

First, they have begun to observe that "no politics in the union" meant "the union leaders in politics"—and the most ignorant, weak, or dishonest leaders, at that. The capitalist politicians saw the fact of Labor's interest in politics before the workers saw it. They tried to buy Labor in advance by influencing or corrupting labor leaders. As soon as a man became prominent in the labor movement, the politicians cultivated his acquaintance, put favors in his way, offered him nominations or appointments. If he was weak or ignorant he fell into the snare. If he was dishonest, he sold himself to the politicians. He became their tool. The politician is the tool of the capitalist. The labor leader thus became THE TOOL OF THE TOOL OF THE VERY MEN HIS UNION WAS ORGANIZED TO FIGHT. In politics the friend of the capitalist, how could he remain true to his own class in the shop or the union hall?

The labor leader was valuable to the capitalist politician just because there was "no politics in the union." HE KNEW THE UNION DID NOT DISCUSS AND AGREE UPON POLITICAL QUESTIONS affecting Labor's interests, and therefore had no control over the political action of its leaders.

Cannot Escape from the Political Power.

Second, the workingmen have begun to observe that, though they may ignore politics, the political power does not ignore them. It gives them very lively attention. Mayors send policemen to club strikers; governors and presidents send soldiers to shoot them or send them to jail and declare unconstitutional all laws really favorable to Labor that legislators may enforce. The capitalists having begun to think about using political power against Labor, the workingmen have begun to think about using political power against Capital. And what place so proper for the discussion of political questions affecting Labor as the union, where workingmen meet in a class organization for attack and defense?

So it has become evident that the labor movement cannot be kept apart from politics. The workingmen must choose—either to have politics in the union for Labor's benefit or to have the irresponsible union leader in politics for the benefit of Capital.

We hear now another plea—no, wait, or, if you will, no politics in the union, or, if you will, no politics in the union. They think it will always play the part of the dog who barks at a bone and licks the hand that beats him. So they play fast and loose with the workers, giving with one hand and taking back with the other, confident that they are always to sit at the feast that Labor has prepared and that Labor will always be grateful for the crumbs.

The policy of the labor movement has given them cause for this belief. Yet they are mistaken. Change is coming. Masses of men learn slowly; but they do learn. Even the politics of begging is an advance over the rule of "no politics in the union," for it at least makes it possible for the workers in their organizations, to discuss the labor question as a political question; and the result of that is that a new policy is rapidly growing up, which is destined to put an end to petitioning and lobbying and medical and partisan labor politics of Socialism.

The fault with the prevailing labor politics is that it is afraid to be radical and afraid to be partisan. It does not go to the root of the matter, but deals only with results. It does not concentrate the political power of the working-class, but dissipates it in bargaining with its enemies over every petty detail.

We Socialists say to our fellow workers: If we are to use our political power to effect OVERTHROW OF THE BOURGEOISIE, OUR POLICY MUST BE BOTH RADICAL AND PARTISAN. WE MUST HAVE a guiding purpose, which can be no less than the complete emancipation of our class; we must unite our strength upon that purpose, never considering any other question as an issue. So long as we fail to do this, our class will not be a power in politics; so soon as we do this, our class, being the majority, and the socially necessary class, will become the ruling power, as it ought to be.

Why We Must Be Radical.

The interests of capitalists and workers are opposed on every question. Is it a question of wages? The capitalist's interest is to pay low wages; the interest of the workers is to get high wages. A question of hours? The capitalist's interest is to lengthen the working day; the interest of the workers is to shorten it. Questions of work hours and guarding of dangerous machinery? The capitalist's interest is to keep down expenses; the interest of the workers is to protect their own health and lives. The unemployed? The capitalist's interest is to have a part of the productive over-worked and the rest begging for charity; the workers' interest is to distribute work and earnings among all.

How It Works.

Labor bills are introduced with a great flourish; then they are referred to a committee—and most of them are never seen again. Sometimes a bill is passed by one house, WITH THE PRIVATE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE OTHER HOUSE WILL LET IT DIE.

Once in a while, a bill is introduced upon its merits and is passed. Then what follows? The advocates of the bill? What follows? The bill is passed by one house, WITH THE PRIVATE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE OTHER HOUSE WILL LET IT DIE.

But this is not the end. In most

cases it is found that the bill has not been drawn that it cannot be enforced or that it means the very opposite of what was wished. Of the few that are correctly drawn, the most important are declared unconstitutional. Any labor law that escapes this fate generally remains a dead letter, because the executive officials are capitalist politicians and cannot be expected to enforce laws against their masters.

Do you think the picture too strongly drawn? Study the annual reports of the A. F. of L. See how many bills have been recommended by the convention; what proportion have been introduced in Congress; what proportion of those introduced have passed—and how long it took; what proportion of those passed were found to be defectively drawn or unconstitutional or otherwise invalid; finally, how many of those supposed to be valid are enforced. Apply the same test to the history of labor lobbying at any state capital. You will find we have stated the facts moderately.

The Federation ought to be a power in national politics. It is big enough and well enough organized. But it is not a power. While it has not secured the passage of any important legislation, it has secured the defeat of sound labor laws. What a wonderful achievement!

The courts have played their part in the game. Let us only remind the reader of the New York Prevailing Rate of Wages Law, declared unconstitutional; the Pennsylvania law forbidding employers to interfere with their employees' political rights, declared unconstitutional; the Illinois law in Illinois, declared unconstitutional; the Ohio Eight-Hour Law, declared unconstitutional; the Indiana law for payment of wages in cash, declared unconstitutional; the Maryland Anti-Sweatshop Law, declared unconstitutional; the Indiana Minimum Wage and Weekly Wage-Payment Law, declared unconstitutional; and so on, through a long list. These laws were the result of years of lobbying. The decisions wiping them out of the statute books are so many monuments to the folly of the non-partisan begging policy.

This is what your freedom amounts to so long as you continue to be afraid of independent, radical, partisan labor politics. This is the fruit of what we call "labor politics."

Labor has put its neck under the yoke of the capitalist parties, only asking them please not to strangle it too hard. The capitalists have seized their advantage and laughed at the prayer.

Worse Than Useless.

The begging policy is not merely useless. It is worse. Through it the money and time and energy of the labor organizations are worse than wasted; for, while virtually no good is accomplished, THE MOVEMENT IS MADE RIDICULOUS.

The beggar may inspire pity. He never inspires respect. The labor movement has put itself in the position of a beggar for favors. No wonder the politicians and their masters, the capitalists, look on it with a mingled feeling of pity, hatred, and contempt. They do not believe it possible for the working-class majority to demand and conquer its rights. They think it will always play the part of the dog who barks at a bone and licks the hand that beats him. So they play fast and loose with the workers, giving with one hand and taking back with the other, confident that they are always to sit at the feast that Labor has prepared and that Labor will always be grateful for the crumbs.

The policy of the labor movement has given them cause for this belief. Yet they are mistaken. Change is coming. Masses of men learn slowly; but they do learn. Even the politics of begging is an advance over the rule of "no politics in the union," for it at least makes it possible for the workers in their organizations, to discuss the labor question as a political question; and the result of that is that a new policy is rapidly growing up, which is destined to put an end to petitioning and lobbying and medical and partisan labor politics of Socialism.

The fault with the prevailing labor politics is that it is afraid to be radical and afraid to be partisan. It does not go to the root of the matter, but deals only with results. It does not concentrate the political power of the working-class, but dissipates it in bargaining with its enemies over every petty detail.

We Socialists say to our fellow workers: If we are to use our political power to effect OVERTHROW OF THE BOURGEOISIE, OUR POLICY MUST BE BOTH RADICAL AND PARTISAN. WE MUST HAVE a guiding purpose, which can be no less than the complete emancipation of our class; we must unite our strength upon that purpose, never considering any other question as an issue. So long as we fail to do this, our class will not be a power in politics; so soon as we do this, our class, being the majority, and the socially necessary class, will become the ruling power, as it ought to be.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE TRUST.

What It Is, Its Good and Its Evil, Why It Cannot Be "Curbed" or "Smashed," and What Socialists Propose to Do With It.

In the national campaign twelve years ago the tariff was the ostensible issue between the two old parties. Eight years ago it had dropped to a secondary place and Free Collage was the issue. Four years ago that was relegated to the rear and imperialism was brought to the front. All three have now gone to the scrap-heap and, unless in the next two months, the old-party managers change their minds, the nominal issue of 1904 will be the question of Trusts.

There was more truth than wit in Joseph Billings' famous saying, "Party platforms are like the platforms of railways cars—to get in by, not to ride on." Yet the politicians, in making up their issues for each campaign, have to try to come as near to some real issue in the people's minds as they can safely come without touching it—just as the hunters' decoy ducks are made as nearly like live ducks as they can be without flying away and warning the intended victims. So this question of the Trusts comes pretty near being a real question—but the politicians of both old parties will take precious good care that it only comes pretty near, not too near for their safety and the safety of their capitalist patrons.

The Trust is a real thing—and a big thing—and, as it exists to-day, a terrible thing. Why, then, do we say that the Trust Question as it will be taken up by the Republican and Democratic parties, is a fake question, no question at all for the working class?

First, because it is NOT TAKEN UP IN GOOD FAITH. When we see trust magnates in both the old parties, when we see prominent Republican politicians sitting together with prominent Democratic politicians on the boards of directors of the great trusts and their financial agencies, and then when we hear both those parties declaiming about the interests of the "dear people" and promising to protect them from the wicked trusts, we may know that neither of those parties is acting in good faith. It is an old trick for the man that has the money in his pocket to raise the cry of "Woe to the poor" in order to divert attention from himself.

Second, because this question CANNOT BE TAKEN UP IN GOOD FAITH CONSISTENTLY WITH THE AVOWED PRINCIPLES OF THE TWO OLD PARTIES. Both those parties stand for the right of private property in the means of production—the things that people use in the production of wealth. Both of those parties stand for the right of the owner to make an income—profit, interest, or rent—out of the worker through the mere fact of owning the things the worker needs to use. No party which recognizes this as right can consistently or honestly take up any policy that will harm what we call the trusts or protect the mass of the people from their aggressions. Let us make this clear.

What Is the Trust?

What is a trust? In the common use of that term, it means any business concern that controls a large part of an industry and is able, by its own size and other advantages, to dominate the rest and more or less to control competition. Whether it is an ordinary joint-stock corporation like the Standard Oil Company, or a corporation holding the stock of several other corporations, like the United States Steel Corporation, or a group of legally separate concerns, voluntarily acting together or a mere unincorporated partnership like some of the great financial houses, does not matter. If a single individual owned the property now owned by the Standard Oil or the Steel Trust, the effect would still be the same. Nor does it matter whether the trust arose by the merging of several formerly competitive concerns or by one concern buying the stock of the others or getting a mortgage on their plants or by one concern buying the others and crowding them out of the field; nor whether it was by the aid of tariff laws or of grants of public lands or of public contracts or of railway rebates that the one got the advantage over its competitors, or whether it was simply by the original possession of larger capital, enabling it to use better machinery and to buy materials and sell products at more favorable prices, then ever increasing the preponderance of its capital. By whichever one or more of these methods the trust arose, there it is and the question is, What to do with it.

Competition in a Tank.

The pike is a voracious fish. It is a competitive fish, a perfect type of the business man. "Each for himself and the Devil take the hindmost," is the pike's motto. If you put a lot of pike, big and middle-sized and little, into a tank together, you have a picture of capitalist society in its earlier stage. In the time when competition still prevailed, your pike would compete freely, each getting all he can by the "legitimate business methods" of pike society. The big and middle-sized pike will eat the little ones. "The weaklings must go," as Mr. Roosevelt so strenuously maintains. The big pike will eat the middle-sized ones. "It is a law of nature and a law of God," as young Mr. Rockefeller with his wings so unctuously utters. Finally, if we let the process of free competition go on long enough, the biggest pike will get those not quite so big. "Vae victis." Our one big, prosperous, and eminently respectable pike remaining, if he were sufficiently human, would wonder thanks to Divine Providence for having so abundantly blessed him and would endow a free fish-battery in a corner of the tank.

This imagined experiment exactly illustrates how, in the capitalist system, FREE COMPETITION NORMALLY AND INEVITABLY TENDS TO DESTROY ITSELF AND PRODUCE MONOPOLY. The trusts have not arisen out of a conspiracy of promoters. They have not arisen out of the collusion of legislators or the favor of corrupt officials.

They have grown just as naturally as roses bloom on the rosebush and as nettles grow from nettleseed.

The tariff has helped the trusts to grow. Yes. The tariff has been a wet-nurse to the trusts, but not their father or their mother. The trusts have grown in free-trade England as well as in protected America. Removing all tariffs now would not kill the trusts nor seriously hurt nor hamper them. The trusts are international now. The Rockefeller has profitable investments in Europe and Asia. The Rothschilds are partners with our own millionaires in financing American trade. They are not afraid of free trade.

"Illegitimate" Methods.

"Illegitimate" methods—railway discrimination, bribery of public officials, special legislation, even more dangerous methods—have helped in the growth of the trusts. But these methods are only accessory, only minor factors in their growth. Could all of these things have been prevented—and at any rate, it is like "crying over spilt milk" to talk of them now—but could they have been prevented and free and fair competition assured, still some competitors would have been able to make better profits than others and so to increase their plant and reduce their cost of production and extend their trade and so farther to increase their excess of profits and so again to extend their trade and so ultimately to drive those others to the wall.

The trust is here, then. What are you going to do with it. Tariff reduction will not touch it—though twenty years ago free trade might have retarded its growth a little. Laws against rebates will not overcome it—would not, even if they could be enforced.

Just One Great Trust.

Let us understand. For the purposes of this discussion we should speak, not of the trusts, but of the Trust. Matters have already gone so far that, for all practical purposes—so far as great capital is concerned, that is to say, which dominates all the rest—we have really one great capitalist combine. The accounts of Standard Oil magnates are invested in stocks and bonds of every sort. The big men of the American Sugar Refining Company hold stock also in the Consolidated Tobacco Company; lords of the Tobacco Trust hold stock in the Amalgamated Copper Company; copper kings are in the gas and trolley companies of the great cities and therefore touch, either with leaders of the United States Steel Corporation; and so on, ad infinitum. Study the "Directory of Directors" and you will find that the thirty men who constitute the boards of directors of the Standard Oil Company and of its financial agency, the National City Bank, sit also, one or more of them, in the boards of over 25 other corporations, including all the great industrial trusts, all the great railway and mining companies, and all the great banks, brokers' houses, and trust and insurance companies. These financial houses, from J. P. Morgan & Co. and the New York Life down to the smallest savings bank or nickel-and-dime insurance concern, form a sort of exchange for the work of the industrial and railway corporations. The machinery by which their unearned profits are invested and their power extended and by which, at the same time, such savings as the workers and the little business men may make are put at the disposal of the lords of finance and capitalists of industry.

Nor is this ramification of capitalist interests bounded by the two seas. Among the 25 corporations just referred to are the greatest steamship lines of the world, the American tobacco companies that own plantations and mines and railways in Cuba, in Mexico, in South America, in Canada, in Hawaii, in China and Japan, and in Russia, too. In a score of the big companies you will find August Belmont, accredited representative of the Rothschilds, sitting at the same council board with one of the Rockefellers.

Must Strike at All.

We have not to deal with a few isolated trusts, then, nor even with a few separate trusts in conspiracy. We are face to face with nothing less than the great capitalist class in its complex and manifold organizations—and WE CANNOT STRIKE EFFECTIVELY AT ONE TRUST WITHOUT STRIKING BOLDLY AT ALL.

Once the reader fully realizes this fact of the interlinking of the great capitalist interests—not by conspiracy, not by contract, but by actual ownership of stocks and bonds—he will at once see the folly, or, rather, the fallacy of the cry against the "criminal" trusts. The distinction which both Roosevelt and Hearst make, which all the Republican and Democratic politicians make who dare speak of this question, between "predatory" or "criminal" trusts and "legitimate business combinations," is a false distinction. The whole great series of trusts are growing richer and better organized, in the legitimate outcome of our business system. And the whole system is predatory, is built on the ruin of competitors in the past and the exploitation of the workers, past and present. The whole system is criminal from the Socialist point of view, because the wealth of the class that it represents grows out of the overwork and poverty of the mass of the people and the continued rule of that class must doom the workers still to weary toil and hopeless poverty. But if it is legitimate for one man to own the things which another man needs in order to work and live and get a profit out of that other's labor by some ownership, if capitalism itself is legitimate, as the old parties maintain, then it is empty rant to talk of two or three corporations as predatory and criminal. The system is one great whole and as one whole it must be judged.

The Trust is legitimate, under capitalism. But do we Socialists say that therefore the Trust is good? Do we

defend the Trust? Do we see, so much thing as the Trust Problem?

A Good Thing—for Whom?

Far from it. But we do say that the Trust problem is a part of the great question of Labor and Capital. We say that the Trust is good, yes—FOR ITS OWNERS.

How has the Trust grown up? What is the quality that made it "fit to survive" in the competitive struggle? The answer comes in one word—Economy.

Organization is always more efficient than anarchy, co-operation than competition. Where small competitors must waste time and energy and money in squabbling for the market, the combine, having the market secure, can turn them to the cheapening of production. THE TRUST IS THE GREATEST OF LABOR-SAVING DEVICES. That is why it has triumphed. It is a step in human progress.

The One Thing Needful.

But we must take another step. The Trust saves labor—that is, it reduces waste and makes labor more productive. But it saves labor FOR THE BENEFIT OF THOSE WHO DO NOT LABOR. The Socialist solution of the Trust problem follows this statement as plainly as B after A.

We would keep what is good in the Trust and make it good for all. We do not talk about "criminal" and "legitimate" combines—"splitting a hair" "splitting a hair" and "splitting a hair" side. We do not talk about "curbing" the trusts—a convenient phrase for those who wish to say something, and do nothing.

We do not talk of "smashing" the trusts—a thing that on one hand a despot more powerful than earth has ever seen could do, and that it would be foolish to do even if it were practicable, because it would be going back instead of forward and throwing away one of the great results of modern progress.

No, we say: The prosperity of trustified capitalism shows us that it is wise and feasible to have the control of mines and railways and factories concentrated and systematized. By this means more food and clothing and fuel and other good things can be produced and transported with less labor. But we see that it is very foolish to leave this centralized control in private hands. So we call on all our fellow workers of the working class—the class that does all the labor, manual and mental, of production and transportation—to use their political power to make these things the joint property of the people. Instead of having the Trust over us, instead of trying to curb or harry or combat at Trust, LET US VOTE TO BE THE TRUST.

WHAT RIGHT HAVE YOU TO OBJECT?

By Wm. H. Lullauger.

What right have you, Mr. Workingman, to kick against Socialism? Every once in a while I hear you make some foolish remark about Socialists wanting to "divide up" the wealth of the world. Well, would it hurt you? What have you to divide? You haven't a cent. Now, honest, have you?

You own nothing but your labor-power. If your ability to work for others is your only asset, you are done for.

What would it mean, for instance, if while operating that machine you should lose your right arm, or your eyesight? It would mean starvation, wouldn't it? Well, you do when you get old, provided your children are as poor as you are? Ever think about that?

No, my friend, you never think except on special occasions.

Now let me specify one of those "special occasions." Suppose you are a union man. Wages are too low or hours too long. Your union goes on strike. You do your best to keep the other fellows, "the scabs," from taking your job. Some judge issues an injunction forbidding you to picket or talk in the neighborhood of the factory. You override the injunction. The police club you over the head a little. Perhaps it is even necessary to call out the militia. They too have some fun with you, maybe try the effect of those new riot cartridges on you. That makes YOU think, doesn't it? THEN YOU begin to realize that the man behind the police or militia is the judge who issues an injunction forbidding you to picket or talk in the neighborhood of the factory. You override the injunction. The police club you over the head a little. Perhaps it is even necessary to call out the militia. They too have some fun with you, maybe try the effect of those new riot cartridges on you. 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eternal" only in the sense that it is
forever growing, not that it is fixed
and unchangeable. The consistent Jeffer-
sonianism of today is the Anarchism
and this is where Socialism differs
fundamentally from Anarchism.

Today the vitally useful class is the
proletariat, the class of wage-workers
(with the farmers, whose position is a
mixed one, but growing ever more like
that of the wage-workers). The
wage-workers do not own the things
with which they work. They do not
work and produce individually, but so-
cially. Economically—that is, in
making their living, which they
must do by selling their services to
the capitalists—they are helpless as in-
dividuals. They show their conscious-
ness of this by voluntarily associating
themselves in unions to regulate the
conditions of their employment. The
capitalists show their consciousness of
it by seeking always to deal with the
workers as individuals. The workers,
even when they do not clearly under-
stand the matter in theory, yet wish
for legislation that shall protect them
as a class, even by limiting their ac-
tion as individuals. They are right
in this; for the action of the individual
worker—as, for instance, his accept-
ance of lower wages or longer hours
of labor—does not affect him alone,
but all his fellow workers. The capi-
talists, on the other hand, oppose
such legislation and wish for laws
that shall prevent the workers from
combining and compel them to act as
individuals. And the capitalists are
quite right from the point of view
of their own interests; they wish to force
the Jeffersonian sort of democracy,
the democracy of "each for himself,"
upon the workers, while they tend
ever more and more to abandon it as
applied to their own affairs.

In a word, because economic individ-
ualism is a thing of the past, it follows
that political individualism or democ-
racy of the Jeffersonian type should
become a thing of the past, that it is
reactionary—that, in fact, political in-
dividualism is no longer a means to
democracy or self-government, but a
means to anarchy.

That is why Socialists oppose
the so-called "radical" Democrats just
as firmly as we oppose the conserva-
tive Democrats and the Republicans.

These remarks have an application
within our movement, too. We boast
—and truly—that our party is democ-
ratic. We keep good watch that it shall
remain so. The most telling argu-
ment that can be brought against any
proposed party action is that it is un-
democratic. This as it should be. But
let us never mistake the sort of de-
mocracy that befits the political or-
ganization of the working class in the
twentieth century. Let us never think
that it is democratic for each party
member to do as he pleases, to follow
his own personal inclinations or
whims in any affair at all concerning
the party and to resent interference or
censure. Let us never think that de-
mocracy in our party constitution
necessarily means decentralization,
liberating the state organizations from
national control and the local organi-
zations from state control. How far
the party ought to go in controlling its
members and how far the higher or-
ganizations ought to control the lower
ones is always a question to be de-
cided by judging what course will
give the greatest vigor of action con-
sistently with the greatest correctness
of action. Centralization may be car-
ried far enough, but neither centraliza-
tion nor the reverse is of the essence
of democracy. And one thing abso-
lutely democratic in our movement is
not. It is not disobedience. The good
Socialist, the democratic Socialist, is
the one who stands for the utmost
publicity and freedom of discussion in
an orderly and intelligible manner;
who insists on all questions being de-
cided on their merits, not by personal
influence or the methods of intrigue;
who stands for absolutely equal suf-
frage in making such decisions; and
who, when the decision is made, if he
finds himself in the minority, not only
submits to it, but heartily co-operates
in putting it into effect—reserving to
himself the right still to persuade others
if he can and make his minority a
majority.

This is Social Democracy and this is
the ideal which we must apply both
in the internal affairs of our party and
in our activity in the field of general
politics.

A PRESENT NEED.

If there is any one need of the So-
cialist movement in this country the
importance of which we would urge
especially upon the younger adherents
of the party, it is that of earnest, well
directed, and patiently continued
study. Our party is already strong in
numbers and growing with rapidity
and steadily in nearly all parts of the
country. We have energy and enthu-
siasm and sincere devotion, and there
is no reason to fear that we shall have
less of these excellent qualities in the
future. But it may be doubted whether
our progress in point of thorough self-
education has kept pace with our
numerical increase, whether we have
quite so large a proportion of really
well-grounded Socialists or quite
so high an average of knowledge and
mental discipline as we had a few
years ago when our party was still
very small.

This is not of all surprising. It is
very easily explained. First, in these

earlier days, just because the move-
ment was small and obscure and sub-
ject to greater persecution than now,
it attracted few but the intellectually
élite of the working class of its sym-
pathizers. Second, as we have grown
and as, in consequence, our purely po-
litical work has called for a larger
proportion of our time and attention
in proportion to our work of propa-
ganda in the stricter sense, we have
had proportionately less leisure and
less incentive to thorough study.

The reasons for this condition being
understood, it becomes evident that
the condition is only temporary, only
a passing phase, like the periods of
comparative mental inertia which are
likely to occur in the life of an indi-
vidual at times when physical needs
or emotional interests become for a
time predominant. As our movement
grows still more and assumes greater
political importance, it will again at-
tract especially the élite of the work-
ers and the other lovers of liberty. As
our party grows, also, the burden of
routine work on the individual mem-
bers, will become proportionately less
and we shall have more leisure for
self-education. Finally, as it assumes
greater importance in the political
world and in the general labor move-
ment, it will be put to severer tests,
will have to meet more formidable an-
tagonists and to bear more weighty
responsibilities, and the incentive to
the members to examine deeply into
the foundations of their political faith
and to equip themselves for its de-
fense and for its application in prac-
tice will become greater.

But it is one the less important
that we should realize this need now
and strive to fill it.

The capitalist class is awakening to
a sense of its dangers. It has the
great means of education in its hands.
It is able to a great extent to subsidize
the forces of culture and mobilize
them against us. Its politicians, its
lawyers, its college professors, its
bishops, its editors, and its hirelings
in the labor movement are beginning to
study Socialism and to collect ammu-
nition for the attack upon our move-
ment. So far it may be said that we
have not had to meet "the real thing."

There are few Socialists who could
not make a stronger argument against
Socialism than Hanna or Elliott or
Perry or Davenport or Quigley or
Mats or Casson or Gompers has yet
made. We are ready for more formid-
able enemies; but we ought to be still
better prepared than we are.

Again, we are beginning to capture
numerous public offices and shall un-
doubtedly soon be in control in many
city councils, boards of education, and
other local governing bodies and shall,
consequently, be in a position of un-
usually grave responsibility. We shall
need abundant knowledge and good
judgment—knowledge of Socialist
theory, knowledge of men, and detail-
ed knowledge of the public affairs we
shall have to deal with—not only in
the men whom we elect to office, but
quite as much in the rank and file who
are to advise and control and support
them.

And even in our general campaigns,
while we are still only fighting for po-
litical power, not yet extending it, if
we are to command the respect and
confidence of the mass of the voters,
we must be able, not only to expound
our general principles and make clear
our final aims, not only to criticize the
capitalist administrations, but also to
specify intelligently and intelligently up-
on the specific conditions and mea-
sures which form what are called
"questions of the day"; intelligently
and intelligently—that is, in thorough
consistency with Socialist theory and
at the same time in a way easily un-
derstandable and convincing to "the
man in the street." We must know
what we intend to do, if given author-
ity, in matters of immediate legisla-
tion and administration—labor legisla-
tion, the action of municipal or other
authorities in regard to labor disputes,
the relief of poverty, the housing ques-
tion, public education, taxation, the
treatment of franchise companies, and
so forth. These issues, such as we in-
sist on their temporary and partial na-
ture, fully as we realize that "mea-
sures of immediate relief" are infinite-
ly small in comparison with the
strictly revolutionary measures that
must be taken sooner or later, are yet
issues that we cannot shirk without
deservingly forfeiting public confi-
dence. We have to be ready to deal
with them and ready to tell how we
shall deal with them; and we cannot
doubt that in these matters in the wake
of the "reformers" for the reason that
our method of dealing with such ques-
tions must often be radically different
from theirs.

What we would urge, then, and urge
especially upon the younger comrades,
is that each should consider himself
personally responsible, to the extent of
his abilities and opportunities, for the
equipment of our party to meet all
these responsibilities. Some great cul-
tural has said that the ideal of culture
is that each man should be both broad
and deep, know something about every-
thing and a great deal about some
one thing. To apply this: Every com-
rade should try to get a good general
knowledge of Socialist theory and his-
tory and also to make himself an au-
thority upon some special subject—
it, for instance, the present condition
and tendencies of labor legislation and
the standing of workingmen and labor
organizations before the law, or the

extent and the causes and effects of
pauperism and methods for its relief,
or child and female labor and its ef-
fects, or the housing of the working
class and its relation to public health,
or history and present conditions and
shortcomings and possibilities of the
trade unions, or the records of the capi-
talist parties and their present lead-
ers and "comrades" and their more
obscure backers and directors, or the
history and present condition and per-
sonnel of the trusts, or of the fran-
chise corporations and legislators con-
cerning them, or any one of a number
of other subjects which will readily
suggest themselves.

No one man, be he editor or speaker
devoting his whole time to the party's
service can hope to know all of these
subjects, any one of which we may at
any time be called upon to discuss.
But if we have a sufficient body of
earnest students in our ranks, each of
whom is devoting what time and en-
ergy he can to a thorough study of
some one of them—not satisfied with
a general knowledge of it, but making
himself familiar with all the literature
of that subject (and there is a great
deal already available to the student)
and keeping up with the times in re-
gard to it and always ready, not with
phrases, but with definite facts and
names and dates and figures and the
authorities for them—then our party
will always know to whom it should
turn for an article or a leader or a pam-
phlet or a lecture on whatever matter
it may have to take up, with the as-
surance that it will have a champion
competent to meet any representative
whom the enemy may put forward.

DISCIPLINE AND PROPAGANDA.

No large and growing movement—
no movement that is more than a sect,
dominated by blind tradition or fan-
tastic submission to some personal
leader—can be expected to be also
truly agreed in its views. Just as
well as in any other body of men asso-
ciated for a common purpose is this
true of the Socialist Party in this and
in other countries. There are internal
differences of opinion, of feeling, and
of viewpoint. It is well that this
should be so. "The capacity for pro-
gress, the power of a movement to
grow and adapt itself to changing con-
ditions and seize upon new opportuni-
ties, depends more than upon anything
else upon the existence of such in-
ternal differences and the interaction
of the various elements, each of which
may be supposed to possess some
part of the truth and no one to pos-
sess the whole.

The divergence of opinion and judg-
ment within our party very often
shows itself in the discussion of what
may be called the case of "Propa-
ganda vs. Discipline." Our purpose
here is to show that this is a wrong
putting of the question, that the so-
posed antagonism between propa-
ganda and discipline does not exist, that
the real question is that of defining
the best methods of propaganda and
the best methods of discipline so that
each shall guide and strengthen the
other, that "Discipline and Propaganda"
should be the question of discussion.

The truth of this statement is in cer-
tainly instinctively realized and is cer-
tainly acknowledged in action by very
many comrades who do not up to this
point against all consideration of tact
and all insistence on discipline on
the ground that it weakens our pro-
paganda; and there are some who at-
tach so much importance to questions
of tactics and discipline and attend so
exclusively to them that they go far
to justify the opposite extreme.

No one who has well studied the
history of our own and of other social
movements can successfully maintain
that the mere propaganda of an idea in
the abstract is sufficient to ensure the
realization of that idea in practice. All
through history—and now more than
ever before—the ruling classes and
their agents have been on the alert to
pervert where they could not suppress
popular tendencies that threatened
their domination, ostensibly to adopt
new and revolutionary ideas and in
adopting to adapt them to the pur-
poses of class rule. The history of
early Christianity, that of the Re-
formation, certain phases of the his-
tory of the French Revolution, certain
facts in the current history of the
trade-union movement—all illustrate
this truth. The "agent provocateur"
plays an important part—be whose
work is the movement of discontent
to excite it to indirect action
that give a pretext for violent sup-
pression; but more subtle and danger-
ous yet is the "agent agitator,"
whose mission is by the affectation of
ultra-practicality or of ultra-theoreticism
or both to neutralize the fighting spirit
of the movement, to relax its moral
enthusiasm, to obscure its vision of
the real world, and to cause it to lose
track in aimless wanderings and idle
dreams.

The conflict between Socialism and
capitalism is not a mere conflict of
ideas. It is primarily a conflict of in-
terests, a conflict of classes whose dif-
ferent material conditions and whose
opposite material interests are the
roots of these conflicting ideas. If we
regard Socialism only as a matter of
theory or belief or ideal, we lose our
touchstone on solid fact, lose our hold
on the only class that can guide us in
safety through the labyrinth that we
have to traverse. Christ spoke to us

for the poor and oppressed; but the
Lords and masters of the Roman
world, in accepting the Gospel, turned
it into a new sanction for class rule.
"Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality,"
the beautiful motto of 1789, came to
be the hollow cant of a new aristoc-
racy, the motto of the old, came to
mean nothing for the "poorest and
most numerous class" which had
borne the greatest burden of the Revo-
lution, because that class had not yet
a clear consciousness of its own ap-
propriate interests, had as yet little power
of organization, and so allowed itself
to be divided and delayed by the ris-
ing class of employers and merchants
and financiers and their hireling
spokesmen. If it should happen, in
the present struggle between Capital
and Labor, that the workers, to whom
and for whom Socialism speaks, should
prove deficient in self-consciousness
and self-confidence or in the power of
self-organized action, then, no matter
how generally the principles of
Socialism might be known and ac-
cepted in the abstract, our movement
would prove abortive and, instead of
International Social Democracy, we
should see International State Capital-
ism enthroned.

We are very sure that this is not
going to happen. But we are sure of
it just because we are sure that the
Socialist Party is not going to sacrifice
its discipline and tactics to mere un-
guided propaganda. And we are sure
of this because we see in the present
condition and the recent development
of the working class, whose mind and
soul is the Socialist Party, a growing
power of organization and a growing
sense of its importance.

There are many false trails crossing
our path, many snares laid for our
feet, as well as many strong barriers
erected in our way, partly by mere
force of circumstances, partly by the
purposeful craft of the ruling class.
Neither the individual wisdom of a
few leaders nor the individual wisdom
of the units in an untrained multitude
can be depended on to guide us aright
or to direct our forces most effectively
in overcoming obstacles, but only the
collective wisdom of a party which
combines all the freedom of a primary
democracy with all the unity of an
army in the field.

Socialism is a whole. It has differ-
ent phases, which may be spoken of
separately. But in action it can no
more be taken apart without ceasing
to be Socialism than a man can be cut
apart without ceasing to be a man.
Public ownership is not Socialism; it
may or may not be socialist. Labor
politics is not Socialism; it may or
may not be socialist. Both of these
and more, indissolubly united, is So-
cialism. And this indissoluble union
is to be maintained only by discipline
and democratic organization.

We make propaganda for public
ownership. At times a part of the
working class as yet unorganized and
undisciplined in our revolutionary tac-
tics, but partially influenced by our
propaganda, will throw the weight of
their votes, not for Socialism, but for
capitalist public ownership. Experi-
ence will bring disillusion. But in or-
der that disillusion may not bring de-
spair, it is necessary that we should
have held together at least a nucleus
of trained and active Socialists, con-
sistently and continuously and ag-
gressively opposing the false start,
around whose banner the disillusioned
ones may gather with new courage
and clearer vision when they have
made their unavoidable experience.
The same thing may happen—pay, has
happened and will probably happen
again and again—in the matter of so-
called independent labor parties. If
we lack the organized strength to re-
sist such futile movements, our cause
must suffer. But if we refuse to be
swept away by the impulse of the
moment, if we hold to the right line
of march, and in proportion as we
have a strong force advancing on that
right line, the struggles will again
fall in and the movement as a whole
will suffer no harm.

Again, Socialism will inevitably and
reasonably be held responsible for the
words and deeds of every freakish
dreamer or unscrupulous adventurer
who may declare himself a Socialist—
and we have and shall have many
such seeking to attach themselves to
the movement—unless we have a
strong and well defined organization
which can clearly formulate its own
"doctrines and control those whom it
authorizes to speak and act in its
name and repudiate those who would
misrepresent it before the world. Tol-
erance is a virtue, so long as it means
willingness to hear the other side. But
it becomes a vice—and a vice especial-
ly fatal to such a movement as ours—
if it degenerates into mere easy-going
good nature, superficiality and inex-
haustible of thought, willingness that
each should go as he please and take
whichever things will come out
right. "Testing Pilate who said
"What is truth" and would not stay
for an answer" and the Laodiceans
who were "lukewarm and neither hot
nor cold" are types of this false tol-
erance, which might seem consistent
with the doctrine of the "philosophi-
cal" Anarchists and is natural among
comfortable do-nothing "reformers,"
but is utterly at variance with the
spirit of our movement.

In order, then, that our propa-
ganda may be clear and well directed, in
order that its results may not be per-
verted to the service of capitalism,

and in order that the propaganda of
ideas may bear fruit in vigorous and
stirring action, it is necessary that
hand in hand with unswerving propa-
ganda should go through organiza-
tion, a vigilant regard for party tac-
tics, and a discipline at once democ-
ratic in its source and rigid in its en-
forcement.

On the other hand, of course, the im-
portance of rightly directed propa-
ganda is not to be underestimated. To
launch every field, to challenge every
opponent, to arouse every dormant
force, to attack every abuse, to give
voice to every discontent, to turn
every event into a text for our preach-
ing, to enlist every recruit for the
making of more recruits, to make So-
cialism everywhere the chief theme of
discussion—this must be our aim. He
makes a mistake and defeats his own
good purpose who insists on discipline
and sound tactics in such a way (we
do not say "too strongly," for they can-
not be too strongly insisted on as to
neglect propaganda himself or avoid-
ably to hamper others in the work.

Propaganda and discipline are not
opposing nor even independent inter-
ests in our movement. They are like
the heart and the brain of a body or
the propeller and the rudder of a ship,
neither of which avails without the
other.

ANVILS AND HAMMERS.

(To the Colorado miners.) When
you are a hammer, strike!—Old proverb.
Stand like an anvil to the blows of the
anvil. To the President ANVILS.

"Stand like an anvil!" this brave message
went.
From his brother of his soul
To martyr Polycarp, doomed to the stake
Because he'd not recant what he deemed
truth.
To join the great close by God's
Will, heaving vanquished, loftiest victim
of the cross.
Each man, brave death for truth, each
though they died.
For the sake of truth, each man
died.
When, for the sake of truth, each man
died.
Hinge does the ages, speaks to you to-
day.
No man wronged for weary years on
earth.
In self, wife, parents, children—dear
and all, today, wronged still more griev-
ously.
Because you'd dared demand a shred of
right.
After centuries of wrong.
I honor all your present self-sufficiency,
But charge you, once again, like anvil
stand.
Each anvil-blow to your dear wife and
children.
Each hammer-blow upon your sturdy
back.
Shall be your whang after over-
throw.
Hark! to bring in great Justice's judg-
ment.

TO THE PRESIDENT ANVILS WHEN
THEY SHALL BE HAMMERS.
Now, as I've said, is your stern anvil-day.
When you can, wisely, but give back clear
ring.
Of calm, unquenched hearts to hammer
ring.
But a day later when ye may hammers
be.
And shall so strongly, so compellingly,
That nevermore shall the Centennial state
Wreck such foul shame upon the age and
race.
As nee December her once fair face
showed.
When from your towering mountains, white
glaciers down November's keen, but bracing
air,
Equipped with hammer-bolts—your bolts
right.
The right and assured of your liberties—
Ye may so sturdy and strong heart
Upon your spindles, like a lion and de-
fiant, like a lion, trampling from trou-
bles.
When, hushed by the fanning of the wind
of the Law and the State.
Thus may your law, gold-riveted state
lead on.
And let the way which other states will
hate.
To walk in, for the good of humankind.

TO THE PRESIDENT ANVILS WHEN
THEY SHALL BE HAMMERS.
O, anvil, hammer, where'er ye fall,
In shop, in mine, in factory, in office dark,
In field or forest, on the land or sea,
Holding your heads and working heart
From every day to day for pitiless wage,
Ye are the backbone of justice and
right.
With patience in the face of injustice and
With stern and unflinching heart to the
end, ye shall stand for the right of the
weak, ye shall stand for the right of the
poor, ye shall stand for the right of the
oppressed.

In leading up the chariots of the Law,
Drive the hammer-bolts in blood and
tears.
From out your temples of the Law and
State.
Hark! to the long-fringed of the white
robe, Peace!
When Justice in the forum, shop and
mine, and in the street, ye shall stand
for the right of the weak, ye shall stand
for the right of the poor, ye shall stand
for the right of the oppressed.

TO THE PRESIDENT ANVILS WHEN
THEY SHALL BE HAMMERS.
Dawn, fair and bold, to bless all earth
and sea,
The just and true, the noble Golden Age,
That shall be the day of the world's
peace.
—Herald Unwound, in the Mirror, May, 1904.

A NEW NEW PLATFORM
FOR BOTH OLD PARTIES.

Oscar Ameringer, an increased radical
Democrat, writing in the Colum-
bian "Press-Post" against the more
conservative element of his own party,
says that the substance of Mr. Cleve-
land's advice is: "There must be two
parties, so that if one party is voted
out of power and office, there is an-
other party to fill the vacancies made
by the first party; but both parties
must be

FINANCING A PARTY.

"Who Pays the Piper May Call the Tune"—The Class that Supplies a Party's Campaign Fund Controls Its Policy—How Socialist Methods Differ from Those of the Old Parties.

We assume, reader, that you are, or in the recent past, have been a Republican or a Democrat. We ask you: Did you ever think who paid the campaign expenses of those two parties? Also we ask: Has it ever occurred to you that you can tell whom a party really represents by finding out who pays its bills?

Probably neither of these questions has ever occurred to your mind. They are worth considering. The second question will find the answer as soon as you think of it for a few minutes. You will remember the old proverb: "Who pays the piper may call the tune." You will reflect that any organization which depends on certain men to pay its expenses is sure to serve the interests of those men. It may serve them consciously or it may serve them unconsciously, but serve them it does and must. For if it did not serve them the movement must either go down or find other men whose support it can deserve and win.

A General Rule.

This is a general rule. It is so even in churches, which are supposed to be devoted to the preaching of certain doctrines and to worship a God who "is no respecter of persons." It is so even in colleges, which are supposed to be devoted to the discovery and dissemination of truth, regardless of whom it may please or offend. Every year, many, almost every week, we hear of some college professor driven from his chair or some clergyman driven from his pulpit because his utterances were distasteful to some wealthy persons from whom endowments or donations were to be expected. If this is the case in the churches and the colleges, within which there is still a large body of men sincerely devoted to religion or to science, how much more must it be true in political parties, which deal chiefly with matters of material interest, that "Who pays the piper may call the tune."

Who Finances Old Parties?

Now to the first question: Who pays the expenses of the old-party campaigns? Their expenses are heavy. It costs money to hire halls and maintain speakers in the field and print and distribute literature; and it costs still more money to pay for the banners and fireworks and to get up the drinks and the cigars lavishly for weeks before each election. If you have been at all active in old-party politics, you will realize that whole fortunes are spent in every ward or assembly district every year by each of the old parties. Who provides the funds?

You know that the rank and file of Republican voters do not provide the funds for their party and that the rank and file of Democratic voters do not provide the funds for theirs—not directly and voluntarily, that is. If you ever belonged to a Republican or Democratic campaign club—as a simple voter and worker, not an aspirant to office—you never were asked to contribute to the campaign fund. On the contrary, in all probability, you got something out of it—either money or personal favors (not promises to violate some law, perhaps) or, at least, several free "blow-outs." And you never got any accounting from the men in charge of the party's campaign as to the money they had spent or where it came. You never asked. You would have been laughed at if you had asked and told that it was none of your business.

But really it was your business—only you never realized it. You gave your vote to the party candidate and you gave your vote to the party organization which controls those candidates—your vote, which means your consent, your proxy, your authorization, your power-of-attorney, that they should administer affairs of city, state, and nation which vitally affect your daily life. It was your business to know how your party was run, but you never thought of it and your party managers and the men back of them counted on your thoughtlessness. If you got to thinking they tried either to buy you or to bar you out. Probably that is why you happen to be reading this Socialist paper—because they tried to buy you and found you too honest and manly to be bought and therefore barred you out.

Now you will come to the Socialist Party—the Social Democratic Party, as we call it in some states—and you will find something surprising. You will find a party organization that charges you dues, charges you 25 cents a week for membership and right of participation in its councils. If you are sick or out of work, it gladly remits the dues; but if you are well and earning a living, it expects you to pay every month and thereby consider you a thoroughly paid-up member, and you do so. It expects even more, though it does not demand more. It expects you to contribute according to your ability—be it a nickel or a quarter or a dollar or ten dollars—from time to time to special funds, for campaigns, for the support of the party press, for special efforts in propagating the party's principles.

A Queer Party.

It is a queer party, isn't it? A party that is not satisfied with your blind and passive adherence, but asks you for money—not much money, but a little every month. Yes, it is a queer party, judged by comparison with others. It is a unique party. It does things on a plan of its own.

It is proud of that democracy. It is proud of that method of raising funds by dues and contributions from the rank and file as a vital point in its policy, as a guarantee of its good faith. If a millionaire should come along next week and propose to the national convention of the Socialist Party that it should abolish the dues-system and depend from all appeals to the membership for funds and offer compensation to give double or triple the amount of all that the party collected last year—if such an impossible thing should happen, the national convention of the Socialist Party would reject the proposition with scorn.

But it isn't so queer, if you think of it a while.

Who "pays the piper" for the old parties, think you? Well, the candidates always have to make good big contributions—they or their friends. Do you think they do it for fun? Or for the honor of the candidacy? Or for love of the public? No, they expect to get it all back with good interest—not in the salaries of the offices they aspire to, but in perquisites, to put it mildly—in "grat" or "loot," to use the vulgar phrase—in bribery, direct or indirect. But the greater part of the old-party funds does not come from the candidates.

More comes from petty law-breakers—men who are engaged in gambling, in holding houses, in keeping of brothels, even in the sale of stolen goods, and in holding up men and confidence men, in some cases—who thus buy immunity from prosecution in case of that party winning. Sometimes they think they can "pick the winner" and contribute to only one party—and if they make a mistake, a "wave of reform" follows. Generally, to be on the safe side, they "back" both parties.

These Fill the "Barrel."

But both these are small matters, after all. The greater part of the campaign funds of both old parties does not come from candidates "on the make" nor from little law-breakers, but from big and "respectable" law-breakers—from Wall Street bankers and brokers and promoters, from rich, franchise-holding corporations, from contractors who wish to be safe in committing such crimes as that of the Iroquois Theater or the Darlingford Hotel, from landlords who desire practical exemption from tenement-house laws, from owners of mines or mills or factories who thus pay in advance for permission to disregard labor laws and for the assistance of police and judges in breaking strikes.

By Gould, at a time when Erie was his leading interest, being asked about his political convictions, replied: "I'm a Republican state I'm a Republican; but I'm for Erie all the time." The head of the Sugar Trust is officially on record as saying that his corporation regularly contributed to political campaign funds, and contributed impartially to whichever might be expected to win. It is a notorious fact that the late Mr. McKinley was "syndicated" for the presidency, that a group of wealthy men paid his debts and ran him, just as they would promote a trust and float its bonds; and now anyone who has read the New York "Sun" during the last year knows that the same men who put up McKinley as a business venture are willing to repent the process for any "safe" Democrat who may have a show of winning.

Politics as Business.

Now, if candidates' contributions are not prompted by disinterested patriotism, still less are those of the trusts, the bankers, the employers, the franchise holders, and the landlords. Their campaign contributions are investments. They need the government "used in their business." Even if some of them are not individually interested in injunctive legislation and maladministration and perversion of justice, their class—the capitalist class—is so interested, and they act with their class.

It is those who provide the funds for the Republican and the Democratic parties. Accordingly, it is these who control those parties—who choose their candidates (or defeat them), who dictate the platform, and who tell the elected officials whether or not to carry those platforms into effect after they are in office. In some degree, it is the professional politicians who rule; in a greater degree, it is the vulgar law-breaker; chiefly, however, it is the capitalist class.

Why Shouldn't They Rule?

And why shouldn't they rule? If they pay for the campaign and if you are a fool enough—poorly thoughtless, short-sighted, dull-witted, small-minded fool enough—to give your vote in exchange for their cajolery or their little two-penny favors, why shouldn't they rule your party and use it, when in power, to exploit you and get back out of your toil and poverty, tea-folk what they have spent?

The Socialist Plan.

The Socialist Party sees all this. The Socialist Party desires to preserve democracy and purity in its campaign. Therefore the Socialist Party so orders its affairs that it shall depend on its rank and file, and not on wealthy individuals, for its funds.

The Socialist Party has very few wealthy members or adherents. It has a few—sincere and intelligent and god-fearing men who have but loath from their class to advance the cause of humanity through the party of the working class, the class which in this age of the world stands for progress and human happiness. It has a few such. But it does not expect them to bear the expenses of its campaigns. Nor does it give them special honor or influence. Perhaps it is too jealous sometimes and is unjustly suspicious of them, unwisely slow to honor or to trust them. That is unfortunate, when it happens. But it is better than the reverse could be. The rich man who is both an honest and a well-informed Socialist is willing to be watched and held to strict accountability.

William Morris was a wealthy man and a Socialist. During his life he gave liberally to the cause, but not lavishly—never enough to relieve the party from the necessity of depending on the shillings and pence of its rank and file. When he died, he left his fortune to be used for the benefit of the party. Capitalist spokesmen—who could not understand, and did not wish to, say—criticized him and said his act was inconsistent with his avowed principles. Socialists said that Morris did quite right and that he showed his consistency and the

soundness of his understanding of Socialism.

The Socialist Party does not wish to be endowed. It does not wish to be subsidized. It would be a great chance of being corrupted.

A Recent Warning.

We have seen how the Prohibitionist party was unconsciously bought and sold. At one time it began to take up the economic question, the labor question. It showed strong radical tendencies. Then what happened? Why, John T. Wardwell of the Standard Oil Company joined the party and not active. He gave money abundantly for party purposes. Good and sincere but easy and glib Prohibitionists rejoiced. They saw no harm and great good in this acquisition. Then when Mr. Wardwell recommended a certain man for secretary of the national campaign committee, his recommendation prevailed; when he advised the nomination of certain candidates, they were chosen; when he expressed a certain opinion as to the platform and the choice of speakers and party editors, his advice was followed; and pretty soon the Standard Oil Company owned the Prohibition party—and if petroleum could be made dutiable, the Prohibition party would start a crusade to substitute it for whiskey.

How About You?

We don't wish to follow in such a path. Therefore we stick to the dues-system and we ask YOU, if you believe in Socialism, to come in and pay your little dues and take your full part in the management of party affairs. We don't want to follow in such a path. Therefore we stick to the dues-system and we ask YOU, if you believe in Socialism, to come in and pay your little dues and take your full part in the management of party affairs.

More comes from petty law-breakers—men who are engaged in gambling, in holding houses, in keeping of brothels, even in the sale of stolen goods, and in holding up men and confidence men, in some cases—who thus buy immunity from prosecution in case of that party winning. Sometimes they think they can "pick the winner" and contribute to only one party—and if they make a mistake, a "wave of reform" follows. Generally, to be on the safe side, they "back" both parties.

By Gould, at a time when Erie was his leading interest, being asked about his political convictions, replied: "I'm a Republican state I'm a Republican; but I'm for Erie all the time." The head of the Sugar Trust is officially on record as saying that his corporation regularly contributed to political campaign funds, and contributed impartially to whichever might be expected to win. It is a notorious fact that the late Mr. McKinley was "syndicated" for the presidency, that a group of wealthy men paid his debts and ran him, just as they would promote a trust and float its bonds; and now anyone who has read the New York "Sun" during the last year knows that the same men who put up McKinley as a business venture are willing to repent the process for any "safe" Democrat who may have a show of winning.

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SOCIALISM AND PERSONAL LIBERTY.

Not Public Control of Private Life, but Public Ownership of the Means of Production, Is the Aim of Socialists—Whereas Capitalism Interferes with the Personal Liberty of All but a Few, Socialism Will Give It the Widest Scope.

One of the commonest misunderstandings or misrepresentations of modern Socialism consists in failing to distinguish between communism in consumption and communism or collectivism in production.

How often do we hear it alleged that what the Socialists propose is that the poor should seize upon the property of the rich and divide it equally among themselves. If this were our program, we should deserve abundant ridicule. It is evident that we have no intention of dividing the property of the rich and dividing it equally among ourselves. If this were our program, we should deserve abundant ridicule. It is evident that we have no intention of dividing the property of the rich and dividing it equally among ourselves.

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rule. It is not fitted to the present time, when large production with complex and expensive machinery and joint labor is the rule.

In those earlier days there was poverty side by side with wealth—though the contrast was not so great as now. But the fortunes of those days were accumulated and the workers kept in poverty by other means—by chattel slavery, by the feudal ownership of land, by the blackmail of priests who were supposed to hold the keys of Heaven and collected the admission fees on earth, or by the open violence of pirates and highwaymen and barons. If men in those days thought of communism as a refuge from the evils of poverty, it was naturally in the form of communal life. The production of wealth being a matter of individual labor, they could not think, as we do, of common ownership of the things with which they worked. The prime causes of poverty then being different, the remedy sought was a different one. They associated themselves in guilds or fraternities or semi-religious communities, in order to unite their forces to protect themselves from the aggressions of kings and lords and churchmen and landlords, to help each other in sickness or other misfortune, to get more good out of their product by the economics of joint house-keeping. In order to prevent internal jealousies and friction and hold the community together, they often forbade or discouraged marriage, as the marriage of numbers would mean the establishment of families within the community and would tend to introduce causes of dissension and the common law.

This sort of communism has existed practically in all ages. It has its advantages and its disadvantages. It has never, since the stage of barbarism, been practiced or practicable as the rule of life for a whole people, but only for a small part of the people. Whenever there is of good or bad in it, it has little or nothing to do with modern Socialism.

What Socialism Is Not. We Socialists do not propose nor desire nor expect that people shall come to live by families or by groups or by the small unit at public tables or sleep in public dormitories or spend their leisure hours in public parlors. How people shall order their private life will, under Socialism, be a matter of personal choice and choice will be free for all, as it now is theoretically for all and practically only for the well-to-do. The rich now enjoy the luxury of children and some of them choose the small-public life of the hotel, while others prefer to have private dwellings. The poor, the mass of the workers, have such liberty of choice only in theory. They must eat at boarding-houses or cheap restaurants, because the wife as well as the husband has to work all day in the factory. They must live in such small and crowded quarters that they have no chance for recreation in the streets or the parks or in places of public resort. If they fall sick, their only refuge is in the noisy wards of the public hospitals. If they would bathe, they must go to the public baths, and even the decency of a private toilet is denied to hundreds of thousands of working-class families. It is the bitterest irony, even when it is not the contemptible cant, for comfort and luxury to be lavished against the Socialists as "enemies of the home and the family," considering that under capitalism millions of workers are necessarily shut out altogether from family life and millions more live in such homes as those comfortable moralists would not deem fit for horses or dogs.

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DR. MATHILDA SINAI,
DENTIST,
202 E. 12th St., NEW YORK

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PRICE 2 CENTS.

**NATIONAL PLATFORM OF
THE SOCIALIST PARTY.**

**Adopted by the National Convention at
Chicago on May 5.**

The prediction made by The Worker some weeks ago, that no hard and fast general line would divide the convention has been quite justified. As I wrote last week, there were a few opportunists and a few impossibilists. But not only were they few; what is more to the point, they did not exercise much influence, did not form the nuclei of a "right" and a "left," with an inclined "center" swayed by their conflicting influences. Nothing of this sort was to be observed. If there was a "center," it was the majority and the very large majority of the convention and it was a body of men who thoroughly knew their minds on most matters that came before them and knew how to learn and make up their

committeesmen or of three locals in such state of any act on the part of such state organization or of any local subject to its jurisdiction in violation of platform or constitution of this organization, an investigation shall be undertaken, acting under rules of the national committee, to the end that such organization shall be brought into conformity.

Sec. 7. The members of the national committee shall be subject to removal by referendum vote of their respective state organizations.

• ARTICLE V.
Duties and Powers of National Committee.

Section 1. The duties of this committee shall be to represent the

state organizations.

* ARTICLE V.

Duties and Powers of National Committee.

Section 1. The duties of this committee shall be to represent the party

Sec. 3. The national committee shall establish a uniform rate of compensation for all lecturers and organizers working under its auspices.

1. The platform of the party shall be the supreme decision, and all state and national platforms shall conform to the state or local organization in any circumstances.

the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within each state or territory; their activity shall be confined to their respective territories.

Sec. 7. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for

(Continued on page 3)

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued on page 3.)

SOCIAL REFORM AND REVOLUTION.

By Karl Kautsky.

Private ownership in the instruments of production, once the means of insuring to the producer the ownership of his product, has to-day become the means of expropriating the farmer, the artisan, the small trader, and the producer of the non-producers—capitalists and landlords—in possession of the products of labor. Only by converting the collective ownership of the instruments of production—the land, mines, raw materials, tools, machines, and transportation—all of which are to-day held as capitalist private property, and by converting the production of commodities into socialist production, carried on for and by society, only by these means can production on a large scale and the ever increasing productivity of social labor, cease to be a source of misery and oppression for the exploited classes, and become one of well-being and harmonious development for all.

The conversion of the machinery of production, together with the means of communication and transportation, from private into public property is the revolution which is inevitable and inevitable.

The productive forces that have developed in the lap of capitalist society have become irreconcilable with the very system of property upon which it is built. The endeavor to uphold this system of property is tantamount to rendering impossible all further social development, to confining society to a standstill, to a stagnation, a stagnation, however, that is accompanied with the most painful convulsions.

Every further perfection in the powers of production increases the contradiction that exists between these and the present system of property. All attempts to remove this contradiction, or even to soften it down, without interfering with property, have proved vain, and must continue to prove themselves an effort attempted.

For the last hundred years thinkers and statesmen among the possessing classes have been cutting and trying to prevent the threatened downfall of the system of private property in the instruments of production, at least of softening its edges, without, however, ever touching private property itself. During the last hundred years, manifold "cures" have been hatched and even tried; it is now hardly possible to imagine any new recipe in this line. All the so-called "newest" panaceas of our social quacks, which are to heal the old social ailments quickly, without pain and without expense, are, upon closer inspection, discovered to be but rehashes of old nostrums, all of which have been tried before in other places, and found worthless.

Let not the position of the Socialist be misunderstood. He pronounces these social reforms imperative in so far as they tend to remove the growing contradictions, which the course of economic development brings out into ever stronger light, between the powers of production and the existing system of property, at the same time that they strive to uphold, and to confirm the latter. But the Socialist does not thereby mean that the Social Revolution, i. e., the abolition of private property, will be accomplished without assistance from man; nor yet that all social reforms are worthless, and that nothing is left to those who suffer from the contradictions between the modern powers of production and the system of property, but idly to cross their arms and patiently to wait for better days.

When the Socialist speaks of the irreconcilable and inevitable nature of the social evolution, he of course starts from the belief that men are men, and not puppets; that they are beings endowed with certain necessities and impulses; with certain physical and mental powers, which they will seek to put to their best use. Patiently to yield to what may seem unavoidable, is not to allow the social evolution to take its course, but to bring it to a standstill.

When the Socialist declares the abolition of private property in the instruments of production to be unavoidable, he does not mean that some fine morning, without their helping themselves, the exploited classes will find the ravens feeding them. The Socialist considers the breakdown of the present social system to be unavoidable because he knows the laws which govern the social evolution. Inevitably brings on these conditions, that will compel the exploited classes to rise against this system of private ownership; that this system multiplies the number and the strength of the exploited, and diminishes the number and the strength of the exploiting classes, both of whom are still adhering to it; and that it will finally bring to such a point in the conditions for the masses of the population that they will have no alternative but, either to go down in silence, or to overthrow that system of property.

present economic development has produced, he by no means implies that all struggles on the part of the exploited against their present sufferings are useless within the framework of the existing social order; that they should patiently accommodate themselves to the ill-treatment and forms of exploitation, which the capitalist system may decree to them; or that, so long as they are at all exploited, it matters little how. What he does mean is, that the exploited classes should not overrate the social reforms, and should not imagine that through them the existing conditions will be rendered satisfactory to them. The exploited classes should carefully examine all proposed social reforms that are offered to them. Nine-tenths of the proposed reforms are not only useless but positively injurious to the exploited classes. Most dangerous of all are those schemes, which, aiming at the salvation of the threatened social order, shut their eyes to the economic development of the last century. The workingmen, the exploited classes, generally, take the field in favor of such schemes waste their energies in a senseless endeavor to revive the dead past.

Many are the ways in which the economic development may be affected; it may be hastened and it may be retarded; its edge may be dulled, or it may be sharpened; only one thing is impossible—to stop its course, much less to turn it back. Expedients, therefore, that all attempts in this direction are not only profitless, but increase the very sufferings which they were intended to remove, while, on the other hand, those measures that are really calculated more or less to relieve some existing ill have themselves the tendency rather to accelerate the economic development.

When, for instance, in the early stages of capitalism, the wage-workers destroyed the machine, opposed the factory system, and so on, their efforts were and could not be otherwise than profitless; they arrayed themselves against a development that nothing could resist. Since then they have hit upon better methods whereby to shield themselves as much as possible against the injurious effects of capitalist exploitation; they have established their "trade unions" and they have started their independent political parties, each of which supplements the other, and with the assistance of which they have, in all civilized countries, met with more or less success. But each of these successes, be it the raising of wages, the shortening of hours, the prohibition of child labor, the establishment of sanitary regulations, etc., gives a new impulse to the economic development, together, they have either caused the capitalist to place heavier labor with machinery, or they have forced up his pay-roll, and thereby have rendered the competitive struggle harder for the small capitalist, hastened his economic existence, and hastened the concentration of capital.

Accordingly, however justifiable, or even necessary, it may be that the workmen establish labor organizations for the purpose of improving their condition, by lowering the hours of work, and other equally wholesome measures, it were a profound error to imagine that such reforms could delay the social revolution; and equally mistaken is the notion that one cannot admit the usefulness of certain social reforms without admitting that it is possible to prevent society upon its present basis. On the contrary, such reforms may be supported from the revolutionary standpoint because, as it has been shown, they stimulate the course of events, and because, so far from removing the actual tendencies of the capitalist system, they help them along.

The turning of the people into proletarians, the concentration of capital in the hands of a few, who rule the whole economic life of capitalist nations, none of these trying and shocking effects of the capitalist system of production can be checked by any reform whatever, that is based upon the existing system of property, however far reaching such reform may be.

There is no political party, however foolish and anxious it may be to its followers, that is not, but has its misgivings with regard to the future. Each of them still adheres to the special plan of reform as the means whereby to prevent the crash; but there is not one of them that still entertains complete faith in its own panacea.

Dodging will not help them. The corner stone of the present system of production—private property in the instruments of production—is becoming day more irreconcilable with the very nature of the means of production. The magnitude that these instruments of production have reached, the social character that their functions have assumed, mark them for common social property, without which, instead of being a blessing they become a curse to mankind. The downfall of private property, in the instruments of production, is a question of time; it is a question of time; it is a question of time, as to the time and the manner in which the revolution will be accomplished.

Indeed, there can be no longer any question as to whether and how private property is to be preserved in the instruments of production; the only question is what, shall, or rather must, be made in the place of it, not a question of making an imitation, but of creating with an actual fact. We have as little choice in the matter of the system of property that should be instituted, as we have in the matter of preserving the existing one, or throwing it overboard.

individual production makes individual production necessary. Large production on the contrary denotes co-operative, social production. In large production each individual does not work alone, but a large number of workers, the whole commonwealth, work together, and produce the whole. Accordingly, the modern instruments of production are extensive and gigantic. With them it is wholly impossible that every single worker should own his own instruments of production. Once the present stage is reached by large production, it admits of but two systems of ownership:

First, private ownership by the individual in the instruments of production, used by co-operative labor; that means the existing system of capitalist production, with its train of misery and exploitation as the portion of the workers, idleness and excessive abundance as the portion of the capitalist; and

Second, ownership by the workers in the common instruments of production; that means a co-operative system of production, and the extinction of the exploitation of the workers, who become masters of their own products, and who themselves appropriate the surplus of which, under our system, they are deprived by the capitalist.

To substitute common in the place of private ownership in the means of production, this is that the economic development is upon us as with ever increasing force.

TWIN ROOTS OF EVIL.

We also affirm that poverty is the principal cause which makes men vile, despicable, fraudulent, thieves, liars, traitors, vagabonds, vicious, false witnesses, etc., and that riches are the cause of pride, of ignorance, of treachery, of presumption, of deceit, of vanity, of egotism, etc., and that it is contrary to the good of the community that there should be rich and poor. Men will be rich when they have what they really want, and this state of things can easily be attained. Labor must be distributed in such a way that work will not be done, and will contribute to make them better and healthier.—Thomas Campanella, 1612.

THE ETHICAL POWER OF SOCIALISM.

The ethical ideals of Socialism have attracted to it a new and noble class of adherents in its ranks its best adherents. It is these ethical ideals which have inspired the rank and file of the Socialist army with fiery zeal and religious devotion. It may be said, indeed, that nothing in the present day is so likely to awaken the conscience of the ordinary man or woman, or to increase the sense of responsibility, as a thorough study of Socialism. The study of Socialism has proved the turning point in the lives of many, and converted self-seeking men and women into self-sacrificing toilers for the masses. The impartial observer can scarcely claim that the Bible produces so marked an effect upon the daily habitual life of the average man and woman, who profess to guide their conduct by it, as Socialism does upon the lives of those who study it. Socialism in this respect is more like the ethics of early Christianity as described in the New Testament.—Richard T. Ely, in Socialism and Social Reform.

PLATFORM.

(Continued from page 1.)

of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

CONVENTION.

(Continued from page 1.)

Initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.

ARTICLE XIII.

Headquarters.

The location of the headquarters of the party shall be determined by the national committee.

ARTICLE XIV.

Amendments.

This constitution may be amended by a national convention or by a referendum of the party in the manner above provided.

Trade Union Resolution.

"The trade and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and is necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is a weapon to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalist system. However, this industrial structure can only lead to exploitation, but it cannot abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class shall own all the means of production and distribution. To achieve this end the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the economic field on the lines of the class struggle."

"The trade union struggle cannot attain lasting success without the political activity of the Socialist Party. The workers must fortify and permanently secure by their political power which they have won from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congress in Brussels, 1893, and London, 1895, this convention reaffirms the declaration that the trade and labor unions are a necessary part of the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it

the duty of all wage workers to join with this movement.

"Neither political nor other differences of opinion, justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the workers are so interwoven that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist principles."

On Colorado.

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is the political organization of the working class, pledged to all its struggles and working consistently for its emancipation, it declares that this convention against the brutality of capitalist rule and the suppression of popular rights and liberties which attends it, and calls upon all the workers of the country to unite with it in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalist domination and the establishment of economic equality and freedom.

"Time after time workers have been oppressed, beaten and murdered for no other reason than that they were struggling for some measure of that comfort and decency of existence to which as the producers of wealth they are entitled. The master class has, in various states and cities, organized Citizens' Alliances, Manufacturers' Associations, 'Anti-Boycott Associations' and the like, which, in order to disrupt and crush out the economic organization of the workers, have instituted a reign of lawlessness and tyranny, and assailed all the fundamental principles and most cherished institutions of personal and collective freedom. By suborning the executive and judicial powers in various states they have infringed upon the liberties of the American people.

"Under their baleful influences, in direct contravention of the letter and spirit of the Constitution, civil authority has been made subservient to the military in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. Freedom of the press and the right of public assembly have been denied in many states; and by the Dick Militia Bill liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon every male citizen between the ages of 18 and 45, and that merely at the caprice of the President.

"At the present time there exists in Colorado a state of violent capitalist anarchy and lawlessness with the consent and under the armed protection of the state government. Peaceable citizens have been forcibly deported by armed bodies of lawbreakers, aided and abetted by military usurpers of the civil power; involuntary servitude has been imposed by injunctions compelling citizens to work under conditions distasteful to them. Innocent and law-abiding citizens have been arrested without warrant, imprisoned without trial, and after acquittal by decision of the civil courts, held by the military in defiance of every principle of civil authority and government; and the right of habeas corpus, for centuries cherished as a safeguard of personal liberty has been unceremoniously trampled upon.

"Now, we declare these conditions in Colorado are the natural and logical results of the prevailing economic system which permits the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. Between these two classes, the workers and the masters of their bread, there exists a state of constant warfare, a bitter and irrepressible class conflict. Labor, organized for self protection and to secure better conditions of life, is met by powerful opposing organizations of the master class, whose supreme power lies in the fact that all the forces of government, legislative, judicial and executive, have been unwittingly placed in their hands by their victims. Controlling all the forces of government, they are entrenched in a position from which they can only be dislodged by political methods.

"Therefore this convention of the Socialist Party reaffirms this principle of the International Socialist movement, that the supreme issue in the contest by the workers of all the forces of government and the forces of class power for the overthrow of class rule, and the establishment of that common ownership of the means of the common life, which alone can free individual and collective man."

On the War in the East.

"Whereas, The conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to bring about war between the Russian and Japanese nations; and

"Whereas, The working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare, be it

"Resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America sends greetings of fraternity and solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, as well as to the workers of the United States, against the war of aggression and the establishment of class rule, and be it further

"Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its struggle for world peace.

As to Party Speakers.

"Whereas, It is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist Party, at an indefinite compensation, dependent upon their success in collecting funds or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensation; and

"Whereas, Under such conditions the ability of a comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances other than usefulness in the propagation of the Socialist cause; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this convention declares itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers, and in favor of the payment of a definite predetermined salary or fee.

Itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries placing them above the standard of the working class the party represents. And we recommend that, his far as possible, the Socialist Party should engage their speakers, and organizers through the national or state organizations, thus discouraging the abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued."

PARTY NEWS.

National.

Comrades should see that their dues are paid promptly up to date—and if they get stamps therefor, as this is the guaranty that the national and state organizations get their proper share. Contributions to the national organizing fund will just now be very welcome, as it is desired to get the organization in the field without delay. The National Secretary's address—"Dear you forget"—is Room 300, 200 Dearborn street, Chicago. Don't forget the address of war.

New York State.

At the meeting of the State Committee on April 22, Comrades Shobodin, Phillips, Gorler, Lackenauer, Neppel, Spargo, Dub, and Peters were present; absent: Furman (excused), Lemon, Reich and Dixon. A committee from Local Queens County attended with reference to the long-standing dispute as to charters between Long Island City and Queens County. It was decided to leave this to the state convention, and that the matter be decided by the state convention. The State Committee shall do so and get the ruling of the convention on the point. It was decided that Long Island City be asked to furnish at once a report of the standing of members. A letter was received from Comrade Arland of Albany recommending Bleeker Hall for state convention and mass meeting on account of a letter from L. D. Mayes requesting the reason for the action of the State Committee in cancelling the endorsement of his application for a position on the reserve list of national organizers. It was decided that Comrade Mayes be informed that the rescinding of the endorsement was in no way a reflection on his integrity and loyalty as a member of the party and that, instead, the cancellation of his name from the reserve list was due to his departure from the position already taken. A plan for the division of the state into agitation districts for campaign purposes, to be brought before the state convention, submitted by Assistant Secretary Chase, was approved and ordered sent to the locals. Gerber, Neppel, and Hutzler, were chosen as a committee to devise methods of raising funds for state campaign. It was decided to send John Mayes to speak for one month during the campaign, and a number of other well-known speakers is possible. Spargo, Shobodin, and Lee were elected a committee to prepare a platform and resolutions for the state convention, and it was decided that the relation of the State Committee to The Worker be considered by the convention on platform and resolutions and reported. It was decided to allow the two delegates at-large \$50 each for expenses of attending national convention. Financial report showed: Income, \$86.75; expenditures, \$101.50; balance on hand, \$10.37. The net profit on the Hartford-Davenport debate, to which admission was charged, was \$25.00.

Local New Rochelle will hold a primary Friday evening, May 13, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 10 Mechanic street, for the purpose of electing delegates to the state convention to be held in Tarrytown on Saturday, May 21. The Tarrytown convention will elect delegates to the state convention.

James F. Carey will speak in Buffalo Thursday evening, May 12, 8 p. m., in McKee's Hall, 39 W. Mohawk street, old Y. M. C. A. Admission, 10 cents.

Local Albany has changed its meeting place to 60 South Pearl street and the meeting night from Wednesday to the first and third Saturday evening in each month.

Following is the result of the referendum on the place of holding the state convention: Pittsburgh, 28; Hartford, 12; Philadelphia, 13; Erie, 0; York, 2; Williamsport, 13; Wilkes Barre, 18; Reading, 7. As shown it has resulted in the choice of Pittsburgh by a substantial vote.

The time of holding the convention is Sunday, May 22. Particulars will be sent later by circular. In the meantime the party press, locals are most earnestly urged to elect the full number of delegates to which they are entitled, and make this a convention that the party will look back upon in the coming years as a milestone in Socialist progress in Pennsylvania.

The basis of representation is as follows, according to Article 3, Section 2, of the constitution: One delegate for every 100 members, and one additional delegate for each fifty members or major fraction thereof, in good standing for three months prior to date of convention. The State Secretary urges upon the locals the importance and necessity of at once devising ways and means of raising funds for defraying expenses of their delegates to the convention.

Charters have been granted by the State Committee to Sharon, Mercer County, and Oil City, Venango County. The Philadelphia Socialists held their county convention on Saturday, May 7, and nominated a full county ticket.

The receipts of the State Committee for two weeks were as follows: Oil City, \$2; Franklin, \$2; Mt. Pleasant, \$1.00; York, \$2.50; Black Lick, \$3; Philadelphia, \$3; Sharon, 70c; Homestead, \$1; Brownsville, 70c; Utahville, 60c; Summerville, \$3.70; Goodwill Hill, 70c; March Creek, \$3; Reading, \$10. Contributions to fund for expenses of delegates to national convention: Fred Klaus, Pittsburgh, \$1; Reading, \$18; 33rd Ward Branch, Philadelphia, \$3.

Massachusetts.

George Willis Cooke will lecture on "Woman's Share in the Evolution of Humanity" on Wednesday, May 26, 8 p. m., in Dudley street Opera House, 113 Dudley street, Boston. This is the

sixth lecture in the course given by the Boston Socialist Women's Club. Admission is free. The meeting will be on the anniversary of Frederick O. MacCarthy's death. James Carey and John Ellis have been invited to open the meeting with short addresses in memory of our honored and unforgotten Comrade MacCarthy.

There will be a debate on Sunday, May 15, at 8 p. m., at Boston Socialist headquarters: "Resolved: That Socialism is Scientific." Jos. Spers will take the affirmative, Mr. Chase the negative. Bring your friends.

New Hampshire.

The New Hampshire Socialist state convention was held at Concord, April 21. Thirty-two delegates were seated, representing nearly every local in the state. Littleton sending three for the first time. A platform was adopted declaring for the principles of International Socialism and state issues in line therewith and the following ticket was placed in nomination: For Governor, Sumner F. Cladin; for Congress, First District, George Little of Manchester; Second District, Henry J. Nourse of Claremont; Presidential Electors, Horace Spokesfield, Littleton; Edward Cote, Dover; A. J. May, Claremont; James W. Bear, Portsmouth; R. P. Cladin, Rockingham. At National Comptroller and three candidates were placed in nomination for the position: H. A. Hewey, Claremont; A. H. Baker, Franklin; M. H. Orel, Nashua. Ten nominations were also made to be referred to the membership for the five places on the executive committee, as follows: Joseph Foley, Concord; Louis Arinstein, Dover; W. H. Wilkins, Claremont; S. P. Cladin, Manchester; George Harwood, Nashua; Herbert L. Powell, Franklin; George A. Little, Manchester; C. H. Berry, Littleton; A. K. Chase, Nashua; Henry J. Nourse, Claremont. About \$50 was raised to pay the expense of Delegate Murray to the Chicago national convention.

Idaho.

By referendum vote of the Socialist Party of Idaho the following officials have been elected: National Committee, T. F. Carter of Boise; State Secretary-Treasurer, L. E. Workman of Boise; State Organizer, A. G. Miller of Boise; State Committee, F. A. Phelps of Boise, A. J. Howard of Emmett, R. H. Root of Harrisonburg, W. H. Byrne of Idaho City, Jas. Smith of St. Anthony, J. L. Kennedy of Hamsey, Peter Johnson of Burke, C. E. Newkirk of Russell, Will D. Candee of Weiser; Cash Quorum, T. J. Condon of Emmett, Will D. Candee of Weiser, Frank Page of Nampa, E. K. Knapp of Boise, A. L. Freeman of Boise. Pursuant to call of State Secretary, members of Local Quorum met at Boise, April 17, and proceeded to organize. The following report of former acting State Secretary from Nov. 28, 1903, to March 1, 1904, was submitted and approved: Number of locals in state at end of quarter, including applicants for charters, 30; number of locals in good standing, 20; number of dues-stamps purchased, 1,201; number of dues-stamps sold, 1,102; number of dues-stamps on hand, 180. Financial: Received for dues-stamps, \$118.80; received for supplies, \$3.50; total, \$122.30; National Office for dues-stamps, \$23.05; to National Office for supplies, \$8; to National Organizer M. W. Wilkins, \$15.50; to stationery, supplies, etc., \$10.15; total, \$102.70; cash on hand at end of quarter, \$19.60. Charters were granted to locals at Hagerman, Idaho City, Russell, Silver City, Nampa, Prater, Emmett, Stiles, Midvale, Tishoming, Woodville, Caldwell, Kootenai, Woodland, Kamiah, Gifford, Glover, Pocatello, and Glenn Ferry. Report of National Organizer Wilkins upon Local Wallace situation was considered and it was decided that State Organizer Miller further investigate and report in writing to State Committee. As a most central point, it was ordered that the state convention be again called to meet at Weiser, Idaho, and for the purpose of taking advantage of reduced railroad rates that the date be set for July 4.

Comrades, get this book: *Essence of Reason*, by J. A. Campbell. Bible and Church a Failure. Superstition of present Religion Exposed. Gammas, let us improve on religion as we have government. Bound in cloth 35c., paper 25c. Send money order. Address: J. D. CAMPBELL, 49 Mel. Hotel St., Toronto, Ont., Can.

The annual meeting of the Stockholm Relief Committee will be held on the 14th day of June 1904, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Dated May 1st, 1904. H. WILDA, President.

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CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE

INT. UNION No. 90—Office and Em-

ployment Bureau, 64 E. 4th St. The

following districts meet every Sat-

urday: Dist. I (Belmont)—301 E.

71st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)

—60 E. 1st St., 8 p. m.; Dist. III—

Clubhouse, 206 E. 80th St., 7:30 p. m.;

Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St., 8 p. m.;

Dist. V—3309 Third Ave., 8 p. m.;

Dist. VI—1067 Third Ave., 8 p. m.;

Dist. VII—1432 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

The Board of Supervision meets

every Tuesday at Fairbanks Hall,

1251 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

CARL RAIM CLUB (MUSICIANS

UNION), meets first Tuesday of the

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East 4th street. Secretary, H. Fry

173 East 4th street.

LOCAL 45, MACHINE WOOD WORKERS

SOCIALISM THE WORKMAN'S BUSINESS.

By W. R. Fox.

A man goes into business. What for? To get shelter, food, clothing, education and entertainment for himself and family. But YOU can't go into business. Why? No capital! Ha, ha! What is your labor force? Your arms? Don't you own yourself? And the earth? Have you no part in it?

Not! Why? Because the other fellows own masters, who work you to death, and take all you earn, except a bare living, and sometimes do not even allow you that—those fellows who claim the earth, they have all the factories, all the tools. What's the result? You must sell yourself to them in order to be able to live at all.

You must sell your labor force. You must put your body in bondage for a wage. This wage barely keeps your body alive so that it may move around at command of the boss.

This looks like slavery, doesn't it? But a slave is a king to you. You have not a slave in a king to you. You are creating so much for your boss that the market is overstocked with goods. You will be thrown out of work. If you can't get enough to live on you will starve to death. Hadn't it?

Capitalism has the earth. You are disinherited. You must work for the capitalists. You have a job, perhaps, but you may lose that job at any time.

It is only kept by a tankmaster's favor. When you lose your job you lose the respect of your fellow men. You lose your family and you lose your life.

So you must cling with a death grip to that job though you are worked like a brute and get the lowest pay.

The boss has the bulge on you. He doesn't care if you age before your time, or fall ill, or die. There are plenty others to take your place.

You are worked for profit. So are you. But the profit is larger out of the wage slave, than out of the pure and simple slave. Why? Because the master does not have to make an original investment to buy you. You come as a "free contract."

He does not have to keep you in illness or in old age, or bury you when you are dead. So you, the wage-slave, are cheaper than the pure and simple slave.

Isn't that so? In order to live you must have work, but you are not guaranteed work. When you have the work you are worked far too long and too hard. And your pay is too small. You get but a small portion of what you earn. The boss must have his profit and a big one.

How would you like to change all this?

How would you like to own yourself and have an interest in the earth? Wouldn't it be nice if you didn't have to sell your body to a boss?

How grand it would be if you could invest your capital, your labor force, in such a way that you would get full returns. No one would get a profit from your labor. You would receive all you earned. And you wouldn't have to work like a brute, and you wouldn't be always sure of a job, the shortest hours and the highest wage, all you earned.

Socialism will show you how to do this. Socialism invites you to become a free man.

Socialism says: "The means of existence belong, not to a few masters, but to all the people in the country."

Socialism says: "The lands, mines, railroads, workshops, all the means of production and distribution, shall belong to all the people—the government, if you will, but the people will be the government. Work will be assured to

everyone who wants it. No profits will be made. Everyone will get all he earns.

The billions which now go in profits to the idlers will remain in the hands of those who work.

That will de-throne the bosses. They won't be harmed. They will simply be deprived of the power to harm you. They will be placed on an equal footing with you. They will cease to be your masters and become your brothers.

Useless work will be abolished. Only useful work will be done.

That will make your tasks light. It is estimated that when everybody does useful work, two or three hours each day would be more than sufficient to supply all with the necessities and luxuries of life.

Anyhow, you will be assured a job. Your task will be a joy, not a burden. You will get all you earn. You will be provided for in sickness and old age.

Socialism proposes to do all this for you and for all.

Socialism will be the great firm of all the people, owning all the stockholder. Every citizen will be an equal stockholder and will work on equal terms.

Socialism is no dream. It is pure business.

Socialism does not mean violence. It advocates the law and order of brotherhood.

Socialism opposes no religion. Its gospel is the noblest message of all religions: "Peace on earth; good will to men."

Socialism is your business. It asks you take stock in it. It will give you a square deal. No one will get a "divvy" out of you.

A capitalist goes into business to-day to get shelter, food, clothing, joy, OUT OF YOUR BONES.

Vote to keep these things for yourself. Join with your fellows. Vote to establish the great firm of Socialism, in which you will be an equal stockholder and will work on equal terms.

Cease to be a slave, or less than one. Become a free man, and bequeath freedom to your children.

Cast your vote for the Socialist Party. Do it out of pure business motives. Because Socialism will give you stock in your country, give you control of your body, give you employment, give you short hours, give you all you earn.

Then, when you are in sickness, keep you in old age, liberty to yourself and to your posterity.

Socialism will do all this for you, not out of charity, but because it is your right, because you are one of us, a human being, an equal, a brother, and for that reason worthy of the best beneath the sun.

Capitalism thrives on wrongs and wrongs.

Socialism stands for love and justice. With capitalism are slavery and sorrow.

With Socialism liberty and joy. Votes will bring it.

When it is established you will indeed be a free citizen.

Then—but not till then—will you be invested with the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Socialism wants to give them to you. By voting for Socialism you can do more than sign the Declaration of Independence. You can put it into practice.

The Declaration of Independence says that if the government fails to give you "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," it is your duty to "provide new guards for your future security."

Then in the name of justice, for the sake of yourself, your family, and all your fellow citizens, vote to change the present capitalist government into the Co-operative Commonwealth.

MASS MEETING FOR THE DAILY IN COOPER UNION ON TUESDAY.

A mass meeting has been arranged by the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association for Tuesday evening, May 17, at Cooper Union, Ninth street and Third avenue, in the interest of the Daily Call. The mass meeting will be informed of all the steps so far taken toward publishing the Socialist daily newspaper by September 1, 1904, and many important announcements will be made from the platform.

As speakers for the occasion the following have been invited: George D. Herron, Morris Hillquit, John Spargo,

Courtenay Lemon, Joseph Barondess, Charles Dobbs, Miss Johanna Dahme, Frederick Knapp, Chas. L. Furman, and other well known Socialist orators. Comrades and friends who want to see a successful Socialist daily paper in New York City should not fail to bring with them to the meeting as many who are interested in our cause as possible, so that this meeting will be a grand turnout of our forces and a splendid stimulus for those who are working energetically toward the realization of this great project so necessary to the progress of our movement.

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from page 3.)

New York City.

The General Committee of Local New York will hold its regular meeting on Saturday evening, May 14, at the W. E. A. clubhouse, 204 E. Eighth street, after the county convention.

Elsa Barker's lecture at the Liberal Culture Club, 170 W. Fifty-fourth street, on "Individual and Collective Ideals," was postponed to Thursday evening, May 19. Admission is free and all are welcome.

A. L. Samelson will speak on "The Economic Situation and Its Causes" on Tuesday evening, May 17, at the Webster League, Zeltner's Morrisania Hall, 170th street and Third avenue.

The regular meeting of the West Side Agitation Committee will be held Monday, May 10, having been postponed last week owing to the exposition which was in progress at Grand Central Palace.

The Socialist Literary Society will give a house warming and musical on Saturday evening, May 14, at 233 East Broadway, R. J. Hichman, vocalist; S. H. Epstein, violinist; Miss Levin, pianist, and other artists are on the program.

Meeting of the Kings County Committee will be held on Saturday evening, May 14, at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum.

A borough meeting of Kings County will be held on Sunday afternoon, May 15, 3 p. m., at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 649 Wiloughby avenue.

Meeting of the City Executive Committee of Local New York was held on May 10. Chas. Lane was absent and unexcused. Two applications for membership were referred to the General Committee. The organizer was instructed to notify the Bohemian branch that if the Bohemian National Organizer comes to New York, and they wish him to speak, they will have to engage him as National Secretary.

Harlem Agitation Committee reported holding a successful open-air meeting at One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street and Seventh avenue, selling all literature on hand. Moved that Organizer be instructed to send letters to enrolled voters in south side of 34th A. D. and endeavor to effect an organization; amended that Organizer form a branch with those comrades who reside in the district, but belong to other districts; amendment carried. Organizer reported income, \$171.01; expenses, \$8.30; balance on hand, \$162.71; treasurer has \$102.07. Organizer has \$30.04. A motion that a call be issued to organize a speaker's class was lost. A motion that Organizer arrange with editor of The Worker for the appearance of a classified data for use of speakers was carried.

At the last meeting of the Down Town Young People's Social Democratic Club the Entertainment Committee reported that the net proceeds of the Jan. 16 affair amounted to \$48.10. The club decided to give 10 per cent. to the State Committee for campaign purposes. It was decided to attend the picnic of the Brooklyn Club on Sunday, May 15, in a body. The picnic will be held at Liberty Park, Bayside, and the members of the Down Town Young People's Club will meet at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, between 1230 and 1 p. m. sharp. All young men and women who would like to take an outing are invited to come. The admission is ten cents. The delegates to the Central Conference reported that all the three Young People's clubs have approved of the proposition to organize a county convention, and that some good work will be accomplished in the near future. The club also donated \$10 of the proceeds of the Jan. 16 affair to the Verein fuer Volksbildung.

It was decided to celebrate the first anniversary of the club at the picnic of the Social Democratic Party on June 10. A roll call will be established for future meetings to insure better attendance. Comrades Bolz, J. Simon and E. Merz were elected a committee to make arrangements with the Verein fuer Volksbildung for next season. The comrades of the East Side districts should do more for the club as it intends to do some good work during the coming campaign.

At the last borough meeting of Queens County Comrade Prouse occupied the chair. Branches Woodside, Wyckoff Heights, Glendale, Woodhaven, and Jamaica were represented. Comrades Prouse and Corona were absent. Jamaica reported that it would hold a festival in conjunction with Branch Jamaica No. 108, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund Association, at J. P. Yang's Union Grove, better known as Wirtshaus Zum Arnen Teufel, Union Turnpike near Hoffman Boulevard, Maple Grove. Admission will be free and all comrades are invited to be present. The committee which waited upon the State Committee in reference to the granting of two chapters in Queens Borough reported that the State Committee had referred the matter to the state convention.

The number of delegates to represent Queens County at the state convention was left to the decision of the county convention which is to be held on May 18 at 15 Myrtle avenue, Greenview. A dispatch of greeting was sent to the national convention. All comrades who wish to procure citizenship papers should report to Comrade Leventhal of Woodside, Comrade Hahn of Liberty Park, Karsgreen, or Lake

Stamms at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum.

The South Brooklyn Entertainment Committee reported that 855 tickets were sold by organizations and 240 tickets at the door of the Labor Lyceum. The treasurer reported having \$68.37 on hand, which will be divided among the organizations as follows, the percentage being 11 1/2 cents on the tickets sold: Society Xantra, \$5.29; 7th A. D., \$2.55; 7th A. D., Branch II, \$1.01; 8th A. D., \$2.30; 8th A. D., \$3.06; 11th A. D., \$2.07; 12th A. D., \$0.45; Branch 13, Sick and Death Benefit Society, \$4.05; Branch 135, Sick and Death Benefit Society, \$2.40; Cremation Society, \$5.75. The Cremation Society turns its share of the profits of the festival over to South Brooklyn Division, S. D. P., for campaign purposes. All the assembly district branches are reminded that 10 per cent. of the money they receive is due to the State Committee as their share of all festival day subscriptions. The entertainment committee will very soon give the final report audited by a committee for that purpose.

KINGS COUNTY PRIMARIES AND CONVENTION.

Primaries of the Social Democratic Party of Kings County to elect delegates to the county, congressional, senatorial and assembly district conventions, will be held on Friday, May 20, from 7 to 10 p. m., at the following places:

1st Assembly District—121 Schermerhorn street, office of Furman.

2d Assembly District—228 Duffield street, home of Williams.

3d Assembly District—208 Columbia street, hall.

4th Assembly District—64 Morton street, home of Pettler.

5th Assembly District—214 Hooper street, home of Butcher.

6th Assembly District—30 Summer avenue, hall.

7th Assembly District—At 1524 Fifty-ninth street, home of C. W. Caranough.

8th Assembly District—550 Baltic street, home of Kewell.

9th Assembly District—131 Imlay street, meeting room.

10th Assembly District—107 Vandervort avenue, home of Bychow.

11th Assembly District—803 Union street, home of Fraser.

12th Assembly District—303a Sixteenth street, home of Branch.

13th Assembly District—202 Calver street.

14th Assembly District—310 Haron street, home of Clayton.

15th Assembly District—187 Montross avenue, meeting room.

16th Assembly District—715 Lexington avenue, home of Hopkins.

17th Assembly District—201 Monroe street, home of Holmes.

18th Assembly District—12 E. Seventh street, Windsor Terrace, home of Peters.

19th Assembly District—940-955 Wiloughby avenue, meeting room.

20th Assembly District—267 Hamburg avenue, hall.

21st Assembly District—675 Glenmore avenue, meeting room.

A convention of the Social Democratic Party of Kings County for the purpose of electing delegates to the state convention, to nominate candidates for offices to be voted for at the ensuing election and to transact such other matters as may come before it, will be held on Saturday, May 21, at 3 p. m. in the Labor Lyceum, 649-655 Wiloughby avenue, in the Borough of Brooklyn, City of New York.

The representation to the conventions is as follows:

County Convention: One delegate for each Assembly District and one additional delegate for every ten members in good standing. Unorganized districts, one delegate.

Congressional District Conventions: Five delegates for each Assembly District, to be elected to a Congressional District, and three delegates to each Congressional District Convention for districts located in two or more Congressional Districts.

Assembly District Conventions: Five delegates from each Assembly District. Assembly District Conventions: As many delegates as the district may decide.

Organizers are requested to proceed according to the instructions sent to them.

The dates for all conventions, except the County Conventions, have not been set, but it will be announced in the party press in time, and delegates will be notified by the secretaries of the primaries will notify the undersigned of the names and addresses of their respective delegates.

By order of the County Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Kings County.

J. GERBER.

DEBATE BETWEEN WILSHIRE AND WHITE.

There will be a debate on Socialism vs. Single-Tax between Gaylord Wilshire, editor of "Wilshire's Magazine," and John Z. White, one of the best known Single-Tax speakers, on Monday, May 17, 8 p. m., at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Wiloughby and Myrtle avenue. Admission will cost ten cents, and one-half the proceeds will go to the fund being raised to establish a Socialist daily newspaper and one-half to the Single-Tax literature fund.

VOTE AS YOU STRIKE.

NEW YORK CONVENTION NOTICES.

A convention of the Social Democratic Party in the County of New York for the purpose of electing delegates to the New York State Convention and transacting such other business as may properly come before the convention, will be held on Saturday, May 14, 1904, at 730 P. M. at the Club room of the Workingmen's Educational Association, 204 East Eighth street. The basis of representation to said convention is three delegates from each assembly district.

The dates and places of the congressional, senatorial and assembly district conventions will be announced in The Worker later.

Representation to the various conventions will be as follows:

New York County Convention: Three delegates from each assembly district. Congressional District Convention: Five delegates from each assembly district wholly located in one congressional district, and three from assembly districts only partly located in the congressional district.

Assembly District Conventions: As many delegates as the assembly district may decide.

Credentials for all these delegates must be made in duplicate, one to be sent to the Organizer and the other to be sent to the chairman and secretary of the primary.

By order of the General Committee, Social Democratic Party of New York.

U. SOLOMON, Secretary.

BUILDING FAKES IN CAPITALIST PRESS.

Local capitalist papers during the last week repeatedly announced that the building houses of Bronx Borough were at odds with the walking delegates of the different unions in the building trades, and that they would demand the abolition of the delegates. At the same time it was said that the unions would not consent to the latter and if necessary would offer a strike.

A reporter of the "Volkzeitung" investigated the matter and visited a meeting of the bosses on Wednesday night, held in Loeffer's Hall. He was told after the meeting that there were absolutely no prospect of a cessation of building work in the Bronx. The bosses had not objected to the delegates, and in fact had held a conference with them previous to the meeting. The conference had been a friendly one and the relations heretofore existing between employers and employees of the building trades in the Bronx would be changed. The newspapers publishing the unfounded stories were harshly criticized for their action.

IRON WORKERS SHOULD STAY AWAY FROM UTICA.

For the last seven weeks a strike against a reduction of wages to the amount of 20 per cent. has been carried on by the Iron Molders and Core Makers of Utica, N. Y. The companies are trying daily to import scale from outside towns, but so far the strikers have been very successful in sending the strike-breakers home again. Ever since the strike started the companies have only been able to put sixteen scale to work. The Utica Heater Company on Monday last started to operate their works with fifteen non-union men, but next day the strikers succeeded in persuading ten of the men not to go to work again. The strike will surely be won if all iron molders stay away a few weeks longer.

BRICKLAYERS MAY FORM ONE LOCAL UNION.

All the bricklayers unions of Manhattan and Bronx will vote on Saturday on a proposition to amalgamate the unions of these two boroughs into one. The proposition has been carried by 9,000 members. The vote will be taken at Murray Hill Lyceum, Thirty-fourth street and Third avenue, and the polls will be open from 12:30 to 9:15 p. m. Several of the local capitalist sheets contained advertisements during the past week calling the attention of the members of the Bricklayers and Masons International Union to the coming vote. The advertisements were signed by Wm. J. Bowen, president of the organization, who does not seem to know that there is a labor press in this city.

DARRIAGE AND WALON MAKERS STILL GAINING.

The striking carriage and wagon makers are steadily progressing in their fight against the bosses' associations, and nearly half of the members of the bosses' union had signed the new annual agreement with the executive board of the strikers when this was written. Several of the largest bosses have conceded the demands of the men in New York, and all other nearby towns, and a large number of men have gone back to work again. It was said at the headquarters of the strikers that the fight may be ended this week. The remaining bosses, who have not signed the agreement as yet, with the exception of a few thick heads, have declared themselves willing to make peace, even if the association orders that the fight should continue. The bosses' association is on the verge of disruption, while the union is steadily gaining. When the fight started 98 per cent. of all wagon and carriage workers were organized and since then a large part of the remaining 2 per cent. have joined the ranks of organized labor.

WORK IN THE FUTURE SOCIETY.

The time is coming when man will rise into command of materials. He will not work from fear, but from love—not from slavish compulsion but from a real interest in the creation of his hands. Then at last, and after all these centuries, his work, his very life, will become an art and will be an expression of himself; it will be a work of welcome to someone else. Everything that a man creates, be it only the simplest object for the use of himself or his neighbor, the installation of his house or garden, or the specialty which he supplies to the community, will be touched by the spirit of beauty. It will be the free activity of his own nature, of his own mind, of his own body, of his own soul, within which alone man makes true work possible. While men labor as they do today—without hope, without interest, without love, without expression, in surdness and weariness and squander of mind and of body—the ban of ugliness inevitably rests on everything that is produced—Edward Carpenter.

"Citizens' Alliance" seem to have overlooked the fact that their actions will probably destroy the utility of the "business man's administration" gap as a bait in municipal elections—Eric People.

A PUZZLED WORKINGMAN.

I had some fun with an Irish worker. I learned that one of the Vandebilt was building a beautiful marble palace on the corner of Fifty-first street and Fifth avenue, so I hired myself over. After looking the structure over, I walked up to an Irish laborer who was working there and said:

"That's a fine house you are building, Mr. Vandebilt, did ye say?"

"Phair's the matter wid ye; are ye crazy? My name's not Vandebilt."

"Oh, I beg your pardon," said I. "I heard that Mr. Vandebilt was building a marble palace and as you seemed to be doing the most of the work around here, I thought you were Mr. Vandebilt."

"See here, now, young man. Don't ye get fresh. Mister Vandebilt's away in Yurrop or Africky or some place. It's his money that is building this house."

"Well," said I, "can I see his money?"

"See his money? Well, ye are a grand-horn shute enough. Lit me explain. You see Mr. Vandebilt made his money on the railroad—"

"Oh," said I, interrupting. "He's a railroad man is he? What does he do? Is he a brakeman or a conductor, or is he an engineer?"

"Phair do be do? Why he doesn't do anything."

"Well, now, that's strange," said I, appearing to be greatly puzzled. "Who is building this house anyway?"

"Why the shone masons, plasterers, bricklayers, an' so on, the workmen."

"Will there be room for all of you in this house, when it's finished?"

"S'ay, young man, ye're havin' fun wid me. We workmen can't live in such fine houses. We live on the East Side and half the time we can't get enough to eat."

"Well," said I, "that's your fault, not mine. Seems to me if I built such a fine house as that, I would not see such a jack-ass as that to give it over to some fellow who never did a tap of work. So long." With that I left the poor fellow wondering what kind of a crazy hon he was anyway. However, he isn't any more to blame for these conditions than the rest of the workmen—who don't vote for Socialism—Wm. H. Leflaw, in Erie People.

LEATHER WORKERS ON HORSE GOODS.

Local 95, United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods, which includes all harnessmakers, halter, boot and saddle makers, in fact all mechanics, employed on leather goods used for horses meet at Tecumseh Hall, 315 W. Forty-second street on the first and third Friday of each month. Initiation fee is \$2. Local 95 was organized in May, 1902. In May, 1903, a dinner was made and the hours of labor were reduced to nine per day, eight on Saturday, and an increase for piece workers. This year, on account of business being dull, they renewed their last year's agreement with good success, gaining several new shop shops. June 14 the national convention will be held in St. Louis, Mo. There is a sick and death benefit connected with the union. For information address E. M. Byrnes, 310 East Thirty-fourth street, New York, secretary-treasurer, or Edward J. Baker, secretary Local 95, 28 Fountain avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

NEW YORK PHOTO-ENGRAVERS.

The photo-engravers of New York City are now organized as one union and when the charter is received from the officers of the International Photo-Engravers of North America the last chapter of a bitter three-year warfare will be closed.

WOOD WORKERS.

The strike of the Boxmakers and Sawyers, No. 122, Amalgamated Wood Workers, against the Michigan Packing Box Factory has been settled by a committee appointed by the local to wait upon Mr. Pearlmuter, the proprietor of the concern. The committee were about three hours trying to induce him to discharge the scabs; he wanted them taken into the union; in the end, however, he agreed to get rid of them all and run a strictly union shop.

ALLIANCE OF THEATRICAL WORKERS PROJECTED.

The third annual convention of the Actors National Protective Union, which began on Tuesday last in this city, attended by 50 delegates representing over 8,000 organized actors, discussed plans for organizing a theatrical world. A committee of five was appointed to appear before the convention of the American Federation of Musicians, which will begin next Monday at Amsterdam Opera House, this city, and lay before the delegates of the musicians plans for the formation of a big alliance of all theatrical employees, consisting of actors, musicians, stage hands, electricians and others. The convention was presided over by Grand President John S. Runney and Lew Morton acted as its secretary.

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"Citizens' Alliance" seem to have overlooked the fact that their actions will probably destroy the utility of the "business man's administration" gap as a bait in municipal elections—Eric People.

GOOD SOCIALIST BOOKS AND HOW TO GET THEM.

Do you wish to educate yourself on the principles and history of Socialism? Of course you do. You wish to do it in a good, standard, book and read it carefully, and then another and another, setting aside some certain time each week, be it only an hour or two, for systematic reading. Then you wish also to help in spreading the light of Socialism? Of course you do. One of the best ways to do that is to get new subscriptions for The Worker. We have a plan by which, while pushing the circulation of this paper, you can provide yourself with the best books on Socialism. Send these six propositions. Then go to work.

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The Worker.

NEW YORK, MAY 22, 1904.

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VOL. XIV.—NO. 8.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

By Chas. H. Vill.

The capitalist system necessarily presupposes the reading of society into two classes—the owners of the means of production and those who have nothing but their labor-power to sell. The laboring class is thus absolutely dependent upon the capitalist class. The ideal of every proletarian movement must, necessarily, be the emancipation of the workers from this condition of dependence and servitude. Progress toward this end it must know itself in its historic relations. A clear conception of these relations reveals the program and tactics necessary to success.

For the working class to secure its freedom it must cease to be dependent upon the capitalist class, and this can only be accomplished by overthrowing the capitalist order. The abolition of modern capitalism can be accomplished in one of two ways; either by reversing the wheels of progress, destroying modern methods and returning to the days of handicraft and individual production, or by retaining modern methods and pushing on the organization of industry to its logical consummation, collective ownership—Socialism. The latter method is the only one to which the proletariat can attach itself, inasmuch as the proletariat class is the result of the development of the capitalist system, being necessarily associated with production on a large scale. Thus the emancipation of the proletariat must be accomplished by going forward, not backward. Collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is the only solution to the problem.

Socialism, then, naturally arises out of the economic situation of the proletariat. The proletarian movement must, of necessity, have a Socialist ideal, and Socialism must, of necessity, rest upon and receive its initiative from the proletarian class.

Socialism, then, represents the interests of the proletarian class. A movement represents the interests of a class when it makes for the perpetuity of that class. We thus see how impossible it is for the Socialist movement to represent the interests of the capitalist class. To subvert the interests of this class would be to perpetuate the capitalist system. While Socialism does not, and cannot, represent the class interests of the capitalist, it nevertheless represents the higher and truer individual interests of every member of society, for Socialism would realize a nobler civilization. But the members of the property class are so blinded by prejudice and class interests that they are unable to see what would make for a higher social order and a nobler humanity. Thus while Socialism stands for the higher interests of all as human beings, as members of society, it does not represent the class interests of the capitalists, for their class interests signify such policies as make for the continuance of their class. Socialism would abolish the capitalist class and turn all mere owners into useful producers. But when we turn to the laborer we find that Socialism represents not only his personal interests but also his class interest, for the class interest of the laborer is in accord with social progress.

Society today is divided into two classes—the property and non-property class. Every man is born into these conditions inheritor, or acquires, a classhood in addition to his manhood. True civilization can never be attained in a class-constituted society, for the members of neither class can reach their highest development in such conditions. The dominance of class interests prevents men from realizing the highest good for the greatest number, the inevitable result of such conditions and so desire to abolish class distinctions and the class element in character, for he knows that human brotherhood must ever be utopian in a system founded upon antagonistic interests.

While Socialists recognize the necessity of abolishing classes, they nevertheless constantly endeavor to awaken the working class to a sense of class-consciousness. Every man is born into these conditions inheritor, or acquires, a classhood in addition to his manhood. True civilization can never be attained in a class-constituted society, for the members of neither class can reach their highest development in such conditions. The dominance of class interests prevents men from realizing the highest good for the greatest number, the inevitable result of such conditions and so desire to abolish class distinctions and the class element in character, for he knows that human brotherhood must ever be utopian in a system founded upon antagonistic interests.

Now, the only class that has a direct and immediate interest in securing this end is the working class. The interests of this class are diametrically opposed to the interests of the capitalist class. As every class is moved by its material interests, it is necessary to awaken the working class to its interests; in other words, make it class-conscious. This class consciousness comes with it a knowledge of the antagonism of class interests, and enables the laborer to see that his emancipation can only be achieved by abolishing the present system and establishing the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Class consciousness, then, means a consciousness of one's own interests as a member of a class, also a consciousness that his interests can best be subserved by advancing the interests of the class to which he belongs.

When a laborer realizes these facts he is said to be class-conscious. He then sees that his interests, and the interests of his class, are directly opposed to the interests of the capitalist class. He also apprehends the historical fact that the ruling class has always been, since the dawn of private property, the class that owns the dominant factor of production. In feudal times it was the owner of land, to-day it is the owner of the machine. Every step in the development of capitalism meant added economic power for the capitalist class, and political supremacy finally resulted from this growth of economic power. While this is true of the capitalist class, the class-consciousness of the proletariat cannot thus be secured, for the reason that every step in the development of capitalism has meant his greater subjection. Yet with this loss of economic power, due to the development of modern industry, there has come the possibility of political supremacy through the growth of numbers. Upon the political field the working class can become supreme, it can overthrow the capitalist class, and its power is sure to increase.

It must be evident to all that the control of the political power is necessary to any class which would permanently improve its economic condition. The first step, then, toward the worker's emancipation is to gain this control. It is this that Socialists, the world over, emphasize the necessity of class-conscious political action upon the part of the working class.

The laborer can here learn a lesson in tactics from the capitalists. The capitalist class is thoroughly class-conscious. It perceives the course of action necessary to maintain its supremacy, and it can always be relied upon to subvert its own interests. But the laborer, are, they, who act in direct opposition to their own interests. This they do simply because they fail to recognize the opposition of class interests, and do not see that their interests are antagonistic to those of the master class. They have been accustomed to take their economic and political ideas ready-made at the hands of their employers, and this class has seen to it that only such ideas were propagated among the workers as would result in the supremacy of capitalist class rule. Of course, as long as the workers look to their masters for guidance, they will be led like sheep to the slaughter. It is to the interest of the ruling class to maintain its position, but to do this the workers must be kept in ignorance of the true situation, for if they remain in slavery it can only be by their own consent. Were it not for this systematic perversion of the egoism of the subjected class, so that they do not see what pertains to their real interests, the system could not be maintained.

The laborer is constantly deceived as to what constitutes his real interests. There are taught that the interests of laborers and capitalists are identical, that every man has an opportunity to become a capitalist and if he does not he is to blame, that the present system and laws are sacred and must be retained at all hazards, that workers should be meek and content with their lot and look to the future world for reward for present suffering, that the laborer is impotent to help himself—all benefits must come from the class above, etc. As the capitalist class controls the means of information—the press, platform, and often the pulpit—it can bring these false conceptions to bear upon the working class and thus keep them in subjection.

The wage system in itself is admirable, adapted to the needs of the worker, being paid in money, does not apprehend the manner in which he is wronged. He takes his wages, thinking it to represent the full value of his toil, when, in reality, it is far short of the value he has created. The wage system blinds him to the fact of exploitation. Of course, if he were content with his lot, he could not help himself under the present system, for the means of production being monopolized, he must submit to this injustice or starve. But one thing a knowledge of the evil would do: it would make him class-conscious and cause him to take a stand with the class to which he belongs, and unite his efforts with other class-conscious laborers in abolishing the cause of all exploitation—the capitalist system.

Ever since the dawn of private property in the means of production, society has been made up of classes, known at different epochs under various titles—masters and slaves, feudal lords and vassals, capitalists and proletarians—and a struggle is everywhere manifest between these classes of diverse economic interests.

The class struggle is a corollary of the struggle for existence. As the Darwinian explains organic evolution, so the Marxian law explains social evolution. The struggle between classes, re-enacts, on the human plane, the drama of the struggle between species. It is the last form of this struggle that we are interested in to-day. The proletariat, as we have seen, is in a condition of dependence. If it becomes emancipated it must become supreme, and its supremacy can only be accomplished by a struggle. This struggle for mastery is necessarily a class struggle, a struggle between the

proprietary and non-proprietary classes. The subjection of the working class, being due to the fact that the instruments of production are the private property of another class, makes the interests of these two classes antagonistic and a class struggle in inevitable. The fact of this class struggle need not be argued; it is evident, on every hand, by the class legislation, and the strikes, boycotts, and lock-outs which are matters of daily occurrence.

The class struggle is the necessary outcome of class distinctions which involve class interests. The upholding of class interests naturally leads to class opposition and a class struggle.

We cannot expect those who are enjoying special privileges to willingly relinquish their advantages. It is but natural that they should strive to maintain a system that enables them to live in luxurious idleness off the labor of others. There is not an instance in history where a social class has, against its own real interests and on ideological motives, made any essential concessions. To suppose that through sympathy or altruism, or interest in the welfare of the whole, the capitalist class will freely direct itself to its class privileges, is to postulate greater wonders than are contained in the legends of the past. Individuals have done this, but not a whole class. Thus a class struggle is inevitable between these two classes of opposite economic interests.

We must never lose sight of the class character of the movement. This does not mean, however, that members of other classes will not be welcome, but only that those who come should recognize the character of the movement and lend their efforts to furthering the cause, instead of, consciously or unconsciously, endeavoring to sidetrack the movement by efforts to introduce into its program any middle class, reactionary measures. The Socialist movement, being based upon the class struggle, leaves room for no compromise.

Although the Socialist movement is based upon the class struggle, the triumph of the proletarian class means the abolition of all classes. The reason why previous revolutions resulted in the continuance of class dominance is due to the failure to abolish class ownership in the instruments of production. But the proletarian supremacy will result in the abolition of all dependence, because the tools of production are now social and the working class cannot emancipate itself except by socializing these instruments.

When these instruments are owned collectively the cause of dependence and servitude will be abolished. The abolition of private or corporate ownership means the abolition of all class rule and all class distinctions. The new order, then, is not merely an exchange of ruling classes, a society in which the relative positions of the two classes have been reversed, but rather a condition where classes themselves will become extinct; where the interests of one will become identical with the interests of all, and where the interests of all will be united in the social interests.

The class struggle will result in the supremacy of the working class, but which class is exalted to power it will soon lose its present class characteristics. Out of the changed conditions a new type will arise differing from all preceding types, inasmuch as these are dominated by class conditions. Individual character is largely the child of social relations and conditions; consequently, the proletariat must necessarily bear the mark of its environment. The establishment of healthy social conditions will at once reveal itself in human conduct and character.

Thus while as militant our cause is identified with class, as triumphant it is identified with humanity. The class struggle, then, is but a means to an end—the abolition of social distinctions by abolishing class ownership of the means of production and distribution. Under Socialism all will be members of the one class—humanity, and the golden age so long dreamed will be a realization on earth.

THIS MAD WORLD.

To the scientific mind the world appears as a large insane asylum. In it we have a great tolling mass, some in the bowels of the earth, others on the surface of the earth, producing wealth in abundance—food, clothing, shelter, and luxury—and having fashioned nature into useful form, handing over to a small class the result of their collective effort, being content to take as their share about one-third in the form of wages representing so much food, clothing, and shelter previously produced by them; when this tolling mass produces too much food it starves; too much clothing it goes naked; too much shelter, and verily it has nowhere to lay its head. A great famine in the midst of plenty! The small elite class riot in luxury, and revel in pleasure all the while. A mad world, my masters! A mad world!

Yes; it can all be changed. This mad industrial inferno can be made to blossom into a Garden of Eden when mankind awakens to a desire to live a decent wholesome life. But the class who own the means whereby this change is to be effected will first have to be dispossessed of them—the land and instruments of production, transformed from class to collective ownership. That's the only way to find security from working class poverty, misery and degradation. Think!—Sydney People, Australia.

—Vanderelde's "Collectivism and Industrial Evolution" is a book full of facts and thoughtful argument that will repay careful study. You can get it free as a premium for five yearly subscriptions to *The Worker* (two half-years counting as one year) and do good propaganda work in getting them.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Further Account of Its Actions.

Majority of Delegates Were Americans — Almost All Workmen — Large Proportion of Trade Unionists — Report of Committee on State and Municipal Platform.

Thirty-six states and territories were represented in the national convention, by 183 delegates, among them being seven women (from six different states). A number of alternates were present, who for a time took the place of absent delegates.

All delegates in attendance did not fill out blanks on back part of duplicate credentials, but by those filled out the following facts are shown:

The oldest delegate was 70 years of age, and the youngest 20 years; they were two of the latter age. The average age was between 30 and 40.

One hundred and twenty were natives of the United States. Foreign countries were represented as follows: Austria, 4; Canada, 9; Denmark, 2; England, 7; France, 1; Germany, 10; Ireland, 2; Italy, 1; Norway, 2; Russia, 5; Sweden, 1; Switzerland, 2; total of 54.

The occupations were: Architect, 1; bookkeeper, 1; brewer, 1; butcher, 1; cabinet maker, 1; carpenter, 5; cigar maker, 6; clerk, 3; cooper, 1; cooper, 1; electrician, 2; engineer, 1; electrical engineer, 1; farmer, 5; foundryman, 1; groceryman, 7; hatter, 1; hotel keeper, 1; iron and steel worker, 1; jeweler, 1; knitter, 1; lecturer, 7; lawyer, 15; machinist, 4; model maker, 3; musician, 1; mail carrier, 1; music teacher, 1; painter, 1; manufacturer, 1; merchant, 1; news agent, 1; organizer, 1; porter, 1; printer, 10; paperhanger, 1; painter and decorator, 2; pharmacist, 1; proof reader, 1; plumber, 1; patent maker, 2; real estate agent, 1; steam fitter, 1; salesman, 4; student, 3; sawmill operator, 1; stove worker, 3; stone mason, 1; silk weaver, 1; stenographer, 1; sheet iron worker, 1; teacher, 1; telegrapher, 1; timer, 1; waiter, 3; woodworker, 2; watchmaker, 1; watch repairer, 1.

Seventy-eight delegates were members of trade unions.

The Quorum of the Socialist Party met in Chicago before the convention, and the Women's National Socialist Union held its convention here also shortly before the party convention.

The "Appeal to Reason" published a daily edition, regular size, in Chicago during the convention, illustrated with sketches of the delegates. This daily enabled the Socialist weekly press throughout the country to give more prompt and complete reports of the convention than would otherwise have been possible.

The various committees elected by the convention were composed as follows:

Committee on Platform: Eugene V. Debs, Indiana; George D. Herron, New York; Ben Hanford, New York; William Malley, Nebraska; Herman F. Titus, Washington; G. H. Strobel, New Jersey; Thomas E. Will, Kansas; John J. Berger, Wisconsin; M. W. Wilkins, California.

Committee on Resolutions: Spargo, New York; Klein, Minnesota; Burrows, New York; Lee, New York; O'Neil, Indiana; Ida Crouch Hazlett, Colorado; Heydrick, Pennsylvania; Spence, Washington; Reynolds, Indiana.

Trade Union Committee: Carey of Massachusetts; Hayes of Ohio; Miller of Colorado; Hoch of Missouri; Collins of Illinois; Nagle of Ohio; Krug of Wisconsin; White of Massachusetts; Silverman of New York.

Committee on Constitution: Hillquit of New York; Barnes of Pennsylvania; Butcher of New York; Bandow of Ohio; Shobdin of New York; Stark of Pennsylvania; Berlyn of Illinois; Mills of Kansas; Richardson of California.

Committee on Program: Underman, Illinois; Fisk, Colorado; Gaylord, Wisconsin; Steadman, Illinois; Kraybill, Kansas; Atkinson, New York; Kelly, Massachusetts.

Ways and Means Committee: Cobb, California; Stockell, Tennessee; Lamb, Michigan; Miller, Colorado; Rutledge, New Jersey; Lund, Washington; Kerensky, Texas; Ammon, Wisconsin; Hirt, Montana.

Committee on Press: Simons, Illinois; Jones, New York; Walsh, Montana; Strobel, New Jersey; Robinson, Kentucky.

Auditing Committee: Dressler, New York; Carle L. Johnson, Iowa; Palmer, Missouri; Outram, Massachusetts; McKee, California.

James Carey was chairman on the second day, Morris Hunt on the second day, Richardson of California on the third, Frank Silverman on the fourth, and William Malley on the fifth day.

The following report of the Press Committee was unanimously adopted: "We would recommend for the consideration of the convention the proposition of establishing a bureau under the control of the national office of the Socialist Party for the purpose of furnishing plain matter on Socialism, such matter to be of an educational character, treating Socialism from a scientific and propaganda point of view, and not entering into questions of party tactics."

These are, at the present time, a large number of papers that are willing to publish Socialist matter, but for other reasons of lack of editorial or financial ability are not able to return the same. In many places, also, the Socialists are already considering the desirability of establishing weekly papers, but are handicapped by the same difficulties. This plan will assist in solving this problem in two ways, either the matter can be purchased for an existing paper or if it is decided to establish a paper directly under Socialist control it will reduce the expense of publication.

In addition to the resolutions published in *The Worker* last week the following resolution in regard to the Daily Call was adopted: "Whereas, Daily newspapers which shall stand as the uncompromising champions of the working class and the exponents of the principles of the Socialist Party constitute one of the most urgent needs of the Socialist movement of the United States, and

"Whereas, The Socialists of New York announce that they will begin the publication Sept. 1 of the New York Daily Call, a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Socialist Party and the working class, and

"Resolved, That the delegates of the National Socialist Convention, assembled at Chicago, May 1, 1904, do hereby cordially endorse the project to establish the New York Daily Call and we call upon the Socialists of the United States to render every assistance in their power to the New York comrades having the enterprise in charge."

A telegram of congratulation to the convention was received from the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and reply sent.

Ernest Untermyer was elected delegate to the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam and the National Committee was authorized to give credentials up to the number of twenty to suitable comrades who wished to attend the congress at their own expense. Morris Hillquit, Herman Schlitter, and Charles Klein were elected delegates at the convention on this basis.

The warm debates of the convention were over the trade union resolution and the question of immediate demands, or state and municipal program—the "impossibilists" in the convention causing quite a furor on these subjects.

D. Herron made the nominating speech for Eugene V. Debs as candidate for President, and James Carey made the seconding speech. Ben Hanford was nominated for Vice-President by Herman F. Titus of the Seattle "Socialist" which was seconded by Berger of Wisconsin, Hillquit of New York and others. Both nominations were unanimous and created great enthusiasm.

Hanford's Acceptance.

In accepting the nomination for Vice-President, Ben Hanford spoke as follows:

"I want to say briefly a word in relation to Comrade Debs, that for quite a long time past myself and many other comrades have considered with each other and in an entirely informal way as to who would in all probability be the best possible choice as a candidate for President, and while none of these comrades that I have mentioned was considering it from any other standpoint than the good of the party, every one of them was unanimous in the opinion that Comrade Debs would be the best possible man to nominate for President at this time."

"In relation to myself I do not know that there is much I can say more than this: That I have never allowed myself to seek anything in the Socialist movement from a personal standpoint, or, for that matter, in any other movement, but at the same time I have always been in the position that whenever the party told me to do something, I always did it, matter whether I liked it or not. Comrade Titus made one mistake about me in placing my name before the convention. He spoke of my having made sacrifices for the Socialist movement. I want to say this, that the Socialist movement has done more for me than I ever do for it. I do not know that I exactly agree with the philosophy that says that whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth and scourgeth, but I think there is nothing that a man can do in the world, that there is no blessing that can be conferred upon a man by any power on earth which will be of the immense benefit to him throughout his whole life such as that of following the conscientious convictions of his own mind in matters of right or wrong. I can say here that I very much doubt, so far from my having sacrificed anything for the Socialist movement, I very much doubt if I would have been alive to-day had it not been for the Socialist movement, and I will tell you why. As a man in my trade about sixteen years ago there came in what we call the linotype typesetting machine. They put one of them in a printing office, and one man got a job operating it, and he would do the work of as high as five or six men who were there before this machine was brought in. Well, strange as it may seem, just about that time that typesetting machine I got tangled up in the Socialist movement. (Laughter.) And every day when I was out of work, when I was a victim of any enforced idleness, instead of going to the gin mill and wasting my time as others among the workmen had done, instead of becoming dependent, I occupied all my time reading a book or a paper, or making a Socialist speech on a soap box, or something of that kind. In other words, what was despair to other people was the star of hope to me. (Loud applause.)

"Two or three years ago I went down in the coal region in Pennsylvania, while the coal strike was going on there, and I spoke three or four times, and wherever I went all it needed was to put a little placard out, leave a notice on a telegraph pole for two hours, and there, as though they had sprung out of the ground, were 1,000 men, or 5,000 men, or 10,000 men, and I can say that they heard me gladly, and not only me, but other

men, but are handicapped by the same difficulties. This plan will assist in solving this problem in two ways, either the matter can be purchased for an existing paper or if it is decided to establish a paper directly under Socialist control it will reduce the expense of publication.

"Now, fellow workers, we have in this short space been able to answer only one objection to Socialism, and to give you but a faint outline of our purpose. You may think it will be some time before you would get any good

(Continued on page 4.)

SOCIALISM IN ALBANY.

An Appeal to Working Class Voters.

Leaflet issued by Social Democratic Party of the Capital City Tells Workmen the Cause of Their Troubles and the Way Out.

Local Albany of the Social Democratic Party is making good progress and proposes to carry on a very energetic campaign for the party of the working class all through this summer and fall. The Local has issued the following address: "To the Workmen of Albany," which will be widely circulated.

"You are no doubt aware that things are not as they should be in this or any other country. The trouble is variously expressed by persons with different points of view. Some say truly that the money power has so concentrated its forces and bedded itself about with laws of its own contriving that the liberties of the people are endangered and the masses are completely at the mercy of the 'trusts,' both as consumers and producers. Others say just as truly that there is a struggle on between capital and labor which must be settled some time, and that capital has the upper hand in the fight, and that no matter which way labor may turn the capitalist will win with laws of its own contriving that the liberties of the people are endangered and the masses are completely at the mercy of the 'trusts,' both as consumers and producers. Others say just as truly that there is a struggle on between capital and labor which must be settled some time, and that capital has the upper hand in the fight, and that no matter which way labor may turn the capitalist will win with laws of its own contriving that the liberties of the people are endangered and the masses are completely at the mercy of the 'trusts,' both as consumers and producers. Others say just as truly that there is a struggle on between capital and labor which must be settled some time, and that capital has the upper hand in the fight, and that no matter which way labor may turn the capitalist will win with laws of its own contriving that the liberties of the people are endangered and the masses are completely at the mercy of the 'trusts,' both as consumers and producers."

"But in addition to the above evils which are so evident that no man can fail to see, there are others which are so insidious and have been creeping on us so gradually and for so long a time that workmen have become accustomed to them as to think that they must always put up with them. I, e., grin and bear it. Of this nature is the following: We are taught in the schools and the newspapers (otherwise we would never find it out) that this is a free country. Now a person with no experience on earth whatever and with just enough brains to keep out of the fire would say that unless a man could use his labor, HIS ONLY MEANS OF GETTING A LIVING FOR HIS FAMILY AND HIMSELF, when he wished, the country was not a free country, and that the man was a slave. You probably have been out of work and have been obliged to go and ask some capitalist for a chance to earn your living. There are those who ask in vain many times. The United States Census for 1900, taken during the sixling white-hot of prosperity, showed over one million persons out of regular employment. These people could work if they could get at the machinery of production. Are they free when they cannot do so?

"Furthermore, since the introduction of machinery the amount of value created by the laborer has constantly increased, while his income of wages, if there has been any increase, is very insignificant, and is more than offset by the uncertainty of his livelihood. He now creates in no ordinary case less than twice the amount of value that he gets back in wages. The difference between what you get in wages and the amount of value that you have created goes into the pockets of the rich in the shape of rent, interest and profit to be used for various purposes. Some of it is used to buy foreign titles for American heirs and heiresses. Some is used for summer homes in the cool mountains and winter homes in sunny Florida. Even the pet poodles of the rich sleep on soft rugs and chew porterhouse steak with gold-filled teeth, while the children of the poor are starving. Now if you have a sense of justice towards yourself and your children you must have a desire to see things changed."

"We write you this letter to tell you of Socialism and the Socialist Party. We are workmen like yourself and want to better our condition and yours, too, therefore we ask you to give us a careful hearing. You are no doubt aware that the Socialist Party, or Social Democratic Party, as it is called, is a party of the working class, and is obliged to call itself in New York State, as in many other States, a party of the government through the ballot and the placing of all industries under common ownership. The advantages of this are evident; such as our certainty of being employed and getting all the value that we create, but it has been so persistently and covertly misrepresented and argued against by all the Republican and Democratic newspapers that people have come to look upon Socialism as a good thing, but impracticable, therefore not worthy of careful consideration. Now-most of their arguments take the following form: They say that we have some industries under common ownership now, such as the postoffice, and that private corporations in doing business with the government officials resort to bribery and corruption, and that they are successful in corrupting every branch of the government. True as can be, note what they say—that PRIVATE CORPORATIONS corrupt government officials. Now they claim that when all industry is under common ownership that the corruption will be more than ever. They fail to tell you that when we have the Co-operative Commonwealth there will be NO PRIVATE CORPORATIONS TO DO THE DIRTY WORK. Private interests are the only ones that can have any motive in bribery or corruption as you will readily see, and when private interests cease the results will be good."

"Now, fellow workers, we have in this short space been able to answer only one objection to Socialism, and to give you but a faint outline of our purpose. You may think it will be some time before you would get any good

from voting for your own interests and the Socialist Party, BUT IT WILL BE A MUCH LONGER TIME, and you are probably coming to consider it so, BEFORE YOU WILL GET ANYTHING FROM THE HANDS OF EITHER OF THE OLD PARTIES. You will probably receive more reading matter from the local organization in Albany. As it deals with important questions we ask you as a fellow worker to read it carefully, and pass it on to some one else. And we ask you, if not for your own sake, then for the sake of your children and the children of others, to investigate the condition of your class until you come to some conclusion and take some action besides giving your vote to a set of politicians whom YOU KNOW to be nothing but a set of grafters. Vote for your own interests and for a party of your own class."

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AS AN EDUCATIONAL FORCE.

To-day the Socialist organizations which devote themselves to the elevation of the masses, to the spreading of moral and political enlightenment, to the cultivation of science, literature, music, and other forms of intellectual refinement, are legion. Today, it is a principle adopted by the rank and file, as well as by the leaders of the party, that the only way to combat successfully the ruling system of military, police and officialism is the peaceful re-education of minds.—Kuno Francke, in *Modern German Culture*.

THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES.

A Brief Account of Our Standard Bearer.

Eugene V. Debs, Socialist Party candidate for President, was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1855, and at the age of 15 years began work as a railway employee in the Vandalia railroad car shops. Afterwards he worked as a fireman on a freight engine for several years and became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He was made editor of the *Brotherhood Magazine* in 1877, and three years afterwards he was chosen general secretary and treasurer, a position which he occupied for thirteen years, resigning it in 1893 to organize the American Railway Union, which was intended to unite the railway workers of America in one great organization.

Within a year the Great Northern Railway strike was fought and won. Through this contest the wages of thousands of workers from St. Paul to the Pacific coast were saved from reduction and the railway managers awoke to the fact that they had a new power to grapple with.

In May, 1894, the famous Pullman strike occurred. Unable to effect a settlement by arbitration, the A. R. U. took up the matter in the national convention in session at Chicago in June. As a result a boycott was declared against the Pullman cars, to take effect July 1. Within a few days the entire railroad system of the country extending from Chicago west and south to the Gulf and Pacific coast was tied up and the greatest labor war in the country's history was on.

On July 2, 1894, Judges Woods and Grosvenor, at Chicago, issued a sweeping "omnibus" injunction. Debs and associates were arrested for contempt of court, on alleged violation of the injunction. They were tried in September, but Judge Woods did not render a verdict until December, when he condemned Debs to six months' imprisonment and his associates to three. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower court, and in May, 1895, the imprisonment in Woodstock Jail began. The term expired on November 22, 1895, and on the evening of that day the prisoner was tendered a reception in Chicago, the like of which city had never seen.

Debs and his associates were also indicted and placed on trial for conspiracy, and the trial continued until all been heard, but suddenly when the defense began to testify, a juror was taken ill during a temporary adjournment and the trial abruptly terminated in spite of all efforts of the defendants to have it continued. They were anxious to bring the General Managers' Association into court and show who were the real law-breakers and destroyers of property. An acquittal by a jury upon substantially the same charge as that upon which they were imprisoned for contempt would have been fatal to Judge Woods.

On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial, and economic conditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. Among other things he said: "The issue is, Socialism vs. Capitalism. I am for Socialism because I am for humanity. The time has come to regenerate society or we are on the eve of universal chaos."

When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, with Debs as chairman of the National Executive Board. The following year (1898) the

FROM RUSSIAN Tzar TO COLORADO Tzar.

It is said that Governor Pabody of Colorado is in receipt of the following autograph letter from the Tzar of Russia:

St. Petersburg, April 6, 1904.
To His Excellency, the Governor of the Province of Colorado:
Dear Sir—Press dispatches from America have made it plain to me that you are having a great deal of trouble with the subjects of your province, particularly in the mines. While the press dispatches do not make it clear whether or not these mines are worked by convicts, I assume from the presence of the military that they are.

Permit me to say to your excellency, that I have had the same insubordination to deal with in the convict mines of Siberia, and the same opposition to repressive measures—absolutely essential to the maintenance of discipline—as you appear to be encountering from the misguided populace of your own province, aided and abetted by the fanatical philanthropists in other parts of the United States.

Therefore, your excellency should not become disheartened at the storm of indignation which is apparently sweeping over this country in regard to your determination to uphold the rights of the military branch of your government and to suppress, in a stern and unyielding manner, all tokens of dissatisfaction on the part of the populace.

Permit me to extend to your excellency my sincerest congratulations that you have thus far been able to do this in spite of the clamors of those who do not understand the justice of those who, like ourselves, are forced to adopt measures which, though they may work a hardship on the insignificant masses of our subjects, are designed to benefit the few of aristocratic blood.

Trusting that Your Excellency will speedily put an end to the revolution against your reign, I am, Yours respectfully,
NICHOLAS, Tzar of All the Russias.
—Miser Magazine.

THE LABOR PRESS.

By Eugene V. Debs.

The primal consideration in the present industrial system is profit. All other things are secondary. Profit is the life blood of capital—the vital current of the capitalist system, and when it shall cease to flow the system will be dead.

The capitalist is the owner of the worker's tools. Before the latter can work he must have access to the capitalist's tool-house and permission to use the master's tools. What he produces with these tools belongs to the master, to whom he must sell his labor power at the market price. The owner of the tools is therefore master of the man.

Only when the capitalist can extract a satisfactory profit from his labor power is the worker given a job, or allowed to work at all.

Profit first: labor, life, love, liberty—all these must take second place. In such a system labor is in chains, and the standard of living, if such may be called, is corner-stoned in cruels and rage.

Under such conditions ideas and ideals are not prolific among the sons and daughters of toil.

Slavery does not excite lofty aspirations nor inspire noble ideas. The tendency is to sicken irresolution and brutal inertia.

But this very tendency nourishes the germ of resistance that ripens into the spirit of revolt.

The labor movement is the child of slavery—the offspring of oppression—in revolt against the misery and suffering that gave it birth.

Its splendid growth is the marvel of our time, the forerunner of freedom, the hope of mankind.

Ten thousand times has the labor movement stumbled and fallen and bruised itself, and risen again; been seized by the throat and choked and clanked into insensibility; enfolded by courts, assailed by thugs, charged by the militia, shot down by regulars, trampled by the press, frowed upon by public opinion, decry by politicians, threatened by priests, regulated by rogues, preyed upon by grafters, lashed by spies, deserted by cowards, betrayed by traitors, lied by leeches, and sold out by leaders, but, notwithstanding all this, and all these, it is today the most vital and potent power this planet has ever known, and its historic mission of emancipating the workers of the world from the thousand ills of ages is as certain of ultimate realization as the setting of the rising sun.

The most vital thing about this world movement is its educational propaganda—its capacity and power to shed light in the brain of the working class, arouse them from their torpor, develop their faculties for thinking, teach them their economic class interests, effect their solidarity, and imbue them with the spirit of the impending social revolution.

In this propaganda, the life-breath of the movement, the press, is paramount to all other agencies and influences, and the progress of the press is a sure index of the progress of the movement.

Unfortunately, the workers lack intelligent appreciation of the importance of the press; they also lack judgment and discrimination in dealing with the subject, and utterly neglect some good papers, and permit them to perish, while others that are anything but helpful or beneficial to the cause they are supposed to represent are liberally patronized, and flourish at the expense of the ignorance and stupidity that support them.

The material prosperity of a labor paper of today is no guarantee of its moral or intellectual value. Indeed,

some of the most worthless labor publications have the finest mechanical appearance, and are supported by the largest circulation.

Such a press is not only not a help to labor, but a millstone about its neck, that only the awakening intelligence of the working class can remove.

How thoroughly alive the capitalists are to the power of the press! And how astutely they develop and support it that it may in turn buttress their class interests.

The press is one of their most valuable assets, and, as an investment, pays the highest dividends.

When there is trouble between capital and labor, the press volleys and thunders against labor and its unions and leaders and all other things that dare to breathe against the sacred rights of capital. In such a contest labor is dumb, speechless; it has no press that reaches the public, and must submit to the vilest calumny, the most outrageous misrepresentation.

The lesson has been taught in all the languages of labor and written in the blood of its countless martyred victims.

Labor must have a press as formidable as the great movement of the working class requires to worthily represent its dignity and fearlessly and uncompromisingly advocate its principles.

Every member of a trade union should feel himself obligated to do his full share in the important work of building up the press of the labor movement; he should at least support the paper of his union, and one or more of the papers of his party, and, above all, he should read them and school himself in the art of intelligent criticism, and let the editor hear from him when he has a criticism to offer or a suggestion to make.

The expense of supporting the labor press is but a trifle to the individual member—less than the daily outlay for other trifles that are of no benefit, and can easily be dispensed with.

The editor of a labor paper is of far more importance to the union and the movement than the president or any other officer of the union. He ought to be chosen with special reference to his knowledge upon the labor question and his fitness to advocate and defend the economic interests of the class he represents.

The vast amount of capitalist advertising in labor publications carry certifies unerringly to the worthlessness of their literary contents. Capitalists do not, as a rule, advertise in labor papers that are loyal to working class interests. It is only on condition that the advertising colors and controls the editorial that the capitalist generously allows his patronage to go to the labor paper.

The workman who wants to read a labor paper with any real value, must read it honestly and fearlessly speaks for the working class will find it safer to steer clear of those that are loaded with capitalist advertising and make his selection from those that are nearly or quite boycotted by the class that live and thrive upon the slavery of the working class.

The labor press of today is not ideal, but it is improving steadily, and the time will come when the ideal labor press will be realized; when the labor movement will command editors, writers, journalists, artists of the first class; when hundreds of papers, including dailies in the large cities, will be added to the news and discuss it from the labor standpoint; when illustrated magazines and periodicals will illuminate the literature of labor and all will combine to realize our ideal labor press and blaze the way to victory.—The International Metal Worker.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution: Germany in 1848.

PROFIT MEANS SLAVERY.

I feel sure that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that a rich community, such as ours, having such command over external nature, could have submitted to live such a mean, shabby, dirty life as we do. And once for all, there is nothing in our circumstances save the hunting of profit that drives us into it. It is profit which draws men into enormous, unwholesome aggregations called towns, for instance, profit which crowds them up when they are there into quarters without gardens or open spaces; profit which won't take the most ordinary precautions against wrapping a whole district in a cloud of sulphurous smoke; which turns beautiful rivers into filthy sewers, which condemns all but the rich to live in homes literally cramped and confined at best; which at worst in houses for the wretched and the poor is no home, I say it is almost incredible that we should bear such gross stupidity as this; nor should we if we could help it. We shall not bear it when the workers get out of their heads that they are but an appendage to profit-grinding; that the more profits that are made the more work at higher wages there will be for them, and that therefore all the incredible filth, disorder and degradation of modern civilization are signs of their prosperity. So far from that, they are signs of their slavery. When they are no longer slaves they will claim as a matter of course that every man and every family should be generously lodged; that every child should be able to play in a garden close to where its parents live; that the houses should be by their obvious decency and order be ornaments to nature, not disfigurements of it.

All this, of course, would mean the people—that is, all society—duly organized, having in their own hands the means of production, to be owned by no individual, but used by all as an occasion called for its use, and can only be done on those terms.—William Morris.

—Socialism has already a long roll of martyrs and confessors, who have been faithful to their convictions under calumny and misrepresentation of the grossest kind, who have lived in the barricades, who have played in exile, in tropical swamps and Siberian prisons.—Kirkup, in An Inquiry into Socialism.

FOR THE DAILY.

The Cooper Union Meeting—Meetings of the Board of Managers and of the Call Conferences.

On Tuesday the large hall in Cooper Union was about two-thirds filled at the mass meeting for the Socialist daily. John C. Chase presided and the meeting was addressed by Frederick Kraft, Morris Hillquit, John Spargo, Courtenay Lemon, and George D. Heron. The speakers indicted the capitalist-controlled daily press both for its editorial policy and its suppression and distortion of news, showed how necessary a Socialist daily now is and what a powerful weapon it would be, and tried to arouse an earnest determination among the comrades to work unceasingly for the daily and have it published on Sept. 1. Cash contributions to the amount of \$48.50 and pledges for \$122.85 were collected at the meeting.

At the meeting of the Board of Management of the Daily Call held on Monday it was decided to have 500 large cards printed bearing the name of the paper, to be used for advertising the Call in trade union halls or in other places, as a plea for a card, where they will be seen to advantage. Comrade Hahn of Liberty Park, Evergreen, has been asked to have the name of the paper painted on a large sign in his picnic grounds.

As the monthly subscriptions are now coming in a suitable man will be engaged to take charge of that work, who will receive and account for all money from that source. The secretary was instructed to communicate with Comrade Hill of Herberhill to ascertain if he will work in Massachusetts for the daily.

Everything is in readiness to begin the work of making a house to house canvass for readers and subscriptions. Special meetings of the assembly district branches will soon be called to awaken interest in the undertaking and to get the comrades to go to work. Comrades Julius Bychower, J. A. Behringer and Chas. Friedel, all of Brooklyn, have each sent in ten subscriptions already.

The committee on plant reported that Hoe & Co. have a printing press which will be put in first-class order for \$10,000. The matter was referred to the association with the recommendation that it be ordered. In order to have it delivered on time ninety days' notice must be given. Hereafter the meetings of the association will be held twice a month, on the first and third Mondays. A hall in the Labor Lyceum has been engaged for these meetings. The Board of Management will meet on the alternate Mondays.

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It was announced that fifty paid up subscriptions were secured at the Call booth, maintained at the recent industrial exposition.

The attendance of delegates at the last meeting was small considering the number of organizations represented in the Conference. Every delegate is therefore urged to attend the meetings regularly from now on, which are held every second and fourth Thursday in the month at 64 E. Fourth street, New York. There is a view of various kinds to be done and suitable to every delegate according to his ability, now that it has been decided to issue the New York Call on Sept. 1, which can only be done successfully by united action on the part of every delegate and fellow worker.

The Call Conference of Brooklyn holds meetings on the second and fourth Thursdays of each month at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 640 W. 11th St. The next meeting will take place on May 26 at 8 p. m. sharp. Socialist and labor organizations not yet represented will please take notice.

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By order of the County Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Kings County.

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PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from page 3.)

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The Worker.

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(Known in New York State as the Social
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Entered as second-class matter at the
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1903.

In the State of New York, on account of
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Socialist Party is officially recognized under
the name of Social Democratic Party, and
its candidates in the State of New York, as
shown above.

The Socialist Party (or Social Democratic
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3200 (President), 97,730
3202 (State and Congressional), 329,763

OUR FAINTHEART 'CAPTAINS OF
INDUSTRY.'

The professors of political economy
and others whose business it is to de-
fend the existing system tell us that
the capitalist's profits are really
"wages of superintendence," that the
owners of the means of production
earn their enormous incomes by the ar-
duous labor of directing and managing
industry.

Recent events have brought out from
the mouth of one of the great "cap-
tains of industry," a striking refuta-
tion of this theory—or let us say, rather,
a confession of the meanness of the
capitalist class.

The Western Union Telegraph
Company has been acting in col-
laboration with poolrooms, and other
gambling houses. The respectable "for-
tunates"—who are always on the look-
out for a chance to make a sensation
out of any of the minor and incidental
evils of our essentially dishonest busi-
ness system, while preserving a dis-
creet silence concerning the great and
damning evils of the system—have
been raised on a outcry against
the Western Union.

Now comes
Chauncey M. Depew, a member of the
Board of Directors of this hundred-
million-dollar corporation—and also, in
his own words, "a United States Sena-
tor as an incident to his career as a
railroad man"—to justify or exculpate
himself. Senator Depew is a very
moral man—according to capitalist
standards of morality. He never gam-
bles—for small stakes nor in any cheap
or vulgar way. He would never dream
of giving countenance or protection to
gamblers—unless they had "a sure
thing." So he explains that he had no-
thing to do with the wickedness of the
Western Union. He says:

"It has been a year since I attended
a meeting of the Board of Directors of
the Western Union, and I am not at
all informed on the charges which have
been brought against the company
in connection with the operation of
poolrooms in New York."

Here we have a recognized repre-
sentative of the now dominant class in
the United States, a typical capitalist,
enjoying vast wealth and wielding great
political influence by means of that
wealth, posing as a "captain of indus-
try," a director of more than a score
of different corporations, who, when
one of the largest of these corporations
is accused of wrongful conduct, calmly
and unflinchingly disclaims all re-
sponsibility on the ground that he is a
director who does not direct, a captain
who does not trouble himself with a
captain's duties.

Senator Depew undoubtedly tells the
truth in this instance. Nor is his case
an exceptional one. It is common and
typical. The real work of directing
and managing industry—a very neces-
sary and honorable sort of service if
honestly performed, as honorable as
digging coal or weaving cloth or set-
ting type—is not, in this day of the
world, done by the capitalist class, the
class that gets the profits. With com-
paratively few exceptions, this class
either works for wages, or is, in the
workers' words, paid wage-slaves. No
doubt, who call their wage-slaves,

but wage-workers, nevertheless. The
capitalist, as such, gets his income, not
as a reward for directing industry, but
as tribute or toll or blood-money ex-
orted under duress of law from the
workers of all sorts, from general man-
ager to common laborer, whom he per-
mits to carry on industry with the
means of production that he legally
owns. The typical capitalist is no
more a "captain of industry" than
Queen Anne and Louis XV. were great
generals. They take the wealth that
workers of head and hand produce,
just as those monarchs took the glory
earned for them by Marlborough and
Saxe and their armies. And now, as
then, there are not wanting smooth
sycophants in press and pulpit and
academic chair to flatter and seek to
justify the doers of nothing and takers
of all!

No, profit is not "wages of superin-
tendence," any more than it is "wages
of abstinence." The capitalists do not
practice either industry or frugality,
but they enjoy ease and luxury by the
enforced labor and privation of
others. The sooner we have done with
this do-nothing class, the better for hu-
manity.

The fact stated by H. M. Hyndman,
the prominent English Socialist, in an
article reprinted elsewhere in this paper,
about the silence of the English
newspapers in regard to the atrocities
committed in Colorado at the command
of capital, has its parallel in this coun-
try. The daily newspapers spend
thousands of dollars to send corre-
spondents to report the war between
Russia and Japan, but they have no
interest in the class war between mur-
derous capitalists and peaceful work-
ingmen in our own western state; they
do not send any special correspondents
to inform the public of the unparal-
leled atrocities of military despotism,
under capitalist class rule. Every con-
stitutional right has been violated and
all manner of most frightful crimes
against liberty and life have been com-
mitted in Colorado—all in the name of
"law and order"—in the effort to break
the miners' strike. And yet most of
the people are in entire ignorance of
these facts because the capitalist-con-
trolled press of the land has given
only an occasional attack of type to
these occurrences. Articles are now
beginning to creep into the press and
into magazines about the conditions
there, but even this tardy, insufficient
and distorted information is only sup-
plied in response to the attention
aroused by the exposures in the Social-
ist and trade union press and the agita-
tion carried on by the labor movement.

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM.
The phraseology and the length of
the platform adopted by our national
convention at Chicago is meeting with
considerable criticism within the
party. Notwithstanding the recognized
ability and party eminence of most of
the Committee on Platform, and not-
withstanding the fact that the plat-
form was adopted unanimously by the
convention without discussion, I be-
lieve that it is open to justifiable criti-
cism.

The platform starts with an appeal
to "the American people." Now all So-
cialists know that there are two
American peoples, the capitalist people
and the working people, that the
"people" are divided into classes—
working class and capitalist class. So-
cialists and Socialist platforms have not
hitherto appealed to any such nebulous
abstraction as "the American people";
they have appealed to the interna-
tional working class. The introduction
of the word American is superfluous
and out of harmony with the interna-
tionalism of our movement. In regard
to the statement that "Our American
institutions came into the world in the
name of freedom," it is exactly as
true that capitalism came into the
world in the name of freedom.

Aside from the length and redundance,
which are its most obvious faults,
in its first part the platform harps
upon certain phrases which have so
long been the shibboleths of other and
antagonistic schools of thought that
their use tends to violate the recog-
nized philosophical bases of our move-
ment. "Private property" and the "lib-
erty of the individual" are phrases
which have long been the stock in trade
of the advocates of the present in-
dividualist competitive system. Of
course Socialism will secure personal
property in objects of personal use to
all; while capitalism denies sufficient
personal property to the majority; and
of course, Socialism will secure the
liberty of the individual, while capi-
talism crushes it; but at the same time
Socialists know that personal prop-
erty for all depends upon the means
of production in common ownership,
and that individual liberty is bound up
in social welfare. Socialists therefore
emphasize more especially the prin-
ciple of common property and social wel-
fare, as it is through this that the wel-
fare of the individual must be reached.
Laying the stress upon the individual
and what attaches to him is a
departure from our usual method
of expression that is to be re-
gretted. We can well afford to
leave such phrases as "private
property" and "individual liberty"
to the capitalists and the Anarch-
ists. Of these two phrases "private
property" is by far the most objection-
able. It is the time-honored phrase
of the enemy and belongs not in the
mouth of Socialists. And "personal
property" and "private prop-
erty" in the means of life, as used in
our new platform, are even more am-
biguous and questionable. Such at-
tempts to anticipate objections to So-
cialism by capturing the phrases of the
enemy seem cheap and out of place in
the platform.

The very first paragraph should
state the aim of the Socialist Party—
the common ownership of the means
of production to be gained through the
capture of the powers of government
by the working class. But this plat-
form must be read more than half way

through before the statement of this
aim is reached.
The style of the document is not sat-
isfying for a political platform or
for a scientific statement of principles.
Such phrases as "world-process,"
"mental and moral harmony," "social
and moral crisis of civilization," "blossom-
ing of our common humanity" are too
sentimental rhetorical for either.
A comrade, in conversation, spoke
of the platform as "more of a wall
than a challenge," and I believe that
the characterization is an apt one. For
instance, the passage reading: "The
world is to be saved from chaos, from
universal disorder and misery it must
be by the union of the workers," etc.
There should be no "it" or "its" or "un-
certainties" in a platform; it should be
positive, strong, aggressive, defiant.
The above passage should read some-
thing like this: It is the mission of
the working class to save the world,
etc.

It is no answer to these criticisms to
point out that the platform does stand
for internationalism, and the class
struggle, as shown by other passages.
It is perfectly true that it does and
that it correctly at its own faults in
other passages. But that is not suf-
ficient. The platform should not only
be right in spots; it should be right in
expression and in spirit from the first
word to the last.

"The Public," Louis F. Post's Single
Tax and radical Democratic weekly, in
discussing our new platform and the
previous one, says:
"The platform of three years ago
emphasized the Socialist class 'struggle,'
the class struggle, and it wholly ignored
American ideals and traditions in its
pronounced internationalism. It was
written without in a style and spirit
well calculated to intensify every
prejudice against Socialism and really
to attract none but 'scientific' Social-
ists of the most narrow-promising type."
And although it made some conces-
sions to opportunist Socialists by for-
mulating a collection of "immediate de-
mands," it did this so grudgingly as to
repel all believers in them except thor-
ough-going Socialist Party Socialists.

"Quite different is the platform of
1904. While it does not discard the
"class struggle" idea, which it could
hardly do without ceasing to be so-
cialistic; and while it retains interna-
tionalism, as a great many besides So-
cialists would have it do; yet, it lays
its emphasis more discreetly than its
predecessor did, and it presents its
demands in a manner better calculated
to attract the average American voter."

This condemnation of our previous
platform and praise of the new one,
coming from an opponent of Socialism,
will doubtless be regarded by most So-
cialists as creditable to our old plat-
form and discredit to the new one.
We certainly want a platform with
all its "emphasis on the class strug-
gle," its "internationalism," its "pro-
nounced internationalism," its "dis-
tinctive" platform, which is
satisfactory to scientific Socialists,
and "thorough-going Socialist Party
Socialists"; we do not want a plat-
form which is more pleasant to
non-Socialists, we do not want a plat-
form written "discreetly" to "attract
the voter" by concessions to the tra-
ditional prejudices which capitalism
fosters, for our purpose is not to catch
but to make Socialists.

The appeal, towards the end, to dis-
tinguish the class from the other
class is superfluous. Those who would
be worth anything to the movement
will come just as quickly without it,
and would understand just as readily
that they were welcome to work as
comrades in the cause if the appeal
was directed solely to the working
class.

However, although some of its
phrases are lax and loose, the platform
as a whole states our position accu-
rately and does not violate Socialist
principles. Any attempt to change it
or substitute another one by referen-
dum before the election would be a
grave mistake, and would greatly ham-
per the work of the Presidential cam-
paign. Those who are dissatisfied
would be wise to wait until after elec-
tion before trying to get a better plat-
form. The proposal of substitute plat-
forms or of amendments by referen-
dum at this time would throw the
party into hopeless confusion and dis-
comfiture. But if those who are dis-
satisfied simply vote down the new
platform on referendum, thus re-adop-
ting the previous platform, a far better
one, they will do less harm to the party
than by initiating new platform refer-
endums. And by accepting the pre-
sent platform, for the present, with all
its faults, they will be doing still bet-
ter.

COURTENAY LEMON.

THE SOWER.

I saw a sower walking
down the path from east to west;
His hair was white as mountain snow,
His beard dropped forward on his breast.

With chrivelled hands he dug his seed,
His eyes were dim and his face was old;
He seemed to have been blind and deaf;
It seemed he was both deaf and blind.

I heard as still the wind he cast,
And heard him sing a low, sad song,
"I sow again the holy seed,
The happy days when I was young."

Then all was silent as a tomb,
And I saw him bend his head and bow;
And I saw him bend his head and bow;
And I saw him bend his head and bow.

Then I looked back along his path,
And I saw him bend his head and bow;
And I saw him bend his head and bow;
And I saw him bend his head and bow.

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And I saw him bend his head and bow;
And I saw him bend his head and bow;
And I saw him bend his head and bow.

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THE MEANNESS OF THE
INDIVIDUALIST IDEAL

By Elsa Barker

(From a prompter from a lecture on
"Individualism and the Individualist Ideal.")
Not even the overworked analogy,
so dear to the special of Socialism,
between the present working-
man and the slave of humanity,
and the alleged warring on a nature
will bear analysis, because the wild
animal who makes his meal on the
carcasses of his weaker brother is sat-
isfied to acquire one meal at a time;
the human beast, not his ideal be-
ing, and his practice when possible
to accumulate carcasses enough
to supply him and all his remote posterity
for a thousand years. Even more,
when all the possible needs of the age
have been provided for, he accumu-
lates for the pleasure, the game of ac-
cumulating. And everything that he
takes for himself above his individual
needs is wrongfully taken from others,
who must suffer privation just to that
extent.

Society at the present time is in the
condition of a man with a head of
great beauty and a body covered with
sores. Society is diseased. The atoms
of that body are warring together. Hu-
manity should have realized its unity
and should be working collectively as
such a unity. Instead we have the
millionaire with his monopoly and his
indignation, and we have the poor man
with his pangs and his indignation.
We have the struggle between the
millionaire and the poor man, and we
have the struggle between the families
of the millionaire and the families of
the poor man, and we have the struggle
between the families of the millionaire
and the families of the poor man.

What does this ideal of success
mean? As only one man in a thousand
can be said to have succeeded in the
modern sense, success means that
man's climbing upon the backs and
over the dead bodies of those hundreds
of others, keeping his precarious bal-
ance by eternal vigilance, while wait-
ing for the inevitable fall. The head
of the millionaire and the head of the
poor man are both in the same boat,
and both must carry with them a
load of paper certificates to secure his pos-
session of the gold that is itself too heavy
for him to move from the earth. That
is our hero. That is our superior man.
That is our man of power. If a poet
of a philosopher comes by and laughs,
or sneers, or weeps, we say he is un-
practical, a dreamer; and, if we can,
we shall make him a man of power.
We shall make him a man of power.
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We shall make him a man of power.

Let us take an illustration, the case
of Rockefeller. We will take him be-
cause he is the most conspicuous. There
are many others who would serve equally
well as an illustration. Rockefeller's
fortune is estimated at one billion of
dollars—one thousand millions! Ob-
viously the labor of his hands, the ac-
tivity of his brain, has not enriched the
world to the extent of one thousand
millions. He has accumulated this hor-
rible fortune by taking it away from
the community. As there are less than
a hundred millions of human beings in
the country, he has taken on an aver-
age of ten or twelve dollars from every
man, woman and child in these United
States, taken it as personal profit on
the labor of others and from individual
monopoly of social resources; taken it
by driving weaker competitors out of
business, by dishonest manipulation
of securities, etc., etc. In all human
probability, he has been the direct in-
dividual cause of the starvation, the
death, the despair, the absolute wreck-
ing of hundreds of thousands of human
lives. This is the individual ideal car-
ried to its ultimate in the material
world. Yet Rockefeller, the man, is
personally not a monster. I dare say
he would help over a worm instead of
crushing it, should he see one in his
path. He is a simpleton; he is the worst
fool on the face of fevered so-
ciety.

Now let us consider for a little the
very poor who make so large a part of
our present-day humanity, the other
pole of this material individualism,
the negative pole. The victims of the
scheme are not such, as a rule, because
they are inherently lazy, but because
they are incompetent to battle with the
conditions of life. They are in a com-
petent partly by reason of mal-
nutrition both before and after birth,
partly by reason of the unsanitary con-
ditions under which they live and propa-
gate their species, partly by reason
of their hopelessness, principally by
reason of their numbers. The work
required by those who have succeeded
in attaching to themselves the product
of the work of humanity in the past
and the means of further production
is not sufficient to warrant the employ-
ing for living wages of all of the poor.

The belief on the part of some
apologists of the present order that
success is merely the result of su-
perior intellect on the part of the
few, is a delusion. The few who suc-
ceed are merely the result of superior
intellect on the part of the few, and
the many who fail are the result of
inferior intellect on the part of the
many. The truth is that the few who
succeed are merely the result of superior
intellect on the part of the few, and
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inferior intellect on the part of the
many.

But even if it were true—which it
is not—that the intellectual man could
succeed in taking everything he wanted
of life, if he were a moral man and a
loving man he would not wish to do so.
For one, and I am not fond of dirty
work, would be very glad to do my
small share of the dirty work of the
world in order that millions on millions
of my fellow beings might be relieved
of the necessity of thinking dirt, and
dirty work, and of the necessity of
living in the dirt. The earth is sufficient
to keep every being on the earth in com-
fort and plenty if all worked for the
welfare of the unity. It has been said
that human nature is against this social
collective life of mutual work and support.
If that is so, then we had better stop using
the word human in connection with our-
selves. The present condition of a large
part of humanity is beneath that of
any animal or even worm in a state of
nature.

We may tell ourselves to sleep with
beautiful phrases; we may seek the
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erature of the past; we may refuse to
think about the condition of the world;
but the condition exists, and if it is
not bettered it will destroy us.

Let us examine the every-man-for-
himself, individual ideal, the present
triumph of which leaves almost all of
the individuals of the world out of the
account. Self-interest, when opposed
to the interest of all other beings, is
not beautiful; but our civilization is

based upon it. Looking out upon the
world as I do, if it were not for Social-
ism, I would not be able to think of the
future of my kind. Everywhere there
is a struggle for existence, everywhere
everywhere, everywhere, everywhere.
Here in America the god of our idolatry
is money. Our idea of success is
always the accumulation of money.
It is a race ideal. We get money if
we can, and if we cannot we try to
appear to have it, to make it show,
to seem superior to other people.
The race psychology is yellow with money;
our very colleges are permeated by
the presence of it; our churches smel-
of it. It is our confession of faith; the
body and blood of those we sacrifice
for it are our sacrament. The getting
of money is the excuse for the doing
of all things that cry to heaven. As
the prostitute defiantly says, "One
must live," so we say, "Business is
business."

The goal of our attainment is not
wealth for the better of humanity,
but wealth to put in our own little ego
pocket, to withdraw from the stream
of world-service and defect to our
own individual service, as the white
curtains of the blood are deflected
from the fester of a boil. Vast
fortunes in the hands of individuals
are bolts on the social body, and we
are before these execrations and
worship them. We must be an
amusing sight for the laughter-loving
gods!

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mean? As only one man in a thousand
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world as I do, if it were not for Social-
ism, I would not be able to think of the
future of my kind. Everywhere there
is a struggle for existence, everywhere
everywhere, everywhere, everywhere.

to be disturbed in his depositions. The
woods are for himself. This is the
man who will force a hundred ton-
nage in a big apartment house in or-
der to save a few dollars on coal for
himself. This is the man who, in the
day of public need, will raise the price
of some commodity he has cornered,
such as oil or wheat, to make a profit
for himself.

And this man is not always satisfied
to rest upon his worldly treasures;
sometimes he would lay up for himself
treasures in heaven also. Perhaps he
builds a church, anywhere, anywhere,
anywhere, everywhere, everywhere.
Here in America the god of our idolatry
is money. Our idea of success is
always the accumulation of money.
It is a race ideal. We get money if
we can, and if we cannot we try to
appear to have it, to make it show,
to seem superior to other people.
The race psychology is yellow with money;
our very colleges are permeated by
the presence of it; our churches smel-
of it. It is our confession of faith; the
body and blood of those we sacrifice
for it are our sacrament. The getting
of money is the excuse for the doing
of all things that cry to heaven. As
the prostitute defiantly says, "One
must live," so we say, "Business is
business."

I know a man who owns one of the
big mills in Massachusetts. He is a
pious man, after the manner of mill
owners; and some twenty years ago
he built a church and invited his em-
ployees to come and worship there.
Nearly all of the Americans accepted
the invitation. They took an interest
in the church; it gave them an added
self-respect to pray side by side with
their employer. When the founda-
tion was laid there was a cut-down
at the mill, when the pipe organ was
put in there was a cut-down at the
mill, when the church was built there
was a cut-down at the mill. The in-
terests were identical. Were they not
fellow members of the same church?
Wages in that mill have gone down
little by little ever since; but there has
not been a strike for twenty years—
that is, not since the church went up.
His fortunes have grown steadily larger
and larger. The treasures of piety are
not always laid up exclusively in heav-
en. He is an emotional politician—
this man; he weeps with joy over
dinner that repents; he is grieved to
tear if one of his flock strays away
to another fold, or spends money on
evil theatres and drink—money that
should go to the church. He ex-
ercises over them a kind of spiritual and
material paternalism. He attends their
weddings and their funerals. If any
of them are in financial trouble he
lends them money, provided they have
any security at all; they feel very con-
siderably above that prescribed by law.

Things went on beautifully for
years; but the last time I saw him he
seemed to be melancholy, so I encour-
aged him to talk. His conscience was
troubling him. I asked if he had been
selling inferior goods. No. But a
trust had been formed in his particular
department of manufacture, and it
was ruining his business. He thought
he must have done something to offend
God. Economic development had ex-
tended to the transformation of a whole
department of industry, and this en-
lightened that he had offended God—
the being whom he imagined to be
the creator and ruler of the stellar
universe.

THE SUPPOSITION THAT A MAN HAS

STATE CONVENTION OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Thomas Pendergast and Charles R. Bach Head State Ticket Nominated at Albany.

For Secretary of State—E. J. Squires; Treasurer—Emil Neppel; Attorney General—L. A. Malkiel; Comptroller—W. W. Passagio; Engineer and Surveyor—S. B. Early; Associate Judge of Court of Appeals—Wm. Nugent—A change in the composition of the State Committee—Resolutions on Colorado, the Open Shop, the Daily Call and The Worker.

The state convention of the Social Democratic Party of New York was called to order by State Secretary Blodoin in Bleeker Hall, Albany, on Sunday, May 20, at 9:30 a. m.

Nominations for chairman pro tem were called for, and Morris Hillquit and J. A. Holzer were nominated. Holzer was elected, the vote being: Holzer, 10; Hillquit, 14. Charles R. Bach was elected vice-chairman pro tem. Courtney Lemon was elected secretary pro tem.

The following Committee on Credentials was then elected: Chas. R. Bach, Wm. Butcher, Joel Moses, E. J. Squires and Fred Martin. The Committee on Rules was then elected as follows: Julius Gerber, E. M. Martin, Chas. L. Fumman, Wm. Edlin, Warren Atkinson, T. A. Hopkins.

After a recess to allow these committees to do their work, Wm. Butcher reported for the Committee on Credentials that of the 54 delegates elected the following 40 were present:

Albany Co.—Fred L. Arland, Chauntauqua Co.—E. J. Squires, Erie Co.—Thomas Fitten, Essex Co.—William Thomas, Fulton Co.—R. F. Timmerman, Jefferson Co.—Thomas Pendergast, Kings Co.—Chas. L. Fumman, Wm. Butcher, Warren Atkinson, T. A. Hopkins, Geo. Marr, Julius Gerber, J. A. Holzer, J. A. Holzer, C. A. Lackmeyer, Geo. Guatz, August Dreite, Monroe Co.—Chas. R. Bach, Joel Moses, Henry D. Henderson.

New York Co.—E. M. Martin, Herman Schuller, L. A. Malkiel, Fred Paulsack, Wm. Edlin, Courtney Lemon, Edward Cassidy, A. Abraham, Morris Hillquit, Emil Neppel, E. Wolf, Joseph A. Duane, Henry L. Blodoin, Fred Martin.

Oneida Co.—Martin Woodell, Otsego Co.—Rudolph Baeder, Orange Co.—Hamilton Hulke, Queens Co.—Otto Wegener, L. Hahn, R. Woodruff, Wm. Schramm, Rensselaer Co.—Wm. Nugent, Schoenectady Co.—R. H. Hunt, H. M. Merrill.

Washington Co.—C. H. Caspar, Westchester Co.—A. Gansler, Frederick Benetta, H. C. Morvan, Chas. Reek.

L. R. Boudin and Chas. Lane, alternates from New York, were also seated as five of the New York delegates. Geo. D. Herron, L. Phillips, L. E. Mayer, Jas. G. Kanelly and E. S. Egerton, were not in attendance. Later in the day a telegram was received from Mrs. Herron stating that illness prevented Comrade Herron from attending.

After the report of the Committee on Rules had been heard and an order of business and rules adopted, the temporary chairman and vice-chairman, Holzer and Bach, were made permanent for the day and Lemon was elected permanent secretary for the convention.

The following committees were then elected: Platform: Hillquit, Lemon, Schuller, Pendergast, Boudin. Constitution: Butcher, Bach, Blodoin, Gerber, Fred Martin. Ways and Means: Finance, Atkinson, Hopkins, Fumman, Hulke. Resolutions: Edlin, Hahn, Wolf, Neppel, Fitten.

Auditing: Benetta, Hunt, Reek. The morning session closed with the reading of the report of the State Committee by Comrade Blodoin:

Report of the State Committee. The Social Democratic Party was organized at the state convention held in the city of New York in July, 1900. The party organization was then beset with many troubles. As a result of the litigation over official standing on the ballot, it found itself heavily in debt. To this may be added the cost of the meeting of the Unity Conference and of the transfer of the national headquarters to Springfield, Mass., most of which had to be borne by New York organizations.

The comrades were a great deal discouraged by the loss of the emblem and the course of the unity controversy. The convention of 1900 adjourned, charging the State Committee with the task of raising the money necessary for the circulation of our nominating positions, securing a sufficient number of signatures, and finally getting official standing as a political party, all of which was accomplished. But, naturally, it did not result in improving the financial condition of the party.

The campaign of 1902 was particularly expensive, because of our effort to secure for our party all Socialist votes, which would have resulted in complete unification of the Socialist forces. The irregularities of James N. Wood caused great difficulties to the State Committee. The State Committee cannot escape some responsibility for Wood's conduct, but the responsibility must be shared by other comrades. He was elected by the convention to the State Committee over an old and tried comrade. He was elected practically in the same way as an organizer of Local New York. He was put in complete charge of the finances of both Local New York and the State Committee. And, though some members of the State Committee may be

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND.

The Third Week in June Chosen as the Time for Socialists All Over the Land to Unite in Starting the National Campaign on Big Scale.

During the third week of June, 1904, Socialists in all parts of the United States are expected to donate one-half day's pay to the National Campaign Fund. This amount will be divided so as to give one-third to the local, one-third to the state and one-third to the national organizations.

If this call receives response from all Socialists the sum realized will be sufficient to start off the national campaign in splendid shape.

Subscription lists have been sent out by the National Secretary to all the state secretaries in the organized states. These lists will be numbered and counterchecked by each state secretary and forwarded to each local secretary. The National Secretary has a record of the lists sent to state secretaries and the latter will keep record of the lists forwarded to the local secretaries. Locals in unorganized states receive lists direct from the National Secretary.

All lists must be accounted for to the National Headquarters not later than August 1, 1904. Secretaries therefore should prepare to fill and return lists promptly so that this amount raised through this medium can be received and put to use immediately. As the local, state and national organizations all get the benefit from this plan, it is to everybody's interest to push it along.

Socialists residing in states where no state or local organizations exist can be supplied with contribution lists upon direct application to the National Secretary, 290 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.

The following list of state secretaries in organized states is given for the benefit of Socialists residing where there are no locals in these states. The Socialists can secure lists by writing direct to the secretaries, whose addresses appear hereafter. Contributions received from such Socialists will be divided equally between the state and national organizations.

Alabama—F. X. Waldhorst, 1010 E. Twenty-third street, Birmingham. Arkansas—E. W. Perrin, 304 Scott street, Little Rock.

Arizona—Albert Ryan, Jerome. California—Edgar B. Heintzelin, 822 W. Second street, Los Angeles. Colorado—J. W. Martin, 420 Charles building, Denver.

Connecticut—W. E. White, 220 Exchange street, New Haven. Florida—Wm. C. Green, Orlando. Illinois—Jas. S. Smith, 42 River street, Chicago.

Indiana—Wm. Bowen, 131 East Washington street, Indianapolis. Idaho—L. E. Workman, Boise. Iowa—J. J. Jacobson, 1129 Twelfth street, Des Moines.

Kansas—Thos. Ewell, Sedgwick building, Wichita. Kentucky—Walter Landersick, 604 Washington avenue, Newport. Louisiana—P. A. Molyneux, 372 Walnut street, New Orleans.

Maine—W. E. Pease, Lewiston. Massachusetts—Fred E. Irish, 600 Washington street, Boston. Michigan—J. A. C. Menton, 1328 E. Saginaw street, Flint.

Minnesota—J. E. Nash, 45 E. Fourth street, Minneapolis. Missouri—T. E. Palmer, Bookery building, Kansas City. Montana—Wm. H. Pierce, 708 S. Main street, Butte.

Nebraska—J. P. Roe, 510 N. Sixteenth street, Omaha. New Hampshire—Louis Arnstein, 18 Watson street, Dover.

New Jersey—W. B. Killingbeck, 270 Main street, Orange. New York—Henry L. Blodoin, 64 E. Fourth street, New York City. North Dakota—T. H. C. Crowell, Fargo.

Ohio—Edward Gardner, 315 Chapell street, Dayton. Oklahoma—D. S. Landis, Stillwater. Oregon—A. H. Axelson, 1070 Union avenue, North Portland.

Pennsylvania—F. H. Slick, 1305 Arch street, Philadelphia. South Dakota—Samuel Lovett, Aberdeen. Texas—E. B. Latham, Box 129, Galvestone.

Vermont—John Anderson, 106 Sumner street, Barre. Washington—E. E. Martin, 1916 Stewart street, Seattle. West Virginia—Ward B. Jeffers, McMechen.

Wisconsin—Miss F. H. Thomas, 344 Sixth street, Milwaukee. Wyoming—Hemlock, one-half day's pay during the third week in June is to be given to the great Socialist campaign of 1904.

Fraternally,
WILLIAM MAILLY,
National Secretary,
290 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.

UNEMPLOYMENT OR OVERWORK.

Such Are the Alternatives Given to Railway Workers by Profit-Grinders.

After Wholesale Discharges Last Fall, Tens of Thousands Were Are Now Being Thrown Into the Army of the Unemployed—At the Same Time, Those Retained Are So Driven That They Cannot Do Their Work with Safety to Themselves or the Public.

It will be remembered that during the months of October and November of last year, at the same time that the cotton, woolen, and silk mills, the iron and steel works, the coal mines, and other industrial establishments were throwing great numbers of their workmen into the army of the unemployed, several of the large railways, both East and West, also made heavy reductions, laying off or discharging thousands of employees. During the last few weeks the process has been renewed. All the Eastern roads are cutting down their working force and it is expected that the railways of the West will follow their example later in the season.

75,000 To Be Dropped. Present indications are that not less than 75,000 employees will be dropped. Train hands, station men, and clerks have been receiving notices to quit since April 15, and by June 10 it is expected that the weeding out process will have been completed. With the exception of the panic period, beginning in 1903, this is the most wholesale reduction of railroad working forces known at any one time.

The following table gives an approximate idea of the number of railroad men put out of employment between April 15 and June 10:

Pennsylvania system	32,000
Vanderbilt system	12,000
Railroads out of Chicago	20,000
Gold system	7,500
Harriman lines	8,000
Northwestern lines	10,000
Southern Railway	3,000
Other roads	2,000
Total	75,000

In the West, smaller reductions are being made, especially on the St. Louis and the Soo, the latter road having recently issued retrenchment orders affecting from 1,200 to 1,500 men.

Squeezing Out More Work. But while railway workers are thus being thrown into unwilling idleness by thousands and tens of thousands, those who are lucky enough to retain their positions are being overworked to the very limit of their endurance. For an illustration of this process of driving and some of its consequences, we may quote from an article in the Minneapolis "Journal" of May 25, as follows:

"Because James J. Hill guaranteed 8 per cent. to the stockholders of the Burlington when he assumed control of that system, many of the older employees are underpaid what they consider real hardship. Ten days ago, the 'Journal' voiced the complaints of Burlington employees on other parts of the system, mentioning the fact that the runs to and from the Twin Cities had been combined in some way, to squeeze more work out of the train crews. The new schedule has now been in effect longer and complaints are correspondingly being increased. NO DISSATISFACTION IS OPENLY EXPRESSED, as the Hill gullotine gets nobody more surely than the man who talks too much.

Haunted by Fear. "Trainmen complain that with the long runs and long hours they are forced to work to a point almost beyond human endurance. THEY ARE HAUNTED BY THE FEAR OF ACCIDENTS FROM UNPREVENTABLE NEGLECT OF DUTY. They hold that the running of trains in safety depends upon the vigilance and alertness of the crews and they cannot do themselves and their employers justice, when compelled to work long hours on fast runs.

"Crews are now running from Minneapolis to Chicago, a distance of 942 miles, with seventy-two stops. The men start from Minneapolis at 7:30 a. m., and arrive on locals in Chicago at 9:35 p. m. The men leaving Chicago on No. 50 at 10:50 p. m. arrive in Minneapolis at 1:30 p. m. the next afternoon.

"Trainmen declare that in making this schedule the management has broken faith and virtually abrogated previous working agreements. Hints of a strike are made. In discussing the conditions an old Burlington employee said:

"A conductor and his crew feel a sense of responsibility for the lives of those upon a train. A man can only be worked so far when he becomes actually irresponsible. I hate to feel that I am in any way responsible for the lives of passengers on a train when the length of the run and hours have worked me beyond my limit. There is no flagman on the train, and the brakeman has to help load baggage, brake, flag, and do anything that comes up. He is certainly not in good condition to be an alert flagman on the latter end of the run."

AN END TO THE FEAR. The same method is being applied, to a greater or less extent, on all the railways. Profit and more profit, and ever more profit is the sole guide of those in authority. They find it profitable, on the whole, to take the chance of accidents, involving some money loss to themselves and terrible loss of life for passengers and especially for employees. The saving on the payroll effected by discharging a part of

STATE PLATFORM OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Adopted by the New York State Convention at Albany on May 30.

The Social Democratic Party of the state of New York in convention assembled, reaffirms its steadfast adherence to the principles of the international Socialist movement, and endorses the national platform of the Socialist Party of the United States.

In extending upon the campaign of 1904, the Social Democratic Party again makes its appeal to the working class and calls upon the workers and those in sympathy with their cause, to join the party in its struggle against capitalist rule.

Never before was the contrast between two classes of society more glaring than it is to-day. The comparatively small number of capitalists own all the means of wealth production and have appropriated all the fruits of the collective labors and struggles of past generations.

Through this economic supremacy, the capitalist class has secured the absolute control of our legislatures and courts, our press and our schools, and all other organs and powers of our public life, while the working class has been reduced to a state of unprecedented misery.

The workingmen, the great army of the wealth producers, are dependent upon the non-producing capitalist class for their daily existence; their much-vaunted liberty is at most, the liberty of the slave, to choose and change his master, and their political sovereignty is but too often the mere right to vote according to the dictates of their employer.

Between the two classes there can be no common interest or harmony. The masters and slaves of present society live in a constant state of open or suppressed struggle, and nowhere in this country has the struggle assumed such gigantic proportions as in this, our Empire State. In no other state of the Union is such enormous wealth amassed in the hands of a few men; in no other state is the misery of the working population so intense; in few other states are the powers of government, executive, legislative and judicial, so openly and defiantly arrayed for the capitalists and against the workers.

The working class can expect no relief from these intolerable conditions from either of the old political parties, for the Republican and Democratic parties are but two different tools of the capitalist class for the preservation of its mastery over the workers and for the perpetration of wage slavery.

The callous indifference of our legislature to the needs of labor, the hostile decisions of our highest courts on the few and inadequate laws that have been passed, and the use of the militia, police and courts to break strikes,

their employees and overworking the rest more than counterbalances the pecuniary losses to the companies from an occasional smash-up—and as for the loss of life, that weighs for nothing as against increased profit.

The latest report of the Interstate Commerce Commission shows that during the last quarter of 1903—just the period of the reduction of force mentioned at the beginning of this article—in number of persons killed on the railways of the United States was more than three times the average of the blue preceding quarters. There is every reason to expect that the record of 1904 will be even worse.

Courts Uphold Profit-Privileges. In the face of this terrible record in the United States Supreme Court, in the same week that it confirmed the law giving the President the power arbitrarily to expel men from the country for "disobedience," upheld the murderous legal privileges of capitalism by deciding that a railway company is not liable for damages when one of its employees is injured or killed in an accident caused by the proven negligence of a train-dispatcher, and on the ground that the victim was a free man, that he made a free contract of employment with the company by which he voluntarily "assumed" the risk of injury or death from the negligence of a "fellow-servant." Thus the workingman's theoretical freedom and equality before the law becomes, in the hands of capitalist judges, an excuse for releasing his industrial master and employer from all responsibility for his safety of life and limb.

Tens of thousands of skilled and efficient railway workers hunting in vain for a chance to work; hundreds of thousands of others driven at so intense a pace that it is impossible for them to do their work well, so haunted with fear and anxiety, that they grow old before their time; thousands of human lives annually sacrificed in preventable "accidents" on the railways—this, with big profits to the stockholders and bondholders who do none of the work, but who control the opportunity to work, is the net result of capitalism, of "business methods" and "individual enterprise" and the "sacred rights of property," as applied to this one branch of industry. Is it not time to quit the parrot-like repetition of those detestable catch-words, to look facts squarely in the face, to adopt the new methods required by new conditions—in a word, to put an end to this destructive industrial oligarchy and declare for industrial democracy, for working-class Socialism?

Statistics collected in Germany have shown that 28 per cent. of the accidents caused by machinery used for industrial purposes, such as manufacturing, were due to defects in the machines and to lack of proper safeguards.

—It is said that factory hands in Great Britain are leaving their homes and emigrating to Canada at the rate of more than 2,000 a week.

MINERS' LIVES DIRT-CHEAP.

Owners' Profit Opposes Workers' Safety.

Pennsylvania State Official Puts Facts Plainly, but Draws Most Lame and Impotent Conclusions—\$100 Counted Too Much for Miner's Life—How Mine Owners Pay Poor Wages.

HARRISBURG, Pa., May 30.—James K. Roderick, Chief of the State Department of Mines, in his annual report just completed, declares that the occupation of coal-mining is now more hazardous than even that of railroad-riding, greatly as the risks to life and limb have increased in the latter calling during the period between the adjournment of a convention and the day of election. This must become a settled rule in our party and must be emphasized on every occasion. The national platform should, therefore, be endorsed without a dissenting vote, leaving to the comrades and locals to initiate such measures on this question as they may deem proper after election.

THE STATE COMMITTEE. The New York State Committee as composed of the following comrades: From New York: L. Phillips, Courtney Lemon, John Spargo, W. Leich, Emil Neppel, and Henry L. Blodoin. From Kings: C. L. Furman, Hugo Fetter, F. L. Lockman, and J. Gerber. From Queens: Chas. Bub, From Richmond: Gus. Tebner, From Westchester: A. B. Dixon, From Orange: G. L. Lindboe, State Secretary, Henry L. Blodoin; Recording Secretary, Courtney Lemon; Treasurer, Emil Neppel; Assistant State Secretary and Organizer, John C. Chase.

The State Committee was severely criticized by some comrades and locals for having passed this or that work and this or that locality. The criticism was undoubtedly well-meant and not always without foundation. The State Committee does not complain. On the contrary, it welcomes well-meant criticism as evidence of interest in the party work. However, the comrades should keep in mind the fact that it was the main duty and object of the State Committee to free the party from the heavy debts incurred, not by the present State Committee, but by the United States Committee. We had to do this, if the comrades were to have more than our own incapacity prevented us from doing more than we did.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION. The working class, driven by want and led by ignorance, is still staggering on in the wake of the triumphant march of capitalism. In this state of things, the wealthier seats in the Union, if the wealth amassed by the exploiters should be counted; the poorest state of the Union, if the pauperism of its working population is to be considered—in this Empire State of paupers, the working class is still an object of trade and barter among the politicians of the Republican and Democratic professions. The human mind cannot discover the slightest distinction between the Republican and Democratic parties. The question for the reason of existence of two perfectly similar and identical parties might be asked again, if it were not well known that the object for the division of the capitalists into two and sometimes more parties, is to divide the working class against itself, so that one-half of it may be played off against the other; also to hoodwink any dissatisfaction with the support of the other party. Thus are a few exploiters and despots enabled to use the giant strength of labor for its own enslavement. A striking

(Continued on page 4.)

SOCIALISM GROWS.

Western Local Election Returns Full of Good Promise.

Municipal Campaigns in Missouri, Arkansas, Indian Territory, Texas, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, and Utah show Socialist gains.

Promises of great Socialist progress in the national campaign now beginning is given by the news from local elections recently held in various parts of the West. We summarize them as follows:

ESCONDIDO, Cal.—Candidate for City Marshal on the Socialist ticket was elected here. We now have four Socialists holding office, and the four politicians are really beginning to tremble.

GERAT FALLS, Mont.—Two Socialist Aldermen were elected here at the municipal election. We broke even with the old parties, they electing two of their aldermen. The Republicans carried the city ticket by a bare 17 votes.

LAFAYETTE, Colo.—The Socialist candidate for Mayor has been elected here and the comrades are jubilant as a result.

GROVE, I. T.—Three Socialist Councilmen have been elected in this town. AMARILLO, Tex.—Socialists have elected the Marshal, Treasurer, Assessor, and one Alderman. We tied the vote for Mayor with the old parties, and another vote will be taken.

GRAND RAPIDS, Tex.—The candidate for City Marshal on the Socialist ticket was elected here. The Democrats received but 15 votes all told.

GWYNNE, Ark.—A Socialist Mayor, Recorder, and one Alderman is the result of a storm of Socialist ballots here.

LEBANON, Mo.—Socialists have elected their candidate for Alderman in the Fourth Ward. We have just begun to break through the ice, but will be heard from later all right.

MACHINISTS HAVE HANDS FULL. There are at present about sixty strikes of machinists throughout the country—some caused by attempts of employers to return to the ten-hour day, others by proposed reductions in wages, and many were declared on account of refusal of members of the craft to sign individual contracts which require that they sever their connection with any organization joins in a sympathetic strike.

—It is said that factory hands in Great Britain are leaving their homes and emigrating to Canada at the rate of more than 2,000 a week.

STATE CONVENTION.
(Continued from page 12)

illustration of the identity of both the Republican and the Democratic parties as tools of the capitalist class was the nomination of Denis O'Brien for Judge of the Court of Appeals by both parties. This was as it should have been. The Judge who had written the opinion declaring the Prevailing Law of Wages Law unconstitutional, and who voted to declare unconstitutional the Right of Labor Law, has certainly earned the unanimous endorsement of the Republican and Democratic parties. But, the heart of every thinking workman must be filled with sorrow and indignation when millions of workmen vote to continue such Judge in office. The capitalists, emboldened by the severity of the working class, throw off all disguise of "constitutional rights" and "individual liberties" with which they were wont to cover their brutality. In Colorado they are stamping out the right of citizenship. They are outlawing everywhere the labor organizations, through political or economic means. The "open shop" has become a rallying cry for all exploiters, and in the face of this arrogance the trade unions alone stand helpless. So long as the workmen continue to entrust the powers of government to their enemies, they can expect to win no lasting concessions from them. Only by wresting the power from the control of the capitalist class can they better their condition now and achieve their own emancipation in the near future.

AGITATION.

We again suggest that the state be divided into agitation districts, each district to contain several counties, the local within the district to send delegates to the District Agitation Committee. Any organization in sympathy with the aims of the Social Democratic Party may send delegates to this Committee. This Committee shall exist only for campaign purposes, and meet only during the campaign. It shall occupy itself exclusively with propaganda and have nothing to do with the nomination of candidates or other party work. Such agitation districts exist in New York State and they have proven successful. They secure cooperation among geographically grouped locals and afford a chance for non-affiliated but sympathetic organizations and individuals to work for the cause with a maximum of usefulness and the least chance of harm.

It will be one of the duties of the Agitation Committee to route a speaker and supervise his work within its territory. The State Committee would assign speakers to each Agitation District for a stated period. The State Committee is engaged in sending speakers to tour the State in the fall. The following speakers have given out their promise to speak in New York two weeks, a month, or more: George D. Herron, John Spargo, Josh Wauchope, Aug. Klenke, F. B. Wentworth, Chas. Ufert, John Collins. Tom Pendergast is engaged to tour the northern counties for three or four months, beginning July 1.

LITERATURE.

It is the opinion of the State Committee that our literature must be more of a pamphlet form than of a leaflet form. Besides that the contents of a pamphlet can be made of a more diversified character than of a leaflet, a pamphlet is more suitable for preservation by whoever gets it. The pamphlet published by the State Committee in 1902 was taken up by the comrades with great avidity. The State Committee has already estimated from printers. There were complaints made that the State Committee was slow in providing literature. So it was, no doubt. But the reason was that it was in debt to all printers with whom it dealt and the printers did not treat the State Committee as they do a prompt payer of bills, and very often held up the literature. Now the State Committee is out of debt, and the chief obstacle to the early printing and delivery of literature is removed.

The State Committee recommends that the new State Committee be instructed to carry on directly from the headquarters a campaign of literature and correspondence propaganda, throughout the state, mainly in unorganized or weakly organized localities. We have secured, for this purpose, the subscription list of the "Appeal to Reason" and "Workers' Magazine," and the names of many other probable sympathizers throughout the State.

FUNDS.

The State Committee issued subscription lists to the locals. Very few locals outside of the city of New York responded with donations.

The State Committee recommends that the subscription lists be issued by the State Committee to the locals, and no other lists be taken by the locals or subdivision. And of all monies collected by any local on subscription lists or on donations, 40 per cent. of each dollar be forwarded immediately to the State Agitation Fund.

THE PRESS.

Neither the State Committee, nor any party organization, owns or has any proprietary interest in a newspaper. But an organization of comrades, whose Socialist integrity and rectitude are beyond question, are publishing The Worker, for the sole benefit of the Social Democratic Party of New York and the Socialist Party generally. The Worker is the official organ of the Social Democratic Party of New York. For several years the State Committee was compelled to take notice of the condition of The Worker. The State Committee must acknowledge the devotion of the comrades managing The Worker. It recommends, however, that the State Committee be empowered to negotiate with the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, so that the State Committee may have a direct representative on the Board of Managers of The Worker, and that a special New York state issue of The Worker be published.

The Rochester comrades are industriously collecting funds to publish a paper. The Rochester Movement needs resources may warrant such an undertaking, which for a long time must rest heavily on a few comrades. The Rochester comrades have our warmest wishes. However, they must be warned

against too hasty steps that may tax their resources. The comrades of New York City are bending their efforts to collect a \$50,000 fund with which they intend to start a daily English newspaper. The collection of the funds goes on slowly, very slowly, indeed. It is to be hoped that the New York comrades will not venture with the publication of a daily until they have good reasons to expect an assured success.

We conclude our report with an expression of confidence in your good work and the final triumph of the great cause of Socialism.

NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
HENRY L. SLOBODIN,
Secretary.

At the afternoon session, on recommendations of the Committee on Ways and Means, reported by Comrade Moreau, the engagement of John C. Chase by the State Committee as secretary and organizer was endorsed; it was decided that the state be divided into agitation districts, each district, each district to be composed of one or more counties, and that whenever possible such districts form district agitation committees to take charge of the agitation and organization in the district; the recommendation of the State Committee that during the state campaign subscription lists shall be issued only by the State Committee, and that of all monies collected by any local on subscription lists or on donations, 40 per cent. be forwarded immediately to the state agitation fund, was concurred in; and Comrade Chase's bank system of raising funds was approved. The State Committee was directed to obtain a better office for state headquarters. The recommendation in favor of pamphlet literature was concurred in, but a recommendation that locals should have to procure all literature from the State Committee, except that published by locals themselves, was defeated by a substitute motion to the effect that no local or agitation district distribute any literature not bearing the name and emblem of the party in this state.

The reading, amendment, and adoption of the state constitution was then taken up. Comrade Slobodin reporting for the Committee on Constitution, the principal change in the constitution, which caused the hottest debate of the convention, was in regard to the composition of the State Committee. As finally adopted after discussion and considerable amendment, this article provides that the State Committee shall consist of one member from each organized county and a Local Quorum composed of 4 members from New York County, 3 from Kings, one from Queens, and one from Richmond, to be elected by their respective locals, the entire State Committee to meet once a year and the Local Quorum to carry on and supervise the work of organization, agitation and campaign throughout the state, and to make regular reports of each of its meetings and quarterly reports of its work, receipts and expenditures to all members of the State Committee.

During the debate on the organization of the State Committee, action on these sections was suspended in order to first decide whether the state headquarters should remain in New York City. It was moved to change the state headquarters to Brooklyn, and finally adopted after discussion and considerable amendment, this article provides that the State Committee shall consist of one member from each organized county and a Local Quorum composed of 4 members from New York County, 3 from Kings, one from Queens, and one from Richmond, to be elected by their respective locals, the entire State Committee to meet once a year and the Local Quorum to carry on and supervise the work of organization, agitation and campaign throughout the state, and to make regular reports of each of its meetings and quarterly reports of its work, receipts and expenditures to all members of the State Committee.

At the morning session on the following day Joel Easton was elected chairman and E. J. Squire vice-chairman. The adoption of the constitution was finished and it was decided to refer same to referendum vote by sections.

RESOLUTIONS.

Comrade Edlin reported for the Committee on Resolutions, and the following resolutions were adopted:

COLORADO.

Resolved, That we extend our sympathy to the miners of Colorado in their desperate and heroic fight against organized capital with all its political bribes of that state. We declare that the outrageous fight waged by capital in the state of Colorado is aimed not against the organized miners only, but against the movement of the working class by the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

THE OPEN SHOP.

Resolved, That we extend our sympathy to the trades unions of this country in their brave fight against the open shop. We declare that the open shop means a down-trodden working class, a further reduction of wages, resulting in greater misery to an already impoverished class.

THE DAILY CALL.

Whereas, the comrades in Greater New York are about to launch the Daily Call, which necessitates a large outlay of money and the expenditure of very much energy on the part of all our organization within a radius of several hundred miles of Greater New York, and such paper will be of inestimable value as a means of propaganda throughout the entire state, therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon the locals to help to inaugurate an organized movement of the locals and friendly labor organizations in the upper part of the state, to the support of the comrades who are pushing the plan to publish the Daily Call.

Resolved, That we call the attention of all the Social Democratic locals in this state to do their very best to roll up a big subscription list for the Daily Call between now and September 1.

THE WORKER.

Whereas, The Worker is the official organ of the Social Democratic Party of New York state, and one of the best Socialist papers in the United States, and whereas, The Worker has long been

and is still published at a heavy deficit and is therefore in a serious and immediate need of funds.

Resolved, That this convention calls upon all locals, as well as individual party members, to see that every member subscribes to The Worker, and to at once take energetic and systematic steps to increase its circulation.

A resolution in regard to the enlargement of the canals of the state was tabled, and a resolution instructing the State Committee to revoke the charter of Long Island City and Queens County and reorganize the county under one charter was declared out of order. The resolution in regard to the Daily Call, as reported by the committee contained clauses asking Local Rochester to abandon its plan of publishing a weekly paper, which, on motion, were stricken out. The trade union resolution of the national convention was endorsed. A resolution in favor of the secret ballot within the party in voting for individuals for any party office was introduced from the floor but was voted down by the convention. It was decided to refer all resolutions adopted to referendum vote of the membership.

Hillquit reported for the Committee on Platform, and the platform was received with enthusiastic approval and adopted as read.

At the afternoon session it was voted that the Arm and Torch be continued as the official emblem and the convention then proceeded to nominate a full state ticket.

For Governor, Algernon Lee of New York, Chas. L. Furman of Brooklyn, E. J. Squire of Chautauque County, and Thomas Pendergast of Watertown, were nominated. Furman declined and Squire withdrew his name during the roll-call. Lee was nominated by Boutcher and Pendergast by Boutlin. On roll-call the vote stood: Pendergast, 34; Lee, 13. The division was as follows: For Pendergast—Arland, Hunt, Merrill, Fitton, Timmerman, Bach, Moore, Henderson, Pendergast, Wegener, Schramm, Baeder, Thomas, Edlin, Casady, Neppel, Dunne, Fred Marlin, Boutlin, Gustaviser, Bennett, Seck, Nugent, Furman, Atkinson, Hopkins, Marr, Well, Holzer, Lachmeyer, Grims, Drost, Woodell, Squires. For Lee—Woodruff, Schluter, Malkiel, Paul, Litch, Lemon, Abrahams, Hillquit, Wolf, Slobodin, Moreau, Butcher, Gerber, Lane.

The rest of the ticket was chosen as follows: For Lieutenant-Governor, Chas. H. Bach of Rochester; Secretary of State, E. J. Squire; Treasurer of State, Emil Neppel of New York; Attorney General, L. A. Malkiel of New York; Comptroller, W. V. Passage of Kings; Engineer and Surveyor, S. B. Early of Buffalo; Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, Wm. Nugent of Troy.

Charles H. McIntire, Alexander Jonas, Herman Schluter, Geo. D. Herron, Eliehorst, and Arthur P. Blum were nominated as the first six of 39 presidential electors, the others to be chosen by committee.

The following committee of five was elected to fill vacancies and perform other duties required by the election laws: Gerber, Slobodin, Hillquit, Casady, Furman.

The nomination of Debs and Handford by the national convention was enthusiastically endorsed.

The Auditing Committee made the following report, which was accepted: "Your Auditing Committee has examined the books of the Financial Secretary and finds that books have been audited from time to time up to date by the Auditing Committee of the State Committee and found correct."

"Your Auditing Committee also finds that there is an account amounting to \$187 standing against Local Kings County which has been standing for some time. Local Kings County and its responsible. Your committee recommends that this account be cancelled and stricken from the books."

On motion, the State Committee was instructed to reorganize Local Queens and Long Island City as one local.

The convention then adjourned amid cheers for Socialism and the national standard bearers.

VERY IMPORTANT FOR NEW YORK SOCIALISTS.

A general party meeting of the members of Local New York, to receive the report of delegates to the state and national conventions, will be held on Saturday evening, June 4, at 8 p. m. sharp, at the W. E. A. clubhouse, 230 East Eighty-sixth street.

The following order of business is recommended by the City Executive Committee:

1. Election of chairman.
2. Election of vice-chairman.
3. Election of secretary.
4. Report of delegates to the state convention.
5. Discussion.
6. Report of delegates to the national convention.
7. Discussion.
8. New business.

Membership cards must be shown at the door.

It is the urgent duty of every comrade to attend this meeting, in order to be well informed on party affairs and thus be enabled to act for the best interests of the party within the organization.

WAR TO THE KNIFE AGAINST LAKE CAPTAINS' UNION.

CLEVELAND, O., May 20.—William Livingston, President of the Lake Carriers' Association—the employers' organization of the shipping industry on the Great Lakes—announced to-night that this body was resolved to wage war to the knife against the Masters' and Pilots' Association, which has been on strike for some time. Now that the employers seem to have the winning hand, they have decided to put an end to the help of the union and henceforth no captain will be employed who retains his membership therein.

—One of the best historical accounts of the general Socialist movement in the English language, though the author is not a Socialist, is Somers' "Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century." To be had from the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York. Price, \$1.

—The truest test of civilization is not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops, nor the kind of man, the country turns out.—Emerson.

HOW CAPITAL RULES
AND HOW LABOR CAN WIN.

By A. M. Simons.

Let us examine some of the facts that are around us and see the things which are being done, and then afterwards we shall see if there are in the interest of the capitalist class or the laboring class. (If we find that they are all in the interest of the capitalist class, then we shall be justified in claiming that that class is ruling.)

First about the government. The one thing which the governments of today insist upon is the right of private property. It is to secure this right of men to own the things which other men must use or die if they cannot use, that our laws are enacted, our courts and jails established, our police and army maintained, and the whole machinery of government kept in motion. If you do not believe this, just look over the proceedings and actions of any of these branches of government and see for yourself.

The laborer, however, has nothing but their labor power, and hence are not interested in the protection of private property. It might be said that they own their labor power, but, if so, there are few laws to protect it. When the machine or the trust renders it valueless, there are no laws to protect it, and no one compensates its owner. When he tries to raise its value by withholding it from the market for a strike, he finds that all the laws, courts, police, armies, etc., are used to destroy his "private property." So we must conclude on this point that most of the laws are in the interest of the capitalist class.

But there are other means of ruling society than through the direct making of laws. In fact, we are constantly told that the laborer, being in a majority, can make any kind of laws they please. And this is perfectly true, and the reason why this is written in to help them to find out how to make laws in their own interests, and not in those of the capitalists.

Let us now see if we can find the way in which the laborer are made to make laws against their own interest as these appear to be. If we look close we shall see that the real foundation is laid in the fact that the laborer's mind is ruled first, and through this he is led to rule himself for the benefit of his masters.

Because the capitalist class control all the wealth of society, they are able to say what kind of things shall be produced. This does not include what shall be produced in the mines and factories alone. They can also say what kind of books shall be written, what kind of pictures shall be painted, etc., etc. They can do this because of the fact, which we noticed, that things are now made to sell, and the existence of the producer depends upon his being able to sell his goods. But in literature and art the market consists very largely of those whose interests and ideas are with the capitalists.

They will not buy anything that does not please them, so the artist, the author, the speaker and the editor must say the things that are in the interest of the ruling class. Thus it is that our books have largely been written to tell how wrong it is to do anything that affects the right of private property, and how great and strong and good these rulers are. They tell the laborer to be honest, and industrious, and to make a little better term, and to be a good citizen, and so on. Of course the greatest possible reward they can hope to have, the chance of becoming rich. The cut of the clothing, the manners and customs of all kinds are fixed by the rich. The artists paint only the things which tell the same story. The lectures upon the platform repeat the same lessons. The preachers in the pulpit declare that the teachings of religion are all for the benefit of the ruling class and tend to keep them in power. The newspapers publish only those things which make their papers sell and please advertisers.

All these things taken together build up a custom and a state of society in which everything that strengthens the rule of the capitalists is called right and good and everything that is against the rule of the capitalists is called wrong and evil. Of course no one wants to be bad or wicked, and so every one does the things that the capitalist class want them to do, and very few of them ever stop to ask whether it is not possible that there is something wrong with the whole idea of right and wrong.

The result is that from boyhood to old age the laborer's mind is filled with just the kind of ideas the capitalist class wish him to have. Everywhere that he goes he hears the same story. In day school and Sunday school, in books, pictures, and newspapers, from press, pulpit and lecture platform his every means of information are controlled by those whose interest it is that he shall learn nothing regarding his own real welfare. In it any wonder that he has voted, and that a great many of his class still vote, as the capitalists wish them to vote?

It was particularly easy at the beginning of the contest between the landlords and the capitalists to get him to fight the capitalists' battles because he had long been himself struggling against the landlords. So now he thought that he was still fighting for himself, not seeing the great change that had come over his industry. For while the free laborer of the old free cities were battling for the right to produce goods that were to be their own, the modern laborer is fighting that he may produce goods that be long to the capitalists.

Society advanced from feudalism to capitalism through the class struggle between the capitalist and the landlord, in which the laborer fought the battles of the capitalist. Now the laborer is beginning to see that he has interests that are opposed to those of the capitalist and he is just entering upon another great class struggle which must end in the overthrow of capitalism and the coming of Socialism. We shall next take a look at the parties to this last great class struggle and see what are the ways in which it will be fought, the character of the opposing forces, and the final outcome of the battle.

When the capitalist class first began to rule they really organized and directed industry. The owners of the great factories were the ones who gathered the laborers together and set them to work. They were the ones who were to rule the society at that time. When they have done this then they can organize industry in the interest of the workers, not the idlers. They can then say to every worker, "Come and use these instruments of production and create wealth, which shall be for the benefit of all who toil." We will take the mines, the machines, the land, the railroads and all the things that are necessary to the production and distribution of wealth and we will say that these things shall belong to all in common.

Let the laborer organize as one solid body of suffering workers demanding that they shall rule instead of the owners. With their overwhelming numbers they can easily make themselves the ruling class in place of the idlers who have so long governed society at every point.

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mon since they must be used in common. We will make the ownership of the tools, not the non-users. Just as when each producer worked individually, the tools were owned by the individuals, so now that the tools are used collectively so that there will be no division of product between the workers and the owners, because all will be workers and all will be owners.

Goods will no longer be sold for profit, but will be distributed among those who make them for use, and so there can never be any overproduction so long as there is an unfilled want and when all wants are filled there will be no suffering. Any one who wishes to work can use the tools which he owns in common with every one else and be sure that he will get what he produces.

When a new machine is invented that saves labor it will not mean that a few men will work for long hours while a great number starve for lack of an opportunity to sell themselves. Instead each new invention will mean that all those who have been doing the work that it will do will work shorter hours at easier work and have more time for leisure, education and amusement.

Only the best machines, located in the best places, will be used and nothing will be wasted in running more plants than are needed or in trying to sell goods. So we can produce many many times what we are producing today and no one need want for anything.

The soldiers, and policemen, and lawyers, with the drummers, the sign-painters and bill-stickers, will be given a chance to do something that will help to make people warm, and well, and happy, instead of being forced to do things that do nobody any good. All this will mean that it will be easy to make no many things that all can live in pleasant homes with all that they need to eat and drink and wear and have most of their time to think of other things than their merely animal wants.

There can be no city slums, no crimes, no strikes, no lockouts, no unemployed, no beggars, no charity, no starving, no crying children, and idle masters.

Laborers, these things are for you to do. No one else can do them. No one else should do them. No one else has so much to gain from them. Your class is the class that to-day has the skill and training to operate industry, you have the common interests upon which to build a firm society, and you alone have the numbers with which to gain the victory at the polls.—From "The Man under the Machine," No. 8 of the Pocket Library of Socialism, published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.

CONNECTICUT
STATE CONVENTION.

George A. Sweetland and J. Henry Hill, Nominated for Governor and Lieutenant Governor.

WATERBURY, Conn., May 31.—The state convention of the Socialist Party of Connecticut was held in Bowditch Hall, Meadow street, yesterday, being called to order at 10 a. m. William Scheldge of Rockville was elected chairman and Edward Perkins of Mystic secretary.

George A. Sweetland of Bristol, delegate at large, A. R. Cornelius of New Haven and Jasper MacLeary of Bridgeport were elected as a Committee on Credentials. They reported delegates representing New Haven, Bridgeport, Putnam, Rockville, Waterbury, Mystic, Hartford, Naugatuck and other places.

Ernest D. Hull of Naugatuck, H. J. Horsfield of Bridgeport and George A. Sweetland of Bristol were elected a committee to draft and submit a state platform. Their report embodied the principles that, as labor creates all wealth, it is entitled to the capital and all means of production. That the only method whereby the working class can free itself from its present slavery to the employing class is through political action entirely independent of the two old parties. That Socialism calls on workmen to use every opportunity afforded by trades unions in furtherance of improved economic conditions, but that their only radical and satisfactory relief will come through the Socialist Party.

A. B. Cornelius of New Haven, Irving O. Chatfield of Waterbury, and Cornelius F. Wood of Hartford were elected Committee on Constitution. Several changes were made in the constitution.

The Committee on Resolutions reported calling upon party members to subscribe to the new Socialist daily, the Daily Call, to be established in New York in September.

Nominations were made as follows: For Governor, George A. Sweetland, Bristol; Lieutenant-Governor, J. Henry Hill, Mystic; Treasurer, B. F. Ahern, New Haven; Secretary of State, W. E. White, New Haven; Comptroller, Cornelius D. Woods, Hartford; Congressman-at-large, Charles T. Peach, Danbury.

For Presidential electors: Sheridan Morse of Hartford, Cornelius Mahoney, New Haven; John Frank, New Haven; Henry J. Horsfield, Bridgeport; B. W. Sheldon, Putnam; Ernest D. Hull, Naugatuck.

The report of State Secretary White showed an increase in membership of nearly 300 per cent. since the last convention, told of the constant work of agitation and organization throughout the state, and of places where well attended weekly meetings were held.

An attempt to change the state headquarters from their present location at New Haven failed after a lengthy discussion. A. B. Cornelius and Cornelius Mahoney, both of New Haven, were elected state secretary and treasurer, respectively.

The action of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen in recently tendering a wine supper to President Mellen of the Consolidated, was severely criticized as being treason to their own economic interests.

BIG CHIEF WANT-A-HEAP.

The great chief, Want-a-Heap, had studied the white man's ways. Then he went back to his tribes and said: "We will hunt the buffalo together; I'll be the boss."

GOOD SOCIALIST BOOKS
AND HOW TO GET THEM.

Do you wish to educate yourself on the principles and history of Socialism? Of course you do. One way to do it is to get a good standard book and read it carefully. Another way is to get a series of books, one each week, each book will cost you only a few cents. Do you wish also to help in spreading the light of Socialism? Of course you do. One of the best ways to do this is to get a copy of the book "How to Get Socialism." We have a plan by which, while passing the circulation of this paper, you can provide yourself with the best books on Socialism. Read these six propositions. Then go to work.

Offer No. 1.

As a premium for FIVE new yearly subscriptions at 50 cents each we will send you any one of the following cloth-bound books:

1. Engels—Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.
2. Engels—The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.
3. Engels—Fuerbach: The Roots of Socialist Philosophy.
4. Kautsky—The Social Revolution.
5. Ledebur—The Passing of Capitalism.
6. Liebknecht—Biographical Memoirs of Karl Marx.
7. Marx and Engels—The Communist Manifesto.
8. Munro—The American Farmer.
9. Vandervelde—Collectivism and Industrial Revolution.
10. Or a complete set of the Kerr Pocket Library of 40 booklets.

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For SEVEN yearly subscriptions we will send any one of these 75-cents books:

11. Morris—News from Nowhere.
12. "Socialism and the State."
13. Spencer—The Genesis of Science.
14. Hilp—French and German Socialism in Modern Times.

Offer No. 3.

For TEN yearly subscriptions, any one of these dollar books:

15. Marx—The Religion of Socialism.
16. Marx—The Economic and Social History of the French Revolution.
17. Marx—German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle.
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Six books, one chosen from each set, will be given to any one sending to SIXTY yearly subscriptions.

The whole six sets, FORTY VOLUMES, in any local, branch, club, or individual sending in THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY yearly subscriptions.

NOTE.—Two new six-months subscriptions at 25 cents each will in any case count the same as one yearly.

Party locals and Socialist clubs that maintain reading rooms, as well as the reading circles that are being formed in many places, should especially take advantage of this offer. A local club, or circle with twenty members, if each will get but one subscription a week, can ADD TO ITS LIBRARY AT THE RATE OF ONE OR TWO VOLUMES A WEEK, without cost and with advantage to all the members. The only condition is that if the premiums are to be sent in through the literature agent of secretary, to avoid confusion.

PAPER-BOUND BOOKS.

For the benefit of those who may be able to get only a few subscriptions, or who may prefer to get several paper-bound books instead of a few in cloth covers, the following special offers are made:

A.—Any one of the following for ONE new yearly subscription—

1. Bernstein—The Philosophy of Happiness.
2. Liebknecht—The State and Socialism.
3. Deville—Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism.
4. Eastman—A Paradox Explained.
5. Kautsky—Friedrich Engels: His Life, His Work, His Character.
6. Lassalle—Science and the Workingman.
7. Lassalle—Open Letters.

B.—Any one of the following for TWO new yearly subscriptions—

10. Benham—The Paris Commune.
11. Bourgeois—The Impending Crisis.
12. Anonymous—Capital and Labor.
13. Eugene—Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.
14. Ledebur—The Passing of Capitalism.

In ordering books under Offer A or B always use the blank below.

ORDER BLANK.

Please find enclosed \$..... in payment of subscriptions,

for which send me book number..... in special offer as a premium.

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Place over and above their support was so large they could hardly lug it to camp.

"Tote it to my tent," said Want-a-Heap. "It's all mine."

"How? How?" cried the braves. "It's the white man's way," said Want-a-Heap. "In the box, and the boss always takes all that is left after his brothers have eaten."

"But what is left is all!" yelled the others. "We have nothing if you take it. We can't rest if you take it. We must always go and give, and have no meat!"

Nothing could convince the uncivilized beings. Want-a-Heap was sad. He went back to the paleface to get more knowledge. When he returned to his tribe he said:

"To be start right. Try again. Call the land and the buffalo mine. I'll hire you, pay you wages; give you five cents a pound for meat; then I sell it back to you, when you want it, for ten. That's the way."

The savage hunters

THE CLASS WAR IN COLORADO.

Realizing the importance of the present conflict between Labor and Capital in Colorado, and seeing that the daily papers of the whole country are united in a CONSPIRACY TO SUPPRESS THE TRUTH AND DISSEMINATE FALSEHOOD in the interest of the organized capitalists, the publishers of The Worker and "Volkskollekt" sent Benjamin Hanford to the field of war to investigate.

While in Colorado, Comrade Hanford visited President Meyer of the Western Federation in his prison cell and had interviews with Secretary Haywood and the other strike leaders as well as with men in the ranks. On the other hand, he met Governor Peabody, Captain Bulfinch Wells, Major Hill, leaders of the Citizens' Alliance, and others of the lawless rulers of the state. He went to the various strike centers and saw things with his own eyes.

He is now embodying the result of his investigations in a pamphlet which will be published from this office within a very short time.

Comrade Hanford says that the strongest statements yet made in the miners' behalf by their warmest advocates do not do full justice to their cause nor sufficiently express the intensity of capitalist class rule.

This pamphlet will be of the utmost value to the Socialist and trade-union

movement. We owe it to our brothers in Colorado, we owe it to our class and the great cause of Socialism to give it the widest circulation, in order to counteract the lies of the capitalist press. In order to make this possible, the pamphlet will be sold at a price barely covering the cost.

\$2.50 Per 1,000 Copies.

Every local, branch or club, should interest itself in getting this statement of fact before the people.

Our party organization, with its fifteen hundred locals and its 23,000 members, ought to be able to put hundreds of thousands of copies of this document into the hands of the workers throughout the land within a month after its issuance. As dealing with the greatest crisis in the history of the labor movement, and as being written by one of the standard-bearers of the Socialist Party, it will command attention and set men to thinking as nothing else would do.

Order in Advance.

In order to avoid delay and that we may know approximately how many to print on the first edition, we request that orders be sent in AT ONCE. On account of the low price charged, it is necessary to require that cash accompany all orders.

SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO.

194 William St., N. Y.

W. L. Garver; Joplin, Edwin Wood, V. A. Schultz, F. N. Ford; Jefferson City, W. H. Hertel; Independence, Frank L. Stevens; Kansas City, Geo. E. Baird, R. L. LaMonte, Leo H. Schenkel, R. W. Tripp, T. E. Paster, Alice C. Stevens; alternate for Charles Schindler; Liberal, George Mellor; Pleasant Hill, W. B. Tallman; Sedalia, E. T. Bohrvud; alternate, J. H. Hathorn; Springfield, O. H. McMurray; St. Louis, G. A. Hoehn, A. J. Lawrence, W. W. Baker; Warrensburg, W. F. Sutton.

STATE CONVENTION IN VERMONT.

BARRE, Vt., June 4.—The Socialist Party of Vermont held its state convention in Wheelock Hall today, and passed in nomination a full state ticket and also two candidates for Congress. Delegates from many of the larger places in the state were present, representing six locals and including John W. Arvidson of Rutland, Sidney Walker of Bellows Falls, J. W. Gregory of Springfield, John and Emanuel Pierson of Burlington, Timothy Ivers of Barre town and Alex. Ironsides of Barre city.

John W. Arvidson was chairman and John Anderson secretary. The platform adopted is modeled after the New York state platform. A resolution was adopted endorsing the New York Daily Call project and pledging support. The plan of raising funds as adopted by the national convention was endorsed.

The following state ticket was placed in nomination: For Governor—Clarence E. Morse of Springfield. For Lieutenant-Governor—H. P. Monahan of Burlington. For Secretary of State—John Anderson of Barre.

For State Treasurer—Sidney Walker of Bellows Falls. For State Auditor—James Veale of Barre.

Candidates for Congress were nominated as follows: First District—John W. Arvidson of Rutland. Second District—Timothy Ivers of Barre town. The convention was enthusiastic and the party will put up an aggressive campaign.

PARTY NEWS.

National.

The following comrades have been endorsed by the state committee of California for the reserve list of lecturers and organizers: M. E. Shore of Arcata and W. W. Woodley of San Diego. Unless objections are made and a direct vote of the National Committee called for the names will be placed upon the reserve list in three weeks.

Local Dayton, O., has requested a referendum upon the platform, national constitution (in sections), trade union resolution and the state and municipal program (in sections).

Local Worcester, Mass., requested that the new constitution be submitted in sections.

Local Englewood, Colo., requests that "Section 1, Article 7, of the proposed constitution fixing the National Secretary's salary at \$1,500, be submitted to a referendum that the comrades be allowed to vote upon the amount of \$1,000, \$1,300 and \$1,500, and the one of these three sums receiving the largest number of votes shall be the yearly salary of the National Secretary."

Local Fairbault, Minn., requested that the platform adopted by the convention be submitted to a referendum for adoption or rejection, and submitted another platform to be sent out with the convention platform for its acceptance or rejection as a whole. This local also demanded that a "working program" be submitted to a referendum vote for acceptance or rejection as a whole.

The National Secretary notified Local Dayton and Fairbault that the state and municipal program was referred by the national convention to the National Committee for revision. To be afterwards submitted to a referendum of the party.

Local Englewood was notified that the constitution would be submitted in sections to a referendum, that the party would have an opportunity to vote upon Section 1, Article 7, and that if the motion was adopted, a referendum to amend or alter could then be initiated.

Local Fairbault was also notified that the platform adopted by the convention was being submitted to a referendum and it would have to be voted upon first, no other platform could be submitted at the same time. The platform and trade union resolutions have been sent to a referendum, the vote upon the same to close July 20. The constitution will be submitted in sections.

mitted in sections within the next few days.

The following correspondence has been transmitted to the National Committee for its further information:

Chicago, May 20, 1904.

"William Mally, National Secretary, Socialist Party, Dear Sir and Comrade—This is to notify you on behalf of the National Committee that by authority vested in the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Illinois, Socialist Party, Section 2, Article 5, the office of State Secretary held by James S. Smith, has this day been declared vacant and W. Harry Spears, Room 36, 179 Washington street, has been elected to fill the vacancy, as secretary pro tem, with all powers, till the next meeting of the full State Committee, and that you are hereby notified by this committee to transmit all state business of the Socialist Party in the future, till otherwise instructed.

"Signed by order, "C. ERICKSON, Chairman, "W. HARRY SPEARS, Secretary," Chicago, May 20, 1904.

"W. Harry Spears, "Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Comrade—Your favor of the 20th is received and noted. Inasmuch as I have received a letter from Comrade Jas. S. Smith, signing himself as State Secretary, notifying me that you are not to be recognized as the Secretary, I shall have to request you to give me a complete report of the meeting of the State Executive Committee at which you claim you were elected State Secretary, so that I can submit same to the Quorum and National Committee.

"The report of meeting should contain the names of members of the Executive Committee present and absent. As soon as this report is received, I will submit it along with your own and Comrade Smith's letters to the Quorum for its information and action.

"Until I receive such report I shall continue to recognize Comrade Smith as State Secretary of Illinois.

"Fraternally yours, "WILLIAM MALLY, "National Secretary."

"Chicago, May 28."

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions have been received from Local Arlington, Washington: "Resolved, That it is the sense of this local that the action of those delegates to the national convention in refusing to submit the proceedings of the convention to a referendum vote of the membership show an authoritarian spirit, and threatens the very foundation of the Socialist Party, namely, democracy and takes away from the rank and file its most precious and sacred right; the right to a voice and vote in all matters pertaining to party government. And in pursuance thereof be it further

"Resolved, That we demand the immediate action to a referendum of the entire membership on all acts of the convention."

The following contribution has been made to the National Organizing Fund last report: Albert Mulac, Vandeventer, Pa.; previously reported, \$1,261.00; total, \$3,527.54.

National Campaign Fund.

The following contributions have been made to the campaign fund since last report: Mrs. J. W. Likens, Pulaski City, Va., 25c.; C. P. Foster, Buffalo, N. Y., \$1; H. Amelievski, Illinois, \$1.20; N. Baillet, Tullahoma, Tenn., \$10; I. H. Watson, Dallas, Tex., 50c.; N. H. Karr, Bend Oak, Mo., 50c.; F. D. Booth, North Branch, Minn., \$1; J. H. H. St. Louis, Mo., \$1; J. C. Gibson, Rock Island, Ill., 50c.; C. Knecht, Popular Bluff, Mo., \$1.50; Mrs. H. R. Kearns, Arlington, N. J., \$1.50; Down Town Young People's R. D. Club, New York City, 50c.; O. L. Dahl, Geddes, N. D., \$1.50; Campello Socialist Club, Campello, Mass., \$1.50; total, \$31.95; previously acknowledged, \$55.03; total to date, \$86.98.

The interest displayed in the half day's pay donation to the National Campaign Fund during the third week in June is prophetic of good returns. Notwithstanding that the National Secretary sent what he believed would be a satisfactory contribution list to all the state secretaries yet more lists have had to be supplied. The good thing about this scheme is that the local and state organizations have an equal share in the proceeds and it is to their interest to push the distribution of lists to the utmost.

Comrade Gibson, secretary of Local Rock Island County, Ill., sends in five dollars as a contribution from the County Central Committee, and says he has asked the local secretary for thirty more of the lists and "we are going to see every Socialist worker in the county during this month." It will pay every local to work in this systematic manner. A committee should be appointed charged with the special duty of getting every Socialist and sympathizer to contribute a half day's pay.

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The National Secretary's financial report for May shows: Balance on hand, \$1,561.34; receipts, \$1,144.19; disbursements, \$1,144.19; balance on hand, June 1, \$1,561.34. Receipts for national dues were as follows: From state committees: Alabama, \$5; Arizona, \$10; Arkansas, \$10; California, \$71.50; Colorado, \$68; Florida, \$10; Idaho, \$25; Illinois, \$75; Indiana, \$30; Iowa, \$20; Kentucky, \$15; Maine, \$10; Massachusetts, \$50; Michigan, \$10; Minnesota, \$25; Missouri, \$50; Montana, \$38.75; Nebraska, \$22; New York, \$60; Ohio, \$30; Oregon, \$31.40; South Dakota, \$10; Texas, \$15; Washington, \$50.20; Wisconsin, \$37.85; unorganized states: Georgia, \$3.20; Indian Territory, \$0.50; Mississippi, \$1.00; Rhode Island, \$10; Tennessee, \$4.05; Utah, \$1.70; Virginia, \$1.80; Wyoming, \$4; members-at-large, \$1.00.

Unorganized States and Territories.

An extensive agitation must be carried on during the Presidential campaign, and as many speakers as possible should be placed in the field. Under the constitution the National Secretary is empowered to deal directly with unorganized states and territories; and in order that they may have the advantages that the national headquarters can provide, it is necessary that arrangements for this work should begin at the earliest possible date.

If this educational propaganda is to bring the results that all Socialists desire, it will depend on the degree of assistance and co-operation that the comrades will give the national office, and we urge all to contribute their efforts toward making our work a real "campaign of education."

The attack of the capitalist politicians will be directed against Socialism to a great extent in this campaign and every Socialist should be prepared to meet them. The National Secretary is empowered to deal directly with unorganized states and territories; and in order that they may have the advantages that the national headquarters can provide, it is necessary that arrangements for this work should begin at the earliest possible date.

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National Campaign Fund.

The following contributions have been made to the campaign fund since last report: Mrs. J. W. Likens, Pulaski City, Va., 25c.; C. P. Foster, Buffalo, N. Y., \$1; H. Amelievski, Illinois, \$1.20; N. Baillet, Tullahoma, Tenn., \$10; I. H. Watson, Dallas, Tex., 50c.; N. H. Karr, Bend Oak, Mo., 50c.; F. D. Booth, North Branch, Minn., \$1; J. H. H. St. Louis, Mo., \$1; J. C. Gibson, Rock Island, Ill., 50c.; C. Knecht, Popular Bluff, Mo., \$1.50; Mrs. H. R. Kearns, Arlington, N. J., \$1.50; Down Town Young People's R. D. Club, New York City, 50c.; O. L. Dahl, Geddes, N. D., \$1.50; Campello Socialist Club, Campello, Mass., \$1.50; total, \$31.95; previously acknowledged, \$55.03; total to date, \$86.98.

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taken up by the convention was the nomination of candidates. For membership of the House of Representatives William H. Wyatt of Rutherford was the unanimous choice of the convention. He responded in a brief and straightforward address, pledging himself to do all in his power for the cause of Socialism, and hoping that with the same resolution on the part of the working class great progress would be achieved at the polls this year, with Eugene V. Debs and Benjamin Hanford as the national standard-bearers of the party. Robert Strasser was the choice of the convention for presidential elector. There being no other business for the delegates to consider, the convention adjourned.

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New York City.

The comrades of the 21st A. D. will enjoy themselves at an old-fashioned basket party outing which will be held on top of the Palisades, above Fort Lee, N. J., on Sunday, June 12. Those desiring to participate will meet at the Fort Lee ferry house, foot of West One Hundred and Thirtieth street, at 10:30 p. m.

Ben Hanford has returned to New York after several weeks spent in Colorado investigating the situation there. He will write a pamphlet on small book on the capitalist outrages in that state, for use during the presidential campaign.

John Spargo has given up the editorship of "The Comrade" and Charles Doherty is no longer with "Wilbur's Magazine." Comrade Doherty will permanently settle in New York, however.

The meeting of the 1st, 3d and 5th assembly districts was decided to change the date and place of their meeting to the fourth Friday of each month at 17 Abingdon Square, residence of Comrade James. Members should make note of the change. The next meeting will be held June 24.

Under the auspices of the 11th A. D. of Brooklyn, street agitation meetings are being held every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at the corner of Fourth avenue and River street. Comrades, especially those resident in the district, are urged to be present.

The next meeting of the General Committee will take place on Saturday, June 11, at the W. E. A. clubhouse, 206 E. Eighty-sixth street, promptly at 8 o'clock. The General Committee has not met for the last six weeks, so that there is now some very important business to be transacted and the delegates must be present.

Letters were sent by the Organizer to the various assembly districts, questioning them to elect two members to the picnic committee to complete arrangements for the picnic to be held on Sunday, June 26, at the Manhattan Casino, One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street and Eighth avenue. This picnic is held for the benefit of the local campaign fund, and it is the duty of each and every member of the party to widely advertise this picnic and endeavor to make it a successful one. Posters in German and throw-away advertisements in both German and English can be had from the Organizer's office, 64 E. Fourth street.

Blanks have been sent to the financial secretaries of the various assembly districts in Manhattan and Bronx for their semi-annual financial and membership reports. These reports are of the utmost importance for the Organizer, and it is the only way by which he can ascertain the standing of the various assembly district branches and know how many delegates to the General Committee they are entitled to. The financial secretaries are therefore urged to mail their financial and membership reports to U. S. Solomon, 64 E. Fourth street, Financial Secretary of Local New York. According to the decision of the General Committee, no delegate to the General Committee can be sent without this financial report from his branch has been received.

Letters have been sent to the various assembly districts calling the attention of the members that in accordance with the by-laws of Local New York the subdivisions must elect their officers and delegates at the last regular meeting in June. The following officers and delegates are to be elected by each subdivision: Recording and Corresponding Secretary; Financial Secretary; Treasurer; three delegates to the District Committee; General Committee—one delegate for the assembly district organization and an additional delegate for every ten members in good standing. The assembly district may also elect an organizer or literature agent for the district. The secretaries are requested to immediately notify the acting organizer, U. S. Solomon, 64 E. Fourth street, of the names and addresses of the newly-elected officers and delegates, and the place and date of meetings. Credentials for delegates and blanks to report the names of the officers were sent to the assembly districts. The comrades should comply with the above request and avoid unnecessary inconvenience to the organizer.

Blanks for the national referendum for the adoption of the new constitution of the Socialist Party were sent to the assembly districts. The vote on this referendum closes on July 10, and no votes will be counted that are mailed to the organizer after that date. Return blanks to tabulate the vote were enclosed and the secretaries will please use these blanks for mailing their returns.

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forces of evil at any point. It only forces and tries in vain to cover up the nakedness of a false, unjust, and hypocritical society and conceal from the gaze of the world the putrid and stinking sores of poverty and injustice.

Not charity, but justice, is the remedy for slums, and all other phases of the universal social evil, and the sooner the fact is frankly admitted, and the remedy applied, the sooner will the disease be cured.

Let justice rule, and there will be no more slums, and charity will go to join the follies of the past.—St. Louis Labor.

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TO SUBSCRIBERS.

The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the wrapper.
The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed.
No bills or receipts sent to individual subscribers.

The Worker

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIV.—NO. 12.

NEW YORK, JUNE 19, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

THE CLASS WAR IN COLORADO

Realizing the importance of the present conflict between Labor and Capital in Colorado, and seeing that the daily papers of this country are united in a CONSPIRACY TO SILENCE THE TRUTH AND DISSEMINATE FALSEHOOD in the interest of the organized capitalists, the publishers of *The Worker* and "Volkzeitung" sent Benjamin Hanford to the field of war to investigate.

While in Colorado, Comrade Hanford visited President Moyer of the Western Federation in his prison cell and had interviews with Secretary Haywood and the other strike leaders as well as with men in the ranks. On the other hand, he met Governor Peabody, Captain Bulkeley Wells, Major Hill, leaders of the Citizens' Alliance, and others of the lawless rulers of the state. He went to the various strike centers and saw things with his own eyes.

He is now embodying the result of his investigations in a pamphlet which will be published from this office within the next week.

Comrade Hanford says that the strongest statements yet made in the miners' behalf by their warmest advocates do not do full justice to their cause nor satisfactorily expose the infamy of capitalist class rule.

This pamphlet will be of the utmost value to the Socialist movement. We owe it to our brothers in Colorado, we owe it to our class and the great cause of Socialism to give it

the widest circulation, in order to counteract the lies of the capitalist press. In order to make this possible, the pamphlet will be sold at a price barely covering cost—5 cents a copy.

\$2.50 Per 100 Copies.

Every local, branch or club, should interest itself in getting this statement of fact before the people.

Our party organization, with its fifteen hundred locals and its 23,000 members, ought to be able to put hundreds of thousands of copies of this document into the hands of the workers throughout the land within a month after its issuance. As dealing with the greatest crisis in the history of the labor movement, and as being written by one of the standard-bearers of the Socialist Party, it will command attention and set men to thinking as nothing else would do.

Order in Advance.

In order to avoid delay and that we may know approximately how many to print on the first edition, we request that orders be sent in AT ONCE. On account of the low price charged, it is necessary to require that cash accompany all orders.

[Note.—As more fully stated on another page, an error was made last week in the announcement of the price of this pamphlet. The price was not correctly announced, means 2 1/2 cents a copy when ordered in quantity.]

SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO.,
184 William Street.

LEGAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST UNIONS.

Courts Award Capitalists Damages from Labor Organizations.

Longshoremen at New Orleans, Bricklayers in New Jersey and Shoe Workers in Massachusetts Among the Victims—A Curious Sort of "Breath of Contract."

In the "International Socialist Review" for June Max B. Hayes writes of the campaign of damage suits against unions which the organized capitalists have begun. After referring to the Taff Vale and Denaby decisions in England and that against the Machinists' Union at Rutland, Vt., together with the beginning of numerous suits at various other places since that time, he says:

"The cases have been coming to trial rather slowly, and consequently we hardly know 'where we are at' but during the past month or so history has been made that is anything but satisfactory and forebodes many obstacles and discouragements that must be met, not by theorizing and speculating, but in a practical manner—not by foolishly begging the capitalist enemy, who is entrenched behind the government fortifications, to enact laws hostile to his own class interests, but by storming his position on election and placing the majority, the working class, in power to enact, interpret and enforce laws. That is doing practical work. The lobbying game has been played for a quarter of a century, thousands of dollars have been spent and valuable time wasted, and all to gratify the conceit of a few pompous leaders who talk and talk and accomplish nothing, except to gain newspaper notoriety.

Longshoremen III.

Here, then, are the latest facts relating to the onslaughts against unions through the courts, and which should be known and their significance understood by every man and woman who carries a card. Says a New Orleans dispatch:

"John B. Honor & Co., stevedores, secured judgment against the Longshoremen's Union for damages in the sum of \$12,000 for violation of contract. This is the first decision of the kind ever given in the far South and will have a decisive effect on other labor union troubles that are pending."

The "violation of contract" as I learn from another source, consisted of the expulsion of several members from the union who were simply sued for Honor & Co., and the union men refused to work with them and went on strike when the company declined to discharge them. Still another account says that while Honor & Co. were securing damages in one court a second court promulgated a decree ordering the union to readmit the expelled members. So it is useless to deny the fact that the courts are ruining the unions pretty much as they please in New Orleans.

Bricklayers Must Not Boycott.

A case has also been decided at New Brunswick, N. J., where a contracting firm secured a verdict against the Bricklayers' Union for non-compliance, for \$500 damages. No contract is alleged to have been broken. The complainant simply demanded nominal damages because of a boycott declared against it. It seems that the business agent of the union was ordered off a job, the men thereupon ceased work and placed a fine of \$50 on the firm, which the latter refused to pay, the boycott followed and the case terminated after a three days' legal battle in the manner stated.

Sacredness of Contract.

Still another important case has just been decided at Lawrence, Mass., where the business agent of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of Haverhill was assessed \$1,500 damages because they secured the discharge of one Michael T. Berry, who refused to join the union, of which Jerry E. Donovan, the

defendant, was the representative. The singular thing about the case is that Donovan had made a contract with Goodrich & Co. to supply the union stamp provided the plant was unionized, but Berry refused to join the organization and was discharged, and instead of suing the company that controlled the job he sued the union's official. The court ruled that as between the company and the union the contract was binding, but could not hold that the rights of the parties were involved. In other words, the court advises a business concern to break its contract when made with a union and the so-called rights of a non-union or scab workman are concerned, so that one can hang the many. This case was appealed by the unionists, the lower court having refused to grant a new trial. If the upper court confirms the decision every capitalist can employ a spy on two and prevent the thorough unionizing of a plant indefinitely. Moreover, if these damage suits are uniformly successful, the capitalists are given power to frighten and split off such members of unions who have a few dollars in bank saved for a rainy day or perhaps own a little house.

What To Do.

But vital to organized labor as this new issue really is, our so-called leaders, who delight to boast of their conservatism, are as silent as the tomb on the question. Quite likely when they come out of their trance they will timidly suggest to the rank and file the advisability of inaugurating a new campaign of petitioning for some sort of relief from the legislative bodies in control of the enemy; and this will afford the politicians a new opportunity to pose as the "workingman's friend" and fiddle away for a dozen years or so while good union money is being burnt up. But all the jockeying and dodging the question, and all the playing upon panderous phrases from now on until kingdom come, will not relieve labor from the injustice and tyranny heaped upon it until labor defends its class interests politically as well as industrially—until labor dignifies itself and gives substantial evidence of having the self-respect and courage to seize control of the machinery of government and rule the nation, as it has a perfect right to do. And those who advise against such a policy, and thus declare in so many words that the capitalists should remain in power, could do the latter no greater favor and labor no greater wrong. If labor is not fit to govern then it is not fit to produce the nation's wealth and enjoy the "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" that is guaranteed by the fundamental principles upon which this republic rests.

TOO MUCH FOR PARRY.

It is reported that D. M. Parry, the Hoosier spouter who stands at the helm of the union wrecking organization, is considering the advisability of tendering his resignation. The life of Parry during the past few years has been so strenuous that his nervous organization is threatened with collapse. He assumed a gigantic task when he undertook to exterminate unionism from the soil of America, and it is no wonder that Indiana's destroyer of organized labor is staggering under the burden of baffled expectations. Parry needs a rest, and the humanitarian sentimentality of his members of his organization should furnish him a padded cell in some private asylum until his mental faculties can reach the conclusion that unionism will live until the comes that brought it into existence shall have disappeared from the earth.—Miners' Magazine.

A BUSINESSMAN'S PARADISE.

The Census Bureau's last bulletin states that there are employed in the cotton mills of the Southern States 28,000 children at an average wage of less than \$1.50 per week. The mills are all "open." There are no Socialist unions to make "unreasonable demands." Surely the Parry crowd of union-smashers ought to feel highly pleased with the results, and if the children received only half the amount stated the open-shop advocates would probably go mad with joy.—Cleveland Citizen.

SOCIALISTS MAR HARMONY.

Milwaukee Common Council Has Lively Scenes.

Old-Party Leg-Rollers Wince Under Heath's Criticism—Social Democrats Smiles at Ostracism—Comrade Welch's Union Label Ordinance Attacked.

The nine Socialists (Heath, Welch, Melms, Wild, Seidel, Malewsky, Schrantz, Grana, and Peterson) elected this spring to the Milwaukee Common Council are already making trouble for their old-party colleagues. So long as there were only Republicans and Democrats in the Council, its proceedings were usually of the low-fest order, the wire-pulling and log-rolling being done behind the scenes and sweet harmony apparently reigning among the disinterested servants of "the public." But now there is a minority of men who make no pretense of serving a mythical "public" but frankly say there are there to speak for the disinherited and oppressed working class and who insist on telling unpleasant truths in the most shockingly public manner. How it hurts the old-party politicians appears from the following report, taken from the Milwaukee "Journal," of a recent Council meeting:

"The Common Council had a long, and at times stormy, session yesterday afternoon. The discussion at times became acrimonious and verged dangerously on personalities. The following business was accomplished between 4 o'clock and 7 o'clock: 'Alderman Frederic Heath was censured for utterances reflecting on the good faith of his fellow aldermen, printed in the 'Social Democratic Herald,' of which he is the editor.

He Put the Shoe On.

"Matters were interesting from the tap of the gavel. Alderman Ritzke rose to a question of personal privilege and read an editorial from the 'Social Democratic Herald,' of which Alderman Heath is editor, in which it was asserted that the aldermen who voted for the report of the majority of the finance committee regarding the apportionment of the permanent improvement fund did so from ulterior motives. The editorial was headed 'Writings of Alderman Ritzke' and stated that those who voted for a less amount for the permanent improvement of their wards than it was possible for them to obtain, or who, in other words, did not favor the minority report on the apportionment of the fund, were working for their own pockets and not for their constituents.

"Alderman Stiglbauer was angry about the editorial. There could be no doubt of that from his tones as he read the article complained of. Alderman Heath sat unruffled and smiling as it was read, and when at the conclusion of the reading Alderman Stiglbauer asked him if he were the editor of the paper, he said quietly that he was.

"The acts of the members of this body are rightly subject to criticism," said Alderman Stiglbauer. "This article, however, is more than criticism. It is an unwarranted, unmanly, false and malicious attack on the integrity of members of this Council, and I, for one, demand from Mr. Heath an apology and an explanation."

No Apology Forthcoming.

"Alderman Seidel raised the point of order that Mr. Heath's article was not written by him in his capacity as an alderman, and was not subject to review by the Council, but he was overruled. Mr. Heath was advised by the chair that he need not explain unless he so desired, and declined to make an explanation.

"Alderman Stiglbauer then presented a resolution severely condemning and criticizing the unwarranted and unmanly attack and severely criticizing and censuring Alderman Frederic Heath for its publication," and moved for a suspension of the rules for its immediate passage.

"I would like to refer this to a committee," began the chair, but Alderman Stiglbauer insisted on his motion.

Reps and Dems Join in Censure.

"Alderman Seidel finally moved that the resolution be over for two weeks, but this was defeated by a straight party vote of 38 to 9. The resolution was then adopted by the same vote.

"The majority report of the finance committee providing for an apportionment of the permanent improvement fund then came up for action. It was the distribution of this fund of \$100,000 which called forth a minority report from Alderman Heath and which led to his editorial utterances in the 'Social Democratic Herald.'

"A heated controversy ensued on this matter, in which the Social Democrats declared that the aldermen had been made 'monkeys of' by coming before the finance committee to make suggestions as to their apportionment when the whole thing had been cut and dried.

Realists Were Got It All.

"The downtown wards where the capitalists and aristocrats live got the big end of it all," declared Alderman Seidel.

"The whole thing was a satire," averred Alderman Melms, excitedly. "There never was a state, to my estimation," said Alderman Wittig, and he made an explanation of the reasons for giving the amount suggested to each ward.

WORKINGMEN OF THE EAST, WHAT WILL YOU DO TO HELP YOUR WESTERN BROTHERS?

If anyone had ventured to predict, five years ago, that such outrages would be committed by the self-styled "elements of law and order and respectability" anywhere in the United States as have been perpetrated of late in Colorado, he would have found none to listen to him. If he had added that, throughout the country at large, no voice but that of the Socialist Party would have been raised in protest, that Republicans and Democrats and Reformers alike would acquiesce, that even the trade unions, with few exceptions, would look on for months after months in passive silence while every principle of constitutional liberty was being violated, every law of humanity and decency and fair-play trampled under foot, the very existence of the labor movement imperiled, and everything done to render a peaceful settlement of social problems impossible—if he had hinted at this, he would have been laughed at or hissed for his lack of faith in mankind.

WORKINGMEN NOT WANTED

In the Galleries.

"Alderman Heath's resolution for night sessions stirred up another tempest. It was a question of a number of petitions from labor unions and citizens asking for night sessions. Alderman Henry Smith objected to night sessions on the ground that it would make trouble in committee work. Alderman Heath read a letter from a Chicago alderman stating that night sessions were successful in that city, and Alderman Welch and Melms insisted that both business men and wage workers should be given the opportunity to witness the council meetings.

The Record of Crime.

The orders of regularly elected judges, interpreting and applying the laws in justice to workingmen arrested without warrant or civil process, have been set at defiance by the military authorities, companies of soldiers have been marched into the court room and galling guns posted at the door, and 'To hell with habeas corpus; we'll give them post mortems instead' has been the watchword of the mine-owners' military outfit.

Public meetings for the discussion of public questions have been forbidden and a military censorship of the local press has been proclaimed, and enforced with rifle and bayonet.

Business men, angered by the competition of the union's co-operative stores and further incited by the influence of the mine-owners, have been permitted and encouraged, under the shadow of the flag, under the protection of militia guns, to organize mobs and violently exile hundreds of workingmen from their homes—to beat them, to chain them, to insult their wives and terrify their children.

Union Label Attacked.

"A remonstrance from Quaries, Spence & Quarles, on behalf of clients, against the passage of the union label ordinance, was referred to the printing committee. The legal firm takes the ground that the proposed ordinance is unconstitutional, and says that the alderman who introduced the ordinance (Alderman Welch) has taken an oath to administer the funds of the city for the benefit of all citizens. In spite of this fact, he seems to consider that he owes a higher duty to some voluntary organization called a union and to the detriment of his constituents, whose interests he has sworn to protect.

Significant Contrasts.

One of the German shipping companies placed a limited number of tickets at the disposal of each of the various factions in the Reichstag. The Social Democratic members usually modestly declined to accept. The other parties saw no reason for declining the "courtesy." At almost the same time it happened that the Socialist Alderman in Milwaukee returned, without thanks, the free exposition concert tickets sent to them, while their old-party colleagues gratefully accepted the favor.

THE PEACE OF THE TOWN.

When men fall under despotism, they are bound to make efforts to shake it off; and those efforts are, at that period, the only property the unfortunate people have left. The height of misery is, not to be able to free ourselves from it, and to suffer without daring to complain. Where is the man barbarous and stupid enough to give the name of peace to the silence and forced tranquility of slavery? It is, indeed, peace, but it is the peace of the tomb.—Hegel.

THE HIRING SOLDIER.

Reel! He stands in coat of red, Grim and bloodless, full of pride; Gaily he turns his head, Gladly he strikes across his side; He is a moral soldier: Is there room for pride in this?

Done has he with right and wrong; He's a hiring soldier, full of pride; To the state debt he belongs; Fearful harvest he may reap, Starving freedom he may reap; He's a patriotic scoundrel: Is there room for pride in this?

Are his cold palms crimson stained? What care he, his people's pain? What care he if he's been rebuked? He half appreciates gain; And he's contented by his kind: Is there room for pride in this?

Only room for grief and shame; For his march is crucified; For the soul that casts its blame On the blood he has shed; Seeking an ignominious fate: Is there room for pride in this?

With a conscience haunted and tried; With a heart that's torn and dried; Arthur Hinkson, in London Justice.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD CONVENTION.

The second biennial convention of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees was held in San Francisco last month. Over one hundred and fifty delegates were present. Officers were elected and matters of vast importance to railway employees were considered. This brotherhood embraces every branch of the service, and is considered by many as a type of the coming unionism.

Socialist and Social Democrats mean the same thing. The reason for the use of the latter name by the Socialist Party in New York and Wisconsin is in the provisions of the election laws which make it impossible for us to use the 'Social' name.

WORKINGMEN OF THE EAST, WHAT WILL YOU DO TO HELP YOUR WESTERN BROTHERS?

have been prevented from employing counsel and, when a lawyer has ventured to appear for them, he has been seized and compelled, by threat of lynching, to throw up his brief.

At last, when all has been prepared by such methods as these, a coroner's jury has been packed, and warrants have been issued against eighty-seven miners on a charge of murder. Warrants were not in fashion a month ago. Now that all the lawfully elected officials have been deposed, the capitalist anarchists put on again the cloak of legal forms.

The next act of the tragedy, to all appearances, is to be a repetition, on a larger scale and in even more shameful form, of the murderous travesty on justice presented at Chicago seventeen years ago. Packed juries and unbroken judges will do their worst of judicial murder in Colorado—IF YOU, WORKINGMEN OF THE EAST, WILL PERMIT IT.

"Persona Non Grata."

An American citizen—a man of property—has been kidnapped and held for ransom by brigands in Morocco. Straightway the blood of our strenuous President boils in his patriotic veins and a fleet of warships has been dispatched to the Mediterranean to restore him to liberty.

Several hundred American citizens—men of toll, not of property—in Colorado, have been seized and thrown into prison without trial or even legal accusation. Several hundred others have been forcibly taken from their homes, deported from the state, and forbidden to return on peril of their lives. Directly and through the secretary of their organization they have appealed to the President of the United States to protect them. They have recited the facts and have truly said to the President: "The local courts would protect us, but they are powerless; the Governor could protect us, but he will not; we demand your protection as a constitutional right."

NOT ONE WORD HAS THE PRESIDENT SEEN FIT TO ANSWER.

The "Evening Post" has stated approvingly that the Administration at Washington will take no notice of the appeal, and has explained that Secretary Haywood of the Western Federation is "persona non grata."

"Persona non grata"—not a pleasing person. Haywood is a Socialist. He has openly expressed his political opposition to the President and his policy. And that personal motive, in the judgment of one of the least contemptible of capitalist papers, is a just and sufficient reason for the President of the United States to refuse to act.

Think of This Contrast.

In the Trinidad district of southern Colorado coal miners belonging to the United Mine Workers of America are being starved and whipped into submission by a combination of mine-owners' blacklists and evictions, martial law administered by Republican politicians, and lynch law organized by Citizens' Alliances of small business men—that is to say, by the same ruthless and inhuman methods which are being used to break the spirit of the metal miners of the Cripple Creek and Telluride districts organized under the Western Federation of Miners.

While this great crime against the

men imprisoned or deported

two organizations is being perpetrated,

John Mitchell, the paid and responsible head of the United Mine Workers, is going to Europe "for a much needed rest," as we are told—AND HIS LAST WORDS IN PUBLIC BEFORE RAILING ARE WORDS OF APPROVAL FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WHICH IS THIS OUTRAGING HIS CLASS. As Mitchell goes off on his junket, Charles Moyer, the head of the Western Federation, lies in a prison cell, sick in body, but with unbroken spirit, still defiant toward the oppressors of his class and ready at the first opportunity to take up again the fight for the emancipation of Labor.

Now it is not our duty, it is not our intention, to take sides in any controversy between the American Federation of Labor and the Western Federation of Miners or the American Labor Union. It is our duty and our wish, however, to point out the difference between their policies and the conduct of their officers, as illustrated in this contrast between Mitchell and Moyer.

Is it any wonder that the despot of our American Siberia has paused long enough from his infamous work to take breath and announce to the world that he is at peace with the American Federation of Labor, that he has no fault to find with such unionism as Gompers and Mitchell represent, that it is only against the militant—the SOCIALISTIC—labor organizations of the West that he is waging his unholiest war? And you workingmen of the East, do you think it is any credit to you that your organizations should deserve the praise of a Peabody and a Bell? ARE YOU PROUD OF IT? Is it your wish, you of the rank and file, to have such men as these for friends and to become tacitly their allies against the workingmen of the Western mines?

Or do you think that such a policy is safe for you, even though dishonorable? If they succeed in destroying the Western Federation, the most aggressive of American labor organizations, if they succeed in wiping out its local unions and bounding its active fighters to despair, do you not realize that YOUR TURN WILL COME NEXT? Do you think that the capitalists really love you or your organizations or even the most timid of your leaders? Do you not know that they approve you only for the moment and by contract with the more progressive organizations of the Rockies? If Bell and his bosses succeed in Cripple Creek and Telluride and Trinidad, do you not see that their success will encourage the capitalists and their Republican and Democratic lackeys to venture on similar outrages in Massachusetts or New York or Pennsylvania or Illinois or wherever they may see their interest in attacking you?

No, you are not proud of Peabody's praises. You do not mean to help in crushing the Colorado miners. But you are doing it, nevertheless. YOU ARE DOING IT BY YOUR SILENCE AND INACTION. You do not think: You do not take the trouble to think. Because the scene of this crime is two thousand miles away, and because the victims belong to another organization than yours, you lazily shrug your shoulders and say, "It's too bad—but it's not our fight."

You will see, sooner or later, that it

is your fight. If you will not see it for yourselves, FAIRY WILL TEACH YOU. If you will not take the trouble to think this year, the Trusts and the Citizens' Alliance and the Employers' Associations will force you to think next year.

"Divide and conquer" was the maxim of the Romans in subduing all other peoples to their rule, and it is the maxim of the capitalists in dealing with the labor movement to-day. "A union is strength" is the word of wisdom for all who are wronged and threatened with yet greater wrongs.

UNITE! UNITE NOW! Unite all along the line. Above all, unite at the point where you are strongest and the enemy is weakest, where the poorest of workingmen counts for as much as a Rockefeller or a Morgan—UNITE AT THE BALLOT BOX!

"Bloody Instructions."

"We but teach Bloody Instructions, which, being taught return To plague the instructors; this even-handed justice Commends the ingredients of our poisonous chalice To our own lips."

So spoke Macbeth, planning murder and hesitating before it. He went on, spite of his foresight. Ambition and greed overbore his caution. And the event proved his fears well founded.

The rioters, the traitors, the murderers now triumphant in Colorado might well have pondered those lines and taken warning. But they would not. They could not. Capitalism means greed and arrogance run mad. They have gone on in their evil way. They have sown the dragon's teeth. What may they hope to reap? They have set an example. Will that example not be followed?

The working class would fain achieve its own emancipation without shedding one drop of blood. It is willing to wait and work, to suffer much, to forgive much, to forget much. But the masters will not have it so. If they have their way, nothing but violence can ensue, crime and reprisal, outrage and revenge.

There is still time. BUT THERE IS NO TIME TO SPARE. A united and intelligent movement of the workers of the whole country, now, without delay, is the only thing that can give us peaceful progress in the future, instead of progress or reaction through civil war.

Strike at the Root.

Peabody is not the cause of these troubles in Colorado. Bell is not the cause, no more than are Moyer and Haywood. CAPITALISM IS THE CAUSE. Property against labor, profit against wages, this is the root of the question. So long as one class owns the things which another must use in order to work and live, so long as one class lives by propping up the labor of another class, so long there will inevitably be a conflict of interest and the temptation to outrage on the one side, the impulse to revolt upon the other. These are real and lasting peace—the peace of happy life, not the peace of despotism and death—can come when the workers own the things with which they work, and not before.

And that's Socialism. Work for it.

LAWLESSNESS IN COLORADO.

The Public Officials and Their Bosses, the Mine Owners, Indicted as the Real Law-Breakers and Assassins.

The letter below was written in reply to a rabid editorial in the New York "Commercial" in regard to the explosion that killed fourteen non-union miners in Cripple Creek, which stated that "there is not a shadow of doubt that these murders were planned and executed by the union mine workers," and went on to say: "There is only one way in which to deal effectively with bloodthirsty anarchists of that stripe. It is to subdue them by sheer physical brute force."

Governor Peabody is hurrying back to Denver. If his military forces are insufficient to suppress the murderous anarchists in Colorado, he can have the whole available army of the United States to help him on call. If union labor in the Colorado mines causes an issue of physical force—and it is unquestionably inviting such a one—let it have all it wants. If it gets wiped off the face of the earth in consequence, no decent man or woman in this country will mourn its loss for a minute.

To the Editor of the New York "Commercial"—While I am not a workingman in the ordinary sense of the term, but engaged in mercantile business, and while I do not belong to any labor or other union, and while I am a thorough American, being the tenth generation of my family on both sides, yet I cannot restrain my indignation at your dastardly editorial in to-day's

"Commercial" in regard to the lawlessness of the governor, military authorities and their employees, the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., John D. Rockefeller and the association of mine owners in Colorado.

I have read the accounts published in your paper, the "Journal of Commerce," the New York "Herald," and the Philadelphia "North American" and the facts appear to be that the militia have absolutely refused to be governed by the courts and have positively denied the right of habeas corpus; that the mine owners when telegraphed by the Lieutenant Governor, telegraphed back for him to mind his own business and not interfere; that the militia forced their way into a meeting of union miners and without warning fired a volley among them, killing seven and wounding many; that the union mines have been wrecked by the mob of mine owners, non-union miners and militia without protest from the Citizens' Alliance; that the duly elected city officials were given their choice of being hung by the mob of mine owners or resigning; that thirty of the union miners were put on a train and "deported," being given warning that if they returned they would be killed; that Adjutant-General Bell, himself a tough and bloody, said the conditions were such that he must resign and he refused to be a tool of the mine owners any longer; that the mine owners have filled the region with the toughest ruffians that could be gathered together for the purpose of making the union men resort to violence. Considering these facts, it is my belief that the non-union miners were blown up at the railroad station by the employees of the mine owners for the purpose of throwing once on the union min-

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THE DESTRUCTION OF
LIFE AND PROPERTY.

A Letter to Posterity.

BY PETER E. BURROWS.

My Dear Friend!—Although this letter may never come to hand, according to the opinion of a short-sighted critical friend of mine who believes that the law of the survival of the fittest applies to literature as well as to men, I nevertheless drop it into the mail in hopes of reaching you.

A man to whom the living will not listen, and who nevertheless, because of the ink that is in his veins, must write, has but two other crowds to address; those who, having lived, are gone out to the past and those who have not yet come in from the future. Now, being a speculative kind of a man, I invest my ink in futures. The dead are well enough (I desire to take no risks in these days of cheap mediums), but I care little for writing to them, and still less for writing to those who are dead already.

There is some use of changing their opinions, or any chance of it, I might commit this to the dead letter office; but they will neither budge nor be persuaded; they are altogether too "set" for me.

On the other hand I may be taking big chances on myself. For without banking on the keeping qualities of my own writing you must allow that to me there remains enough of doubt to make me hesitate to venture on the validity of any correspondence. So that you really ought to peruse this letter if for no other reason than that it is composed under little encouragement and cast into a most billowy sea encased by rocks, having a thousand to one against its ever arriving at any port, because there are that number against there being any posterity to arrive at. I write against odds.

The quickest and shallowest of our countrymen, for example, threaten to engulf your little bark. The men and women riveted in the workshops; the shortening of childhood's days in the nurseries by highly capitalized baby foods; and the rapid development of the trolley system; the great number of Sunday school children who become little angels and then leave us just in time to escape the cut-throat of their days and wings in the factories which immediately follow.

And the great multitudes of them who become saving and thus acquire the ownership of factories themselves, and of course become too cute for posterity. And all who, disliking the hard work of our times, take to cellibacy and alikahs. And all who annually sacrifice themselves on the altar of the country because their country has neither victuals nor work for them. And all who, while honestly and manfully doing the work of the world, are being civilized in the halls of capitalism.

When the old dead, whom I am not writing to, were alive and on the fields doing their work and resting after nature had plainly told them their work was done, they married in good harvest times; not in the spring, for then there were only the foretime fancies that lightly turned to thoughts of the fancies of young men; but in the autumn, when the old and wise and when they turned with more weight and deliberation to thoughts of you, my beloved correspondents.

The thing which in those days made posterity a reasonable chance enough to spend a postage stamp on is not now to support me through the strain of uncertainty and the financial drain of unproductive postage. Let me explain why I fear you will be drowned when my letters arrive. And when you see my reasonable doubts how can you resist taking tenderly to your bosom this barnyard old bottle and reading what that man had to say, who, though beholding the race suicidium of his time, hoped, against the visible figures of hope's bookkeeper, and had faith enough in the mutability of all social crime to foresee mankind's survival even of capitalism and the competitive sale of labor.

When the dead were young there was a thing called property, the posterity of it was the posterity of it. But as there is very little reason for believing that property, as it has been of yore, will survive capitalism, and as it is impossible to see how posterity can be promoted without it, I don't think much of your chances of getting this note my poor young fellow. They had property, the backbone and loins of the race, and thereby maintained increased and multiplied upon the earth. But it is dying out under the vampire care of civilized governments. Property is retreating into trusts and corners and palaces to die the barren death and all outside of the few doomed and dreadful owners, the poor present race of workingmen, are doomed to wandering up and down the earth, striving to peddle out their labor force at so much per day to get them bread.

We have found of property, to be sure—leaves, grass, franchises, money, etc.—but is somebody has them. But the nobodies which constitute the race don't know where they are, except when governmental bayonets suddenly flash out "Halt," thus informing that that property is reserved for the bed and board of that diminishing class who stands behind the foolish men who stand behind the race. If money and documentary titles were available as race property I would have no apprehensions about the ultimate receipt of this letter, but they are only good for the creation of slaves and masters. Slaves now reproduce their species by habit only, while masters limit down the reproduction of theirs by choice. And though it is true that for the race to survive both will and reason, yet counting that as the race counts time, the habit of reproducing our species will not long survive the destruction of private property now nearly completed by capitalism. And counting the products of love, as greed counts love, the capitalists and their assistants are a poor stock upon which to base the survival of ancient humanity, a poor postman for my letter.

And I know that among human beings individualism, individualism, individualism, is the strongest characteristic of these, my ancient friends. But where shall I look for the growing freedom which is demanded by the personal life? For

the individual I only see ego as a pimply infamously and very venomous enough everywhere, keeping things away from him, while the person to love and the lover are gradually subduing into that social sardine box wherein all are tastelessly, greedily and obediently alike. Even our clothes are alike. Because one block pays the capitalist, he is all now dressed in one suit, except we are bishops or coaches. Like liberty in the land of liberty, individualism which makes true love and true posterity has dwindled down to headlines for copy books. Not until property, security and social faith go bonds for you have I much faith in you, my dear Posterity. But I am valiantly assuming that you survive and are out there strong, numerous and well, filling the earth, and still have to be saved by me. There is some use of changing their opinions, or any chance of it, I might commit this to the dead letter office; but they will neither budge nor be persuaded; they are altogether too "set" for me.

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The Worker.

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NEW YORK, JUNE 26, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

WESTERN MINERS' STATEMENT.

A Recital of Facts and Appeal to the Working Class of America.

Executive Board of the Western Federation Presents Evidence of a Great Capitalist Conspiracy to Wipe Out the Labor Movement—Financial Aid and Moral Support Should Be Given Without Delay.

[The following is the substance of a statement and appeal issued under date June 10 by the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners. Lack of space has compelled us to omit some portions. We commend the appeal to the thoughtful consideration of every reader.—Ed.]

The Western Federation of Miners has always courted and invited the utmost publicity in all its acts and the acts of its members in matters affecting all its dealings. That this is true is simply shown by the action of the twelfth annual convention, which appointed a special committee of three, consisting of Malcolm Gillis of Butte, Mont.; H. O. Newman of Roseland, B. C., and R. E. Allen of Dillon, Wyoming, to make personal investigation and report.

This committee did proceed to the Cripple Creek district and did make a report to the convention. The report of this committee shows that the constitution of the Western Federation of Miners has been strictly adhered to in the minutest details in all the conduct of the strike. Every local union had the privilege of voting and did vote upon the proposition before any strike was called, notwithstanding persistent reports to the contrary. The committee further report that they found the representatives of various unions where the strike is on ready and willing to listen to a proposition of settlement with the Federation, and named a subsequent date for another conference. Before another conference could be held the Citizens' Alliance interfered in such manner as to frustrate further efforts in the direction of settlement, the interference of the alliance being no doubt prompted by the bitter hatred of the merchants against the four co-operative stores established and maintained in the district by the Federation. Upon the filing of the report of this special committee and while the convention was still acting upon its disposition, the first reports of the outrages at Victor arrived. Before adjourning, the convention instructed the Executive Board to prepare and have printed a comprehensive statement of all matters relating to the conduct of the authorities during the reign of terror following in the wake of the disaster of Monday morning, July 8.

It is impossible in the space that we can occupy to relate in detail all the various crimes committed against person and property by mobs and soldiers and officials and "Committees of Safety." Briefly we may name the following which occurred in quick succession: Closing of all the mines employing non-union help and appearance in Victor of all unfair miners in the district with heavy guns and ample ammunition, showing previous preparation for the event; incendiary harangue by one Hamilton, secretary of the Mine Operators' Association, who incited the armed mobs to deeds of violence; raid upon Union Miners' Hall and demolition of same as well as arrest of all union men in vicinity; forced resignation of officials, as stated elsewhere; machine of "Daily Record" and destruction of machinery and fixtures to the value of \$8,000; repeated raids upon the homes of union men and final destruction of houses; brutal arrest and assault of the wives of miners, members of Ladies' Auxiliary; deportation of more than four hundred union miners; military assault upon men in another county while at work residing in arrest and incarceration without warrant of many more innocent people; closing of the great Portland mine, employing union men, on plea of "military necessity" and subsequent deportation of men therein employed; connivance with persons issuing general orders to the effect that no member of any union should be employed thereafter in the district.

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BLACKLIST IN COLLEGE.

Students Must Not Sympathize with Labor.

Graduate Student in University of Denver Expelled for Criticizing Head of Institution, Who Had Praised Feudatory Methods.

DENVER, Colo., June 17.—The University of Denver has distinguished itself by expelling a student for expressing his disapproval of Citizens' Alliance methods.

Some time ago Chancellor Buchtel, the head of this institution, attended a banquet given by some "eminent citizens" to Governor Peabody and there publicly expressed his approval of Peabody's method of dealing with the strike.

A few days ago Mr. Reed, who is a graduate student working for his master's degree, received a circular letter from the Chancellor asking him to contribute to a fund for paying the debts of the university. He replied with a refusal to give a cent so long as the official head of the institution stood for lawlessness and oppression.

Chancellor Buchtel thereupon called a special meeting of the faculty and it was voted to dismiss him from the university unless he would retract his "insult." Mr. Reed wrote a letter stating that he had not intended any personal insult to Dr. Buchtel, but that he would not retract a word of his expression of opinion.

Mr. Reed will not receive his degree from the University of Denver, though there is not the slightest question of his scholarship or the value of his research work. The verdict of scholars will be that he does not lose much.

The University of Denver is a Methodist-Episcopal college.

IN MILWAUKEE.

Socialist Aldermen Catch Old-Party Administration Evening Eight-Hour Ride.

The "Social Democratic Herald" of Milwaukee reports what it characterizes as "another case of capitalist duplicity" in that city, as follows: "Some time ago the Board of Public Works advertised for bids for a 200-horsepower pumping engine for the North Point pumping station, but the eight-hour clause was omitted. Frederick Wilson, Business Agent of the Machinists, and Business Agent Frank Weber of the Trades Council, waited on the Mayor about it, and he professed to be very much pained that it had been left out and in the presence of the voters berated the members of the Board of Public Works, and ordered them to rectify the error. The eight-hour clause in the new advertisement. He assured the union men that they could rely on him, that he would see that it was done, all right, all right. But it wasn't, and they called again. Again he appeared shocked and lectured the Board and gave his orders and assured his visitors that they could rely on him. And they kept calling and he kept assuring them and the old advertisement continued running in the papers; and so at the meeting of the City Council last Monday one of the Socialist Aldermen had a resolution passed under suspension of the rules compelling the Board to rectify. [The "Free Press" by the way, says the Socialist Aldermen, caught the others napping, else this resolution would not have passed.] And there wasn't any time to be lost either, as the bids were to be opened on Wednesday under the old advertisement. But when Wednesday arrived the Mayor had not signed the resolution and the Board proceeded to defy the mandate of the Council and opened the bids. The Aldermen who introduced the resolution made a formal protest to the Board, but it did no good and the contract was awarded to the William Todd Company of Youngstown, O., who were understood to have the inside track in the bidding. Had the resolution of the Council been of the usual harmless character, the Mayor would have doubtless signed it or the Board heeded it without waiting for his signature, but it wasn't. It professed to be a matter of time to do the work on the pumping engine. Being that the affair was kicking up a fuss, the Board had a confab with Irving Reynolds of the Todd Company behind closed doors and with his permission an alleged eight-hour clause was inserted which simply provides that the workmen shall work only eight hours a day on the job, and does not prohibit them from being put on other work for the rest of the day. Such a clause is, of course, meaningless and unnecessary, as labor gets no benefit out of it. Another eye-opener for the working class who vote the representatives of the capitalist class into office and then expect them to consider the interests of the workers?"

Among other measures introduced by one or other of the nine Socialist Aldermen, but defeated or sent to committee for burial by the Republican-Democratic majority, was a resolution providing for an investigation of the combine which has arbitrarily raised the price of ice and looking to municipal action to fight it; a resolution to give city firemen forty hours leave in every ten consecutive days, instead of sixteen hours, as now; and an ordinance to compel the street-railway companies to bear the cost of sprinkling streets on which their lines run, in accord with the terms of their franchises.

A liberal share of the Carnegie here funds should be set aside for the benefit of steel trust employees who invested their savings in steel companies at boom prices.—Washington Post.

PRISONERS TORTURED.

Bell Uses Methods of the Spanish Inquisition.

Two Union Miners Taken to Bull-Pen and Hung Up by the Thumbs in Effort to Extract Confession.

A New York "World" special dated at Pueblo, Colo., June 20, states that two union miners, John Yates and Peter Styler, have reached that city after having been confined in the Victor bull-pen for weeks and then deported to the New Mexico line, and that they are now lying in hospital at Pueblo, "with mangled thumbs and arms swollen black," as a consequence of having been tortured at Victor. General Bell and Major Naylor, they say, had them strung up by the thumbs in order to compel them to make a confession implicating the union in the explosion at Victor.

It will now be in order for Peabody and Bell to explain that these men tortured themselves in order to prejudice people against the military authorities.

THE PRESIDENT TAKEN TO TASK.

New Jersey Socialists Remind Theodore Roosevelt of an Urgent and Neglected Duty.

The State Committee of the Socialist Party of New Jersey has sent to President Roosevelt the following letter: "Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States.

PENDERGAST'S ACCEPTANCE.

Letter from New York Social Democrats' Standard Bearer.

Declares Implicit Confidence in the Working Class and Takes Pride and Pleasure in Helping to Fight the Battle for its Emancipation.

"To the State Committee and Comrades of the Social Democratic Party of the State of New York:

"Comrades—In accepting the nomination for the office of Governor of the state of New York, I desire to express my heartfelt appreciation of the high honor conferred and, while fully realizing the duties that such a nomination involves, am deeply grateful for the confidence entrusted in me by the comrades at large. I can best express my feelings by saying that to the service of the working class, in whom I have implicit confidence and whose aims and aspirations are so clearly set forth in the platform of the Socialist Party and reiterated and emphasized by the Social Democratic Party of the state of New York, to its interests and upholding, I will devote whatever ability I possess, and assiduously devote every moment of my time to its service.

"Just now the representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties are zealously engaged in the same old game of conjuring a 'paramount issue' under which the exploitation and robbery of the masses will again be veiled in a new and disguised form, again to enslave, deceive, and divide the workers and with empty platitudes and obsolete phrases blind them to their class interests—and blind indeed must the worker be who cannot see that following in the wake of economic servitude, political slavery is rapidly extending itself over the masses.

"It is notorious that the great corporate interests represented by the Republican party, may secure the enactment of class laws by the aid of the United States Senate that may further their interests and augment their power, while any proposed laws aiming to ameliorate the condition of labor are treated with stolid indifference and absolute contempt or completely ignored. This is entirely in keeping with the traditions of a party so avowedly the friend of capitalism and whose continued reign can be maintained only by its strict adherence and devotion to the class interests it so ably represents; a party whose basis is in the exploitation and consequent degradation of the workers and whose every assumed effort in behalf of the producers is prompted only by selfish desire that originates, lives, and dies with profits; a party which, while heralding itself as the 'friend of labor,' the 'advocate of prosperity,' has given lasting evidence of its sincerity of purpose by repeated injunctions against the toilers and by tramping in the dust any and all constitutional laws that stood opposed to the interests of the capitalist class, regardless of the injustice and suffering coming to the whole people by such action.

"As to that conglomerate of warring factions headed together under the name of Democratic party and appealing to the workers again to clothe its hypocrisy with the garb of political power, it is as restless and changeable in its policies as is the economic base on which it rests—the varied interests of the rapidly disappearing middle class it represents. Its record of base perfidy and deceit practiced on the workers has been so often expressed from time to time by the actions of its chosen representatives as to render any further comment superfluous.

"The Republican and Democratic parties, while disagreeing on matters of minor import or of no import to the workers, are, nevertheless, in essentials of one accord. Both believe in the exploitation of the producers of wealth; both believe in the private ownership of the means to which the workers must have access in order to live; both have always been found arrayed against the workers in the every endeavor to lighten the burden of toil. The workers have been subjected to deportation, outrage, and assassination at the hands of the one, without arousing even a suggestion of disapproval or condemnation from the other. Laws detrimental to the workers' interests have been enacted by the one while the other has been found a semblance of favor to the masses have been declared unconstitutional by the other. Arrayed against these parties, who would fain prolong and intensify the oppression of the working class and whose every policy tends to the complete subjugation of the masses, stands the revolutionizing Socialist Party, which makes no attempt to conceal its purpose, but openly declares that the paramount issue in this and all preceding campaigns is the control of government by the workers, and which proposes to use the political power, once attained, to transform the present anarchistic system of industry based on competition and wage slavery—a system in which those who perform all the useful work of society and who produce the necessities and surplus of good things for all—sides are invariably rewarded only by the pangs of privation and poverty—to one in which human flesh and blood will no longer be considered a commodity to be bought and sold at the auction block of competition, to a system in which the antagonisms arising out of the conflict of opposing economic interests will disappear and in which the worker will receive the only just and moral reward due to labor—the full product of his toil.

"In order for the workers to bring about this desired end, it is necessary that they should concentrate their power at the country's most vulnerable point—the ballot box. The

THE SLOCUM HORROR.

By H. B. Salisbury.

Once more the system of private profit from public services has taken its toll of human life. Soaring on the profit system offers temptation and opportunity for taking risk on other people's lives for the prospect of placing dollars in private pockets, so long will General Slocum and Troopists theaters furnish their annual roll of dead sacrifice to the God of Profit.

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WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ANARCHY IN COLORADO?

National Committee of the Socialist Party Answers This Timely Question.

Actual Anarchy under the Pretenses of Law and Order is the Natural Outcome of the Capitalist System—Peace Can Be Assured Only When the Workers Own the Means of Production.

[A leaflet issued by the National Committee of the Socialist Party. This leaflet can be found in quantity from the National Secretary, William Malby, 200 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill., at the following rates: Fifty cents per 100, postpaid; 500 for 50c, by express, collect; 1,000 for \$1. Cash must accompany order.]

Anarchy reigns in Colorado. The world looks on in dismay and horror while workmen are being blown into atoms, hunted like wild beasts through hills or pitched into trains which carry them to lonely places, where they are dumped without water, food or shelter, helpless exiles and despairing victims of the remorseless will of desperate corporations, which, baffled in every attempt to reduce the workers of Colorado to abject slavery, have been compelled to resort to bloody force in order that they may gain their ends.

Who are the anarchists in Colorado? Not the workmen whose toll and sweat have made Colorado mine owners rich and whose votes have placed the mine owners in control of the state government which now exerts its power to destroy the legitimate organizations of labor.

Not the workmen who have sat patiently by while their leaders have been packed into filthy bullpens, deported from their homes, separated from their families and deprived of their rights of citizenship because they dared to speak for the interests of their class.

The Real Anarchists.

The anarchists can be found in the club rooms of the Citizens' Alliance, in the offices of the Mine Owners' Association, in the uniforms of demagogic military upstarts, in the corrupted legislative halls, in the executive chambers of the state government and upon the bench of the State Supreme Court. Anarchy is wherever capitalist interests are entrenched, wherever the capitalist class meets to scheme exploitation and concoct conspiracies against progress and freedom.

The anarchists are not the workmen who observe faithfully the "law and order" made for them by the capitalists.

The anarchists are the capitalists who throttle their own "law and order" when their class interests demand that law and order be throttled.

The Law is Dead.

Anarchy reigns in Colorado because the capitalist class controls the courts and legislative, executive, and military functions of the government through ownership of the industries of Colorado. The law is dead, slaughtered in the house of its pretended friends, while despotism enters clothed in its mantle.

Here are the facts which justify this indictment:

The origin of the present trouble in Colorado is found in the struggle for a eighth-hour law in the mines and smelters. These are mainly owned by the Rockefeller Trust, which is controlled by the Rockefeller interest. In 1899, an eight-hour law was passed. But the Supreme Court of the state, being in the hands of the capitalists, as it is now, declared the law unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court, on the other hand, has already sustained a similar law in the mines and smelters in force in Kansas, Montana, Nevada, and Arizona. An amendment to the state constitution of Colorado was submitted to a popular vote in 1902 and carried by a majority of 48,714 votes—an exceedingly large majority for such a sparsely populated state. A corporation lobby thereupon induced the legislature to adjourn without enacting the law which the amendment to the constitution made compulsory.

Thus the trouble began.

Kaiser May Envy Peabody.

The miners of Colorado were compelled to go on strike because the corrupt legislature had denied them. The mine owners retaliated by discharging the union men in cheap mills and smelters where they had not gone out on strike. Seabe were imported. The smaller business men united with the mine owners against the union men. The militia was finally pressed into service and a reign of terror began. Riots ensued. Militiamen made wholesale arrests. The constitution of the free American state of Colorado was suspended by the Governor, although even the Emperor of Germany could not exercise this power in Germany.

Constitutional rights of individuals were utterly disregarded by the mine owners and by the state militia. Governor Peabody, the very man elected by the people as their chief executive, made the state of Colorado a private detective agency for the mine owners. The Citizens' Alliance, made up of the capitalist class in general, with their satellites, the dive keepers, gamblers, etc., banded together to suppress organized labor by wholesale murder and deportation. Then came the "bomb" explosion in the depot at Independence.

The bloodhounds' Evidence.

In fixing the responsibility for that explosion and the killing of sixteen non-union miners, it should be noted that the blood hounds followed the trail of the murderer straight to the house of a detective employed by the

"POLITICALS"

ANSWER TSAR.

Reply of Siberian Exiles to Government's Offer of "Mercy."

Indignantly Rejecting Proposition That They Earn Pardon by Military Service, They Indict the Government as Russia's Enemy.

The following is the reply given by political prisoners in Siberia to the Russian government's offer to allow them to enlist in the army to fight the Japanese and so earn a remission of their sentences. The heroic victims of Russian absolutism fearlessly signed their names to this scornful denunciation of the government, which already holds them prisoners.

"To Nicholas II. and His Government:—You have invited us to go to the front and by active military service to 'earn' our remissions from the crimes and wrongs we have committed against the throne and our country. With indignation and contempt we reject your offer, and for the following reasons:

SLOGUM AND DARLINGTON.

Little Chance that Murderers for Profit Will Be Punished.

Five Successive District Attorneys Representing Republicans, Democrats and Reform Parties, Have Allowed Such Criminals to Escape—So It Will Be THE Workers Vote for Them.

The coroner's jury, after spending six days in hearing the evidence of a great number of witnesses in regard to the Slocum disaster, has decided that the officers of the Knickerbocker Steamboat Company, which owned the Slocum; its directors, the captain of the boat, the captain of the Grand Republic, the mate of the Slocum, and the United States Inspector who passed upon its fire-fighting and life-saving appliances were all criminally negligent.

No other finding was possible, in view of the facts presented. But is there any reason to hope that any of the guilty ones will be punished and a warning thus given to others in like positions? Not much. Least of all is it likely that these most responsible—the officers and directors of the company, who had power and under whose orders and for whom profit the men on the boat acted—will ever be brought to justice.

Four months ago we had a very similar disaster—not involving so many lives, but similar in the sense that it resulted directly from the criminal negligence of profit-making masters. We refer, of course, to the collapse of the Darlington building. It was already proven, to the satisfaction of a coroner's jury and a Grand Jury, that the capitalist owner was responsible, because, in order to save expense and increase his profit, he caused unsafe methods of building to be used.

On March 14 this capitalist, Charles E. Allison, was indicted. To this day he has not been put under arrest. Does District Attorney Jerome know where he is? Does Police Commissioner McAdoo know where he is? If not, why are they making no effort to find him. At the same time the Grand Jury has declared that Building Inspector French, who allowed this criminal "method" of building to be done, was "writely unfit for his position" and recommended that he be dismissed. Has he been dismissed. Not a bit of it. Why has the Mayor, who has the head of the Building Department, allowed him to remain in a position where he can do only harm?

The answer is: For the same reason that District Attorneys Fellows, O'Connell, Gardner, Phillips, and Jerome, Republicans and Democrats and Reform alike—have failed to punish the men guilty of the Fordky Building crime, the Ireland Building crime, the Windsor Hotel crime, the Tarrant crime, the New York Central Tunnel crime—because the guilty ones are capitalists, because their guilt was a part of ordinary capitalist business methods, because the whole capitalist class, as such, is implicated in such criminal methods of making profit, because the Republican and Democratic parties and the Reform aggregation are all dominated by capitalist interests, and because the workingmen have gone on dividing their votes between the different factions of capitalists who make profits out of their hardships and dangers instead of voting to put their own class in power.

It is to be feared that the same forces will protect the men who, for the sake of profits, ran a freight excursion steamer without proper fire-hoses or boats or life-preservers. Until the workers respect themselves enough to think and vote for their own interests, we must expect to see capitalist murderers go free.

WARNING.

We have reason to believe that a certain man with false credentials is soliciting money from unions in New York and the vicinity in the name of the Colorado strikers and keeping the money for his own purposes. The authorized representative of the Western Federation of Miners here is Thomas W. Deagan and Robert W. Reed. Contributions may be sent direct to William D. Haywood, Secretary-Treasurer, 635 Mining Exchange, Denver, Col.

"Man is a political animal," said Aristotle more than 2,000 years ago. To call man "a political animal" nowadays would be taken as a polite way of saying he was an ape.—Exchange.

AT HEADQUARTERS.

Plans for Socialist Party's National Campaign.

Debs and Hanford Will Fill Few Summer Dates, in Order to Be in Good Condition for Last Two Months—Literature and Supplies Now Ready.

National Secretary Malby Issues the following bulletin in regard to our national campaign:

"Of course, it could not be expected that very much could be done until the National Headquarters had greater resources at hand. Unlike the capitalist parties the Socialists have no barrel upon which they can draw when occasion requires. Pending the time when the donations arrive from the Socialists themselves, the best we can do is lay our plans and prepare for the busy time coming.

"Despite a number of obstacles, other than the usual one of finances, things are assuming some definite shape. At least, we have not been idle, whatever else may be said. "First, as to the national candidates. As has already been announced, Comrade Debs will fill only such dates during the summer as he had already engaged for before he was nominated for President. His hardest work will come during the two months immediately preceding Election Day, and having in mind the importance of his being in shape to do that work well, it becomes absolutely necessary that Comrade Debs rest from speaking as much as possible during the warm weather. When he does start he will keep going until the campaign closes, and all who know Debs understand what that means. Comrade Hanford will begin work in July, but only fill such dates—as are necessary during that month, August, and September, so that he also can be in trim for the last two months. As the state elections occur in Maine and Vermont in August and September respectively, Hanford will fill dates in both states, beginning in Maine on July 27. He will also speak in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. After his Vermont dates he will work westward and spend August in the Middle and Southwestern states. The exact place where Hanford will formally open his campaign is not yet decided upon.

"Just what other speakers will be in the field under national auspices it is too early to state yet. "As to literature, it can be said that an extensive assortment is being provided for. The first pamphlet of the press is one of the most popular by Ben Hanford—What Workingmen's Votes Can Do. Comrade Hanford has revised this pamphlet and it deserves a wide circulation. Printed on good paper with photos of Debs and Hanford, on covers it will be sold at 5 cents a copy; three for 10 cents; eight for 25 cents; twenty for 50 cents; or fifty for \$1; postpaid. By express, at purchaser's expense, prices will be: one hundred for \$1.50; two hundred for \$2.50; three hundred for \$3.75; five hundred for \$5, and one thousand for \$8.50.

THEY WANT PEACE.

Japanese Socialists Protest Against the Horrors of War Brought on for Capitalist Purposes.

From the Tokyo "Heimin Shimbun" of May 20 we take the following address of the socialists of Japan in regard to the war:

"To Our Dear Comrades in Europe and America:

"Dear Comrades!—We suppose you have already learned much about the Russo-Japan war which is now going on; how the Russian squadron at Port Arthur has lost a great deal of its strength and has especially suffered a great loss by the drowning of its ill-fated admiral; how the Japanese navy has received a heavy blow only recently by the loss of the first-class battleship Hatakeyama and the cruiser Yoshino. As for military engagements, the battle on the bank of the Yalu River may be mentioned as the greatest, in which more than a thousand men were either killed or wounded on each side. As Bloch says in his epoch-making work, modern imperialism is a war of humanity against humanity, the battle on the bank of the Yalu River may be mentioned as the greatest, in which more than a thousand men were either killed or wounded on each side. 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The Worker.

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Known in New York State as the Social
Democratic Party.)
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1897.

In the State of New York, on account of
certain provisions of the election law, the
Socialist Party is officially recognized under
the name of Social Democratic Party, and
its members to the Arm and Tenth, as shown
above.

The Socialist Party for Social Democratic
Party in New York should not be confused
with the so-called Social Labor Party,
which is a small party, and the Social
Democratic Party, which is a small party,
organization which latterly opposes the
trade unions and carries on a bogus cam-
paign of slander against the real Socialist
movement, which supports the trade unions.

THE SOCIALIST VOICE.
The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic
Party of New York) through its
second general election. Its growing power
is indicated by the great increase of its vote
as shown in these figures:
3000 (Presidential)..... 97,720
1000 (State and Congressional)..... 22,703

PRESIDENTIAL TICKET.

FOR PRESIDENT—
EUGENE V. DEBS,
OF INDIANA.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—
BENJAMIN HANFORD,
OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK STATE TICKET.

FOR GOVERNOR—
THOS. PENDERGAST,
OF WATERBURY.

FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—
CHARLES R. BACH,
OF ROCHESTER.

For Secretary of State—
E. J. SQUIRES of Jamestown.

For State Treasurer—
EMIL NEPPLE of New York.

For Attorney-General—
LEON A. MALKIEL of New York.

For State Comptroller—
W. W. PASSAGE of Brooklyn.

For State Engineer and Surveyor—
S. B. EARLY of Buffalo.

For Associate Judge of the Court of
Appeals—
WILLIAM NUGENT of Troy.

FOR THE DAILY.

No one should imagine, because the
"Worker's" Co-operative Publishing
Association has frankly announced
that the amount of funds on hand and
the prospects for its increase in the
near future do not warrant a de-
cision to start publication of the
"Daily Call" in September, that there-
fore the project is to be dropped.
Nothing could be farther from the fact.
We must and will establish the daily.
It will appear as soon as the necessary
\$50,000 is in hand. The present work
is to raise that fund, and those com-
rades in New York and vicinity who
wish to help in this work, as all So-
cialists must, have an opportunity pre-
sented this week in the shape of the
great Fourth of July picnic at Liberty
Park, announced elsewhere in this pa-
per. Let us hope that its success will
outweigh all past experiences.

THE JOY OF LABOR, NOW AND IN THE FUTURE.

"In factory labor generally there can be
no joy at all. The old handloom
weaver had the pleasure, at all events,
of feeling that the work was his own,
and of rejoicing in its completion. But
the factory hand is a human hammer
or mallet. He can hardly feel more
joy in the result of his work than can
the material parts of the machine."

So says the Toronto "Sun"—and
very truly, so far as it goes. But are
we to stop here and hopelessly con-
clude that because machinery is here
to stay (being economically cheaper
than hand labor and because, under
the existing forms of industry, the fac-
tory worker has no chance for joy in
his work, therefore an irremediable des-
tiny dooms the masses of men to a
joyless existence and the wisest course
for those that are lucky enough not to
be wage-workers is to harden their

hearts and whistle and forget? Such
is the view of many cultured and or-
iginally good-hearted individualists—
men of the bourgeois "metaphysical"
or the so-called "practical" types of
mind (types of mind fostered in the
prosperous classes by the influence of
economic environment); but such is by
no means the view of the Socialist—
the man who looks on things not sepa-
rately but as a whole and an evolu-
tionary whole; and fortunately the eco-
nomic environment of the working
class itself tends to develop, even in
uneducated men, this that we call the
"dialectic" habit of thought.

The Socialist is no Jeremiah. He
sees the evil and regards it with calm
though sympathetic eyes and pro-
claims it with fearless voice. But being
a Socialist, he sees in that very evil
the germ of future and greater
good and seeks to hasten the develop-
ment of that germ to the bursting of
the husk of outworn social forms and
the liberation of new and constructive
social forces.

We stand to-day on the middle
ground between an old and a new in-
dustrial system. The old was the sys-
tem of individualism in labor and in
possession, with its appropriate indi-
vidual joy and incentive. The future
—many of the most thoughtful, even
though the most bitter, opponents of
the Socialist movement admit this—is
evidently to be a system of collec-
tivism in labor and in control of the
means and products of labor, with its
appropriate social joy and incentive.
The processes of labor are already
pretty thoroughly socialized. As the
"Sun" points out in the paragraph we
have taken for a text, the individual
worker does not know his own pro-
duct; he makes nothing by himself, but
only co-operates with scores or hun-
dreds of others in making something.
Labor is socialized, but ownership and
the control of industry remain on the
individualistic basis. Not only does the
worker have no joy in the perfection
of the product of his own hand; the
workers have little if any voice, indi-
vidually or in concert with their fel-
lows, in determining what the joint
product shall be, how they shall work,
or when, or to what end; they work at
other men's will and for other men's
gain; for even their remuneration does
not depend primarily—and ever less
and less—on their skill or energy or
patience, individual or social, but upon
economic conditions whose fluctua-
tions are beyond their control, beyond
the control even of their individual or
associated masters. The master's joy is
to "make money" (that is, to get it),
or, at best, to be actively a master—
both of them comparatively ignoble
and often demoralizing pleasures. So
to-day, in this transition age, we have,
on the workers' side, the evils of an
enforced social labor and of individual
property divorced from labor—drudgery
and subjection—without the joy
either of individual craftsmanship or
of free fellowship; and on the masters'
side, even, the ennobling of isolation
and artificiality and parasitism grows
and exhibits itself in the literature of
world-wearyness or in the fantastic ex-
travagance of the jeunesse dorée. It
is a joyless world.

But the Socialist sees in the factory
system—in the association of the work-
ers, their exchange of thought and
feeling under common conditions; in
the obvious and instructive contrasts
of tolling or unwillingly idle poverty
with arrogant and wilfully indolent
luxury, and in the spontaneous and in-
extinguishable conflict of classes—the
forces at work which are to socialize
the control of industry, the ownership
of the means of production, as the pro-
cesses of labor have already been so-
cialized. When that conflict has been
fought out, when the transition stage
has been passed and collectivism has
triumphed, then, while we shall not
expect to see the joys of the older in-
dividualism restored, we may well im-
agine the larger and higher joys of
labor and life that will more than take
their place.

What makes the present-day factory
worker's task a dreary one and aside
from the inhuman duration and inten-
sity of toil imposed by the prod-mas-
ter's needs or wishes—is not so much
that he cannot identify his individual
product and "feel that it is his own
and rejoice in its completion"; it is
rather that his task is imposed upon
him, in common with his fellow
drudges, by an outside will and for
purposes in which they have no share.
The old-fashioned shoemaker made
shoes to satisfy a definite human need
and had a human interest in making
them; in the capitalist factory the men
work in order, not to make shoes, but
to make a living (and a poor living, no
matter how hard they work), and the
proprietor allows them to work, not in
order that the people may be abed, but
in order that he may make profits. In
such labor there can be no positive joy
—even in such mastery of labor but
little. But let us imagine the work-
shop of the future—not only the short-
er hours and easier pace and pleasant-
er surroundings made possible by the
elimination of profit, but more espe-
cially the feeling of the workers that
they are their own masters, that they
are free men, instead of "wage-
servants" (that is, in the law phrase of
to-day), and that they are working, not
to enrich a few ruling class, but to
satisfy a certain need of free and
friendly equals. In labor under such
conditions (quite aside from the ques-

tion of remuneration) there will be an
active joy akin to that of a scientist
working for the discovery of truth, to
that of an artist working for the reali-
zation of beauty, even to that of a
mother working for the happiness of
her children. That the outcome of
"our" strength and skill and knowl-
edge, not the product of "my" efforts
alone, will be the object thought of, so
far from lessening the pride and joy
of achievement, will enhance it, and
make the labor of the future Socialist
state more attractive than ever could
have been that of the now all but ex-
tinct individual craftsman.

Yes, it will be a glad world in those
days to come. Meanwhile, dismal as
labor is to-day, the working class is
not without some foretaste of the joys
of Socialism. The feeling of solidar-
ity, of brotherhood, which actually ex-
ists and grows stronger within the
working class year by year—though
never the closest-theorists nor the
philanthropic visitors to the slums can
see it or could understand it if they
did—does give very real and deep hap-
piness to thousands in spite of priva-
tion and hardship.

And then, too, we have the joy of
battle till the victory shall be won.

THE NEGRO AND SOCIALISM.

In another column we reprint an in-
teresting editorial from the Washing-
ton "Bee," a newspaper published by
and for negroes in the United States.
Some comment may not be out of
place.

As Socialists we are not looking for
the negro vote, any more than for the
Jewish vote or the Irish vote or the
Native white American vote. We wish
to call forth the vote of thinking work-
ingmen, as such, and of all others who,
as lovers of liberty and human pro-
gress sympathetic with the aspirations
of the working class. Their race, their
nationality, and their religion do not con-
cern us except as bearing on their eco-
nomic position.

What is it in the attitude of the
Socialist Party that commends it to
the consideration of the "Bee" and jus-
tifies him in suggesting that colored
men might do well to vote the Social-
ist ticket? It is just this, that we do
not appeal to them as negroes, but as
fellow men who are suffering under
the same industrial oppression that af-
fects the masses of the workers of
every race in every civilized land. The
Socialist Party does not consider itself
as a body apart from the negro work-
ers or from any other body of work-
ers, offering to bestow blessings upon
them in exchange for their political
support. It is the party of Labor,
white Labor and black, Jewish Labor
or Gentile, native Labor or foreign. In
the fight against capitalism, of what-
ever race or creed the capitalists may be.

The Republican party claims the
votes of the colored people on the
ground that a Republican adminis-
tration emancipated their fathers from
chattel slavery. That the Republicans
of forty years ago, aided or driven on
by the Abolitionists, did this is true.
It was a step toward freedom. But it
did not give the negroes the freedom
that they expected. It took them out
of chattel slavery and left them, prop-
ertyless wage-workers, in the bonds of
the same capitalist slavery that confines
also the propertyless white workers.
And systematically, through the last
thirty-six years, the Republican party,
becoming ever more and more clearly
the party of the great capitalist class,
has trampled upon the record of the early
heroes whose ideals it has betrayed,
and has expected the poor and exploit-
ed black wage-worker to be eternally
grateful to the party that has merely
changed the form of his slavery, and
forever to go on voting power into the
hands of a party that now acts only
in the interest of a class that lawfully
rules and robs white Labor and black
Labor alike.

The Socialist says to the colored
workman: Cease to think and vote
as a black man and begin to think and
vote as a workman. You are de-
voted civil and political rights and are
kept in economic subjection under Re-
publican and Democratic administra-
tions alike? Well, so are we. Your
troubles in Alabama or Virginia are
matched by our troubles in Colorado.
We are all oppressed alike, because the
capitalist class can make profit out of
our oppression.

The Socialist Party does not trouble
itself about the bugbear of "social
equality." Whether white men and
black men shall sit at the same din-
ner-table is a matter, we say, for in-
dividual white men and black men to
decide. We would neither command
it nor forbid it, if we could. That is
not a question for politics. It is a fake
issue injected into politics by Repub-
lican and Democratic politicians in
order to keep working people of both
races from voting on the one real and
live issue. That issue is: Shall cap-
italists of any race or color be allowed
to go on making profits out of the toil
and poverty of workingmen of every
race and color? The Socialist Party
alone dares to put that question frank-
ly and to answer it. The Socialist
Party answers it with a No!—and its
answer grows louder and clearer every
year. To us the black laborer on a
Southern plantation or on a dock at
New Orleans, the Polish laborer in a
Pennsylvania mine, the Jewish worker
in a New York sweatshop, the Swedish
workman in a Minnesota mill, and the
proletarian descendant of Mayflower

Pilgrims toiling for wages in shop or
factory, on railroad or in mine—all are
allied brothers in wrong and all should
feel and think and act together for the
emancipation of their race. To bring
about such unity of feeling and
thought and action is the mission of
the Socialist Party.

If we are especially pleased to see
the colored victims of capitalism
breaking away from the leading strings
of the Republican agents of capitalism,
it is for the same reason that we are
glad when we see Italian or Polish
workmen refusing to be led by sub-
sidized priests or Scandinavian work-
men by subsidized parsons or Jewish
workmen by subsidized rabbis, or Irish
workmen by subsidized politicians.
We make no "bid" for the negro vote
or any other vote. We say: Here are
our Socialist principles; here is our So-
cialist policy; we believe that it prom-
ises real freedom for the whole work-
ing class, real peace and progress for
all mankind; we ask you all to think
of it and, if you agree with us, to vote
as you think.

LET US QUIT FOOLING.

Some of the critics of the new plat-
form, unassisted with the opportunity
to vote for or against it as a whole,
with the alternative of re-adopting the
old platform if the new one is rejected,
ask that it be again submitted to the
membership to be voted on "by sec-
tions and paragraphs." We suggest
that some local that wishes to dis-
tinguish itself initiate a demand that
the platform be voted on "by sentence and
word." We make the suggestion in all
seriousness. With anything of the na-
ture of an address to the voters, such
as a platform should be and such as
the new platform is, it would be quite
as sensible to discuss it and vote on
it section by section, word by word, as
paragraph by paragraph.

A platform is supposed to have cer-
tain literary qualities, among which is
that of unity. It should have style.
Now we might take a thousand men,
each of whom is capable of writing in
a good and impressive style, and sub-
mit any article or oration or poem or
other literary production to them to be
voted on serially, by words or by
sentences or by paragraphs, each such
division to be accepted or rejected or
substituted separately, and even if
those voters were the thousand best
writers in the world, it is certain that
the result of their referendum would
be a most monstrous botch—unless
the majority of them had the good
sense to defeat the very intention of a
serial vote by either accepting the
thing in toto or else rejecting it in toto
and committing some one else of their
number to draft a substitute on differ-
ent lines.

Even in the case of a constitution—
the relation and interdependence be-
tween whose sections is so much sim-
pler and more obvious than between
the sentences or paragraphs of a pro-
paganda address such as the platform
should be and is—the chances are that
the result of a serial vote will not
satisfy one of the voters. Each section
is not good or bad in itself. Each has
relation to another section or to sev-
eral others. But the carelessness or
misunderstanding of a few of the
voters—and we know that many are
careless—is likely to turn the balance
one way on this section and the other
way on that, with the result that the
document as finally adopted will be
confused, contradictory, or mean-
ingless.

Some of our comrades, in their
fetish-worship of the referendum, are
making the very principle of the refer-
endum ridiculous and absurd. The
referendum is a most useful method of
preventing usurpation by officials and
sometimes of correcting their mistakes.
But it loses all its usefulness for
either purpose when it is exclusively
used. If we are to have a serial
referendum every month or two, even
in campaign time, on details of party
affairs, the result will be that most of
us, in order to get time to work for
Socialism, will have to neglect the re-
ferendum altogether and leave the
management of the party in the hands
of a small minority of referendum-
maniacs—which would be unfortunate.

Let us quit making fools of our-
selves, or allowing a few among us to
make fools of the whole party. Let us
quit justifying the Davenports and
Cassons in their scoffing at the incom-
petency of Socialist administration.
Let us begin to act, in regard to party
affairs, as if we knew what Social-
ist Democracy means.

It does not mean anarchy. Still less
does it mean anarchy qualified by
counting noses. That species of
democracy—if we may so degrade the
word—is it only for Populists and oth-
ers who have no real work to do in
the world. As Socialists we should
have some conception of unity and or-
der. We should have some confidence
in our efforts and delegates—or, rather,
we should elect as officers and dele-
gates only those in whom we have
confidence. Having elected them, we
should advise them, certainly, and in-
form them of our wishes, and admonish
them when we think they are making
mistakes; and if we discover them to
be unworthy of our confidence or if
they come to represent our ideas as a
whole, we should have no hesitation in
taking off their heads; but we should
not lightly cast aspersions on their
honor nor should we hang them by

interfering in the details of their work.
Let us be sane and calm and take large
views, not trying to judge each little
word or act by itself, but regarding
the ordered whole of an official's work
or a committee's work or a conven-
tion's work, accepting it if it is good
on the whole and, if it is bad on the
whole, rejecting it and substituting
another ordered whole more to our lik-
ing.

If we are not to make the Socialist
Party of the United States utterly
ridiculous in the eyes of other parties
and of the Socialists of other countries,
the new platform should either be ac-
cepted or rejected as it stands, not
tinkered up by 23,000 censors; the
trade-union resolution should be treat-
ed likewise; and the constitution also
(with the exception of a few separable
clauses); and we should get down to
work.

THOSE "HINTS" AND "SUGGESTIONS."

In response to our editorial remarks
of last week, our comrade Joseph
Wanhope, editor of the Erie "People,"
writes us as follows:

"Noticing your comment on the edi-
torial in the Erie 'People' of June 18,
in which you call for facts and pre-
scribe what you think an 'honorable'
course for me to pursue in the matter,
I am sorry to find that you have not
understand that you evidently think is
dope."

"There was one positive statement
made in that article which concerns
the readers—namely, that certain rum-
ors were in circulation regarding the
recently issued national platform. For
mentioning that fact I owe neither
apology nor explanation to any one.
They were not originated by me, but
they came under my observation. No
burden of proof is laid on me to ver-
ify them, nor will I assume such bur-
den. Unless it can be shown that it
is criminal or reprehensible to mention
the fact that these rumors are in cir-
culation, 'my withers are a-sawing.'"

"It is not true that the editorial
'definitely states' that printed copies
were not issued at the time of the
reading of the platform. This, like the
other matters mentioned, is but one
item in a series which go to make up
the rumors mentioned. For its truth
or falsehood I am not responsible. But
I am responsible for mentioning it and
willing to take any consequences on
that score."

"As to the question of an 'honorable'
course, there are two sides. It cer-
tainly is not honorable to print rum-
ors, if the correspondents who bring
them to your notice are not willing that
their names should appear. When the
case is otherwise, however, the man-
aging of the information takes on a to-
tally different complexion."

"These rumors made a certain im-
pression on me. I will not attempt to
deny that. Whether they will, when
they reach the ears of those who have
not yet heard of them, produce a sim-
ilar impression I know not nor do I
intend to say."

"There will be no need to drag the
'forward slanders' to light. By this
time one of them at least has come
forward and is willing to assume pub-
lic responsibility for his views on the
platform, and things connected therewith.
But whether these views will ever see
the light they court seems dubious."

"If the New York 'Sun' or the Chi-
cago 'Chronicle' or the 'American
Federationist' had come out with an
editorial citing 'hints and rumors'
from various sources 'impugning the
honor of our national candidates and
other representatives of the party and
had said 'enough has been disclosed
to warrant the belief that all was not
fair and above board' in the Social-
ist convention, we believe that Com-
rade Wanhope would have joined with
us in declaring that such a method
was quite worthy of those periodicals
and in demanding that they produce
their evidence. An informant who is
willing only to furnish 'hints' against
other comrades for unwary editors to
repeat, but who is unwilling that his
name should be attached to a definite
statement of fact, is just the sort of
an informant that a Socialist editor
should suspect—especially if it has
taken this informant five or six weeks
to get his 'rumors' into shape."

The columns of the Worker are wide
open for any one who has any evi-
dence to produce to the effect that the
platform committee 'deliberately kept
back' its report in order to 'railroad'
the platform. Not one jot or tittle of
such evidence has been offered—not
even by the one informant to whom
Comrade Wanhope refers in his last
paragraph.

The Worker is ready for a fight any
hour in the day where there is anything
worth fighting for—or against. But it
does like to see a fair fight and no
hitting below the belt.

DISINGENUOUS CRITICISM.

It does not seem that it ought to be
necessary—yet unfortunately it is
necessary—to point out the misinter-
pretation of the first sentence of the
new national platform into which cer-
tain of its critics have fallen and
which Comrade Herring sets right in
this issue of the Worker. When we
find in a sentence a series of clauses
of a similar construction, it is only
reasonable to take them as all qualify-
ing the same subject. Such are the
three clauses in the first sentence of
the platform. Anyone who knows how
to read English and who reads this
whole sentence candidly should—and
most do—see that the Socialist Party
is referred to as the defender of the
idea of liberty and as the only politi-
cal movement standing for the prin-
ciple by which individual liberty may
become a part and as the only politi-
cal organization that is democratic.
But some critics have chosen to cut
the sentence in two and then con-

WAY OFF SOMEWHERE.

By Horace Traubel.

Way off somewhere is the social
paradise. It is not in your own house.
It is not in the house next door. It is
not in your town. In your country.
In your time. It is way off somewhere.
Somewhere in events. Somewhere in
the years. In the beyond. You preach
of paradise in your churches. But para-
dise is not in the church. You pass
laws for paradise in legislatures. But
paradise is not produced by the state.
Paradise is always postponed. Al-
ways put off beyond. Always even in
the midst. Always approached but
never reached. Paradise. Justice.
The decent relation of man with man.
The first condition of social equity. All
put off. Always called. Called by the
religious. Called by the teachers. Pre-
dicted by the prophets. Yet always
pushed away. Always refused. Eagerly
answering the summons. Brutally
rejected. The paradise beyond. Al-
ways way off. Way off.

Yet this day is as good as any day
for paradise. Why should we be
afraid to take chances now? Why
should we be willing to make every-
thing on the future and nothing on the
present? What's the matter with hav-
ing paradise here and now? Do you
think you could not stand paradise?

Do you think justice would hurt you
or hurt anybody? Do you think the
human race could not immediately
step up and out to the dimensions of
economic equity? Why should we
skulk in the present? Why should we
apologize? Why should we be willing
to admit that the future is good enough
for justice but that the present is not
good enough for justice? Justice is
good enough and not too good for us.
Why should we not be good enough
and not too good for justice? Do you
think that the General Bismarck is good
enough for you but that justice is too
good for you? Do you think that Col-
orado is good enough for you but that
justice is too good for you? Do you
think that the insatiable robberies are
good enough for you but that the com-
munal life is too good for you? Do
you think that when interest and rent
and profit make a bed of sorrow for
you that bed is good enough for you?
And yet that a bed made for you by
justice would be a too easy bed for
you? Do you think that all the malin-
gencies and sacrifices of private property
merely assuaging you everywhere
are proper and due? And yet that a
whole body and a whole soul and a
fair outlook upon life is better than
you deserve? Do you think that the
half-fed youngsters in the tenements
get what they are entitled to? Do you
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MARYLAND NOMINATES.

Socialists Meet at Hagerstown and Put Up Ticket.

Regular State Organization Formed, With Headquarters in Baltimore—Maryland Will Be Its Share in Socialist Advance This Year.

HAGERSTOWN, Md., July 3.—The state convention of the Socialist Party of Maryland was held in this city today. A temporary organization was effected by the election of S. L. V. Young of Hagerstown as chairman and Joe Wood of Washington as secretary, and the appointment of William A. Toole and Charles B. Bachman of Baltimore and I. Isadore Bernstein of Washington as a committee on credentials and of William L. Dewart and Robert L. Tharin of Washington and Frank Marck of Baltimore as a committee on rules, after which a recess was taken.

At 1:45 p. m. the convention re-assembled and the committee on credentials reported twenty-four delegates as entitled to seats. J. L. Hiss of Atlanta, Ga., who had fought hard there for the Socialist Party, being present, he was attended the courtesies of the convention and a seat and voice, without vote.

Permanent organization was then effected by the choice of Comrade Toole of Baltimore as chairman and J. H. Swardinger of Washington as secretary.

There being no state election this year, the only nominations to be made were for Presidential Electors, and the choice fell to Martin Glass of Harpersburg, B. W. Deffenbaugh of Cumberland, Alexander Munroe of Loudoun, Patrick O'Connor of Mount Vernon, and Frank Marck, Charles T. Sanders, Andrew Langrich, and Moses Miller of Baltimore.

The convention then proceeded to the formation of a regular state organization. Comrade Toole left his place. After full consideration, Charles B. Bachman of Baltimore was elected State Secretary, and S. L. V. Young, Joseph Wood, and H. Henderson of Baltimore as members of the State Committee. The State Committee was also empowered to act as campaign committee for this electoral year, and was instructed to meet in Baltimore during the present month on call of the State Secretary.

A resolution was carried to adopt as the platform of the Socialist Party of Maryland the national platform adopted by the Chicago convention. The State Committee was instructed to draw up and publish appropriate resolutions dealing with the political situation in Maryland and with the capitalist outrages in Colorado.

In the year 1900 the state of Maryland gave 908 votes for Debs and Harlan, the national candidates of the Socialist Party. In 1902, owing to the hard provisions of the new election law, we were able to nominate only 110 on Congressional district (the Third, in the city of Baltimore), but made a gain of 26 percent there. There is every reason to expect that the vote for Debs and Harlan this year will show a most inspiring gain.

HOW CAPITALISTS KEEP THEIR "SACRED CONTRACTS."

A typical illustration of the manner in which a wholesale transfer of wage chattels may be made nowadays was shown in the recent purchase of a portion of the Union Pacific Railway by the Oregon Short Line Company. The sale embraced the portion of the Oregon Short Line road extending as far eastward as Hawkins, Wyo., and thousands of employees were affected by the deal.

It is well known that the Union Pacific is giving a system of pensions for twenty and thirty years of service in its employ, graded according to the amount of wages received.

A few days after the transfer I asked a brakeman, who I knew had worked eighteen years for the Union Pacific, if the Oregon Short Line would make good his contract.

"No," he replied, "the day the transfer was made we were what is termed by the companies 'sold' from one company to the other as an asset of the railroad system. In an hour thousands of men were handed from one company to the other."

THE RIGHT SPIRIT.

Pennsylvania Standard—Bearing's Letter of Acceptance.

George W. Bacon of York, Headed the State Ticket, Strikes the Socialist Keynote of Resolution to Fight to the End in the Noblest Battle of the Ages.

GEORGE W. BACON, of York, heads the Socialist state ticket in Pennsylvania as a candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court. In his letter to the State Committee accepting the nomination, he says:

"While I have not sought and never will seek any nomination from the Socialist Party, I consider a nomination of this kind at its hands as one of the highest honors that can come to any man, and it is one which I accept with great pleasure."

"The accounts given in the public press of to-day of capitalist lawlessness in Colorado should be an incentive to every truly moral and class-conscious Socialist to gain for himself and his party all the political power which he can obtain. It should further make him realize that neither rope nor gun nor any threat of death by other means at the hands of conscienceless men should cause him to desert his post or surrender his power."

"It is our duty to consecrate all the power which we possess to the cause of truth and right which we advocate. We should make the name of Socialist the proudest name that man can bear. A true Socialist, active and aggressive for his cause, is truly a knight, engaged in the noblest warfare ever waged by man since the world began. The world crusade of Socialism is the greatest moral crusade of all time."

"There is no dignity in this world so great as the dignity of honest, manly labor. Let us make men yield to it the respect which it deserves. Let us strive to awaken them to a realization of the saving powers of Socialism."

"I thank the comrades for the trust and confidence which they have shown towards me. I trust that our united labor may be rewarded by extending the light of Socialism into many lives where the darkness of despair now reigns."

ONE NON-SOCIALIST PAPER SPEAKS BRAVELY AND TRULY.

The Springfield "Republican" is one of the very few daily papers in this country—very, very few indeed, the only one—that deserves the name of "independent" and that dares, from time to time, to speak the truth against capitalist interests. The "Republican" which for many years past has been Republican only in name, has spoken bravely and wisely on the Colorado affair. We quote from a recent issue:

"Practically speaking the mining regions of Colorado, where military rule prevails, are in the possession and 'government' of a mob. The mob in this case is composed of the 'best citizens' and is representative particularly of the property interests. Hence its extraordinary proceedings are viewed elsewhere with astonishment, but not alarm. If it were otherwise composed of the worst of the propertyless classes which had thus gained the upper hand, in the state of Colorado, and were closing the courts, compelling judges to decamp, locking up crimeless citizens in bull-pens, driving others out of the state by harassment, dumping them without food and shelter on the prairie of an adjoining state, and destroying their property and means of livelihood, this country would shake from end to end with consternation."

"But we shall do well to view the rise and progress of this mob of the 'better classes' with deeper feeling than one of astonishment. It is to be regarded with alarm. . . . Does anybody suppose a well-dressed mob, any more than one in overall, can thus outrage justice and humanity without deplorable consequences? It is impossible. . . ."

"One thing is clear. If the Colorado round-up were being directed solely against negroes simply as negroes, instead of against union labor men simply as union men and their sympathizers, there would be no question of the power of the President of the United States to interfere under the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment, and in accordance with authority and power provided in these sections of the Revised Statutes falling under the title, 'Civil Rights.' Even the majority of the United States Supreme Court which decided upon the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment in the great Louisiana slaughter-house cases would agree to this. But are colored citizens of the United States entitled to more consideration and protection from the United States Government than white citizens? It would be difficult to read into any part of the constitution any such meaning as that."

THOSE DESPOTIC LABOR LEADERS. Some time ago the flint glass manufacturers climbed upon their high horse and notified the union men that they would not meet the officers in conference unless they had full power to make a final settlement. The "flint" told the bosses to go to a wagon spot, whereupon the latter reconsidered their previous action and decided the men should have something to say. Usually bosses charge the union officials with preventing the rank and file from voting on wage scales, strikes, etc., and here these capitalists are trying to enforce that very undemocratic scheme—Cleveland Citizen.

BOSSES WANT CHEAP LABOR.

Workers Regarded Only as Source of Profit.

The Owing and Miling Classes See Their Interest in Labor's Degradation—Human Rights and Feelings Count for Nothing in Their Eyes—The Coming Demand for Chinese Exclusion Repeal.

The most work for the least wages is the one standard by which our ruling classes judge the virtues of workmen.

A Panama canal is to be dug. It will require a great deal of very hard work under terrible climatic conditions. We know that in the attempt to reach the bottom of the canal, the Chinese coolies would be the most profitable investment. Someone having suggested giving employment there to some of the Porto Ricans whom our government has magnanimously gifted with liberty and kept in poverty, the "Sun" opines that: "If 50,000 Porto Ricans will go there and dig as much dirt for the same price as Jamaicans, Chinese, or any other, there is every reason why they should be given preference in the undertaking." The maximum of work and the minimum of pay is all that these capitalists consider.

But it is not only for Panama that coolie labor or other degraded cheap labor is being considered. The organs of the plantation-owning and mill-owning class in our own Southern states are already beginning to clamor for the repeal or relaxation of the Chinese Exclusion Act, in order that they may have an abundant supply of human machines which will work hard and steadily, long hours every day, and be satisfied with even a poorer living than the average American laborer, white or black, now gets, and can be counted upon not to join the unions and go on strike or to join the Socialists and who cannot vote for their class. And such capitalist papers in the North as oppose this scheme suggest that the same purpose of cheapening labor can be served, without exciting so much trouble, by promoting the immigration of Italian laborers.

The absolutely cold-blooded manner in which the capitalist organs discuss such questions, always thinking of the workers from a business point of view as a source of profit and without consideration of their human needs or feelings, is enough, by itself, to justify a cordial hatred of the whole system in the breasts of workmen who respect themselves as human beings.

What Will Labor Do?

There can be little doubt that, in view of the increasing discontent among the workers, the capitalists are planning to overcome their organized resistance and reduce them to hopeless submission by the paralyzing influence of the competition of still poorer and more docile laborers. The first favorable opportunity will be seized to introduce Chinese and it remains for the workers at the ballot-box to say whether or not their masters shall be encouraged to try it at the next session of Congress. If the Socialist vote is unduly or quadrupled this fall, it will make the ruling class hesitate. If, on the other hand, the workers fail to protest at the polls and cling to the timid policy of petitioning for favors instead of demanding rights, the capitalists have gone down in imagination, but they will feel free to carry out with a high hand their plans for the degradation of labor.

THE PARTY IN POWER.

At the recent congress of the Socialist Party of the Grand Duchy of Baden, held in Offenbach, reports showed that the party counts 7,000 members, organized in 108 branches. The increase of the Social Democratic vote from 50,000 in the Reichstag election of 1898 to 72,000 in that of 1903 was accompanied by a growth of the organization. We have made progress also in the local indirect voting, which gave the Socialists in 55 municipal councils, besides three mayors. Revisionism is strong among the Social Democrats of Baden, as elsewhere. In South Germany, and the question came up at this congress in the consideration of a resolution directing that the Baden organ, the "Volksfreund," should be edited in accordance with the decisions of the congress of the whole German party at Dresden—that is, contrary to Revisionist ideas. The resolution was carried by a vote of 36 to 24, many delegates not voting. The party executive and our representatives in the Baden legislature were directed to press the agitation for direct suffrage.

The election of the legislators now being by a complicated and undemocratic system of indirect voting, which gives advantage to the privileged class. Although the National Liberals as well as the Clericals oppose this political form, the Grand Ducal Government has already made some concessions to the demand.

I feel sure that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that a rich community such as ours, having such command over external nature, could have submitted to live such a mean, shabby, dirty life as we do.—William Morris.

WHO IS TO BLAME FOR THE CHILD-LABOR EVIL?

The Business Men Are Responsible for It, Says Homer Folks.

They Stubbornly Fight Ameliorative Laws and Disobey Them When Enacted—Capitalists Neither Know Nor Care What Their Profits Cost Humanity—"I Must Have My Sixty-six Hours a Week."

Homer Folks, formerly Commissioner of Public Charities in New York City, recently addressed the convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at St. Louis upon the subject of child labor. Some of his remarks were well worthy of consideration. We quote in part:

"In addressing the representative of the women's clubs of the United States it is happily unnecessary to dwell upon the suffering and sorrow of the children whose lot we are seeking to improve. I suppose that were it desirable to do so and lend it power to picture to you the conditions that actually exist this very night in the employment of children in many places in this country the facts would be so terrible when rightly understood that no one present would be able to-night to close his eyes in sleep."

"In endeavoring to formulate a national program we should not seek for an ideal system which we know to be at present impracticable, but rather for the minimum of restriction that is consistent with protecting children against exploitation in their early years and guaranteeing to them immunity from such labor as would interfere with their proper physical, mental and moral growth. I heartily endorse the report of your committee in favor of a general effort for the following minimum requirements: 'That no children under sixteen years of age shall be permitted to work at night; that is, between the hours of 7 p. m. and 1 a. m.; that no children under sixteen years of age shall be permitted to be regularly employed who cannot read and write simple sentences; and that in states in which these two provisions are already enforced we should secure the enactment of the standard child labor law as outlined by the National Consumers' League.'

Low-Breaking Employers. "But our task is only half begun when we have secured legislation. Enforcement is possible only when adequate machinery is provided. Voluntary compliance on the part of the industries affected is an idle dream. Enforcement by the assistance of voluntary and casual inspection is a snare and a delusion."

"And here again we must expect to meet and overcome the same opposition which we will meet in securing legislation, with perhaps reinforcements, for the number of those who are in favor of righteous law but against its enforcement is simply astonishing. Even when we have secured our respective laws and a provision for inspectors and an appropriation for their salaries our work is far from finished, for it is just at this point that the adult employer is most likely to administer an opiate to the entire movement."

"Only those who have been close observers of public affairs understand and know large an extent, in the absence of constant effort on the part of right-minded citizens to the contrary, these public officials who are appointed to oversee, supervise and regulate private interests for the public good become the very bulwark behind which such interests are enabled the more effectively to push their exploitation."

"Brutal Strength of Capital."

"In closing I would say a word of caution against being over-optimistic. Let us not deceive ourselves. The history of the past two years has some chapters of encouragement, but many of disaster. In several states, with the issue distinctly and clearly drawn, with nothing like an adequate argument against their proposition, our friends have gone down in inglorious defeat before the plain, brutal strength of combined capital. It is to be no child's play. Human nature has not changed so much as we may think. The business interests that mislead, as I firmly believe, consider their interests menaced will fight to the end and will not be easily overcome."

Hypocritical Philanthropy. "It may not be difficult to secure laws preventing child labor in factories—in states which have no factories. It may be possible to secure a law preventing child labor in all factories except glass factories—in states which have only glass factories. It may be possible to secure laws preventing child labor in factories during school seasons—in communities where the school seasons are exceedingly limited or altogether absent, but when it is a question of actually removing children who are in factories, mines, steam, telegraph offices, and so on, we must be prepared for a long and stubborn fight, persistence for frequent defeat, but so long as God is in his heaven if we are faithful in our task we shall win in the end."

We Must Depend Upon Ourselves. Mr. Folks' opinion that the employers are mistaken in thinking that child labor serves their interests might be matter for debate. But it is sufficient to note that the employers do think so, and that they are not coming of judgment or humanity. It is equally idle to try to convince them that their profits would not be reduced by the abolition of child labor. They probably know their business, and as a class they act on strict business principles. In that case, they will agree that child labor is wrong and will hypocritically approve of the movement against it, wherever that movement does any

THE CONCILIATOR.

Example of Capital's Corrupting Influence.

The Respectable Citizen Who Made a Trade of Inciting Strikes and Then "Settling" Them—Business Men Stood for the Fair Game, But Labor Stopped It.

"In 'The Worker' today" for July, Ernest Poole tells in a clear and interesting manner "How a Labor Machine Held Up China," and how the Teamsters Union Smashed the Machine. The machine consisted primarily of Al Young, leader of the Teamsters' Union, and John C. Drieholm, "professional conciliator of labor disputes" and secretary of various employers' associations. The story begins in 1900, when the general organization of teamsters started and comes down to the present day. We have hardly space even to summarize it, and it is worth reading in full. Two facts stand out clear and distinct. The first is, that in the great hold-up game, which lasted about three years, involving strike after strike, some of which resulted in gains for the workmen involved, but many of which were mysteriously "settled" by surrender at the very height of the conflict, the real guiding force was not the labor leader, but the eminently respectable strike-settler. He it was who held up the employers, intruding himself into bona fide strikes or instigating strikes for the purpose of settling them, receiving enormous fees from the employers for his real or supposed services and using some portion thereof to do his work in the future through a few corrupt agents. The second significant fact is that, when the Teamsters' Union, which was the machine's principal agency in making and breaking strikes, came to realize, after two or three years' experience, how it had been used and abused—how, among other things, it had been led into betraying the freight handlers and the express employees at critical moments—contributing to the fact that its own members had prospered under the machine rule, it revolted at the dishonest system and overthrew its corrupt leaders and brought about the downfall of the conciliation machine; and what is more, it has not ceased to be a fighting union. The inherent honesty of the working class, despite the lack of education and leisure which tend to make it an easy prey for tricksters, and the latent dishonesty of capitalism under its fair exterior of polite manners and boasted "business principles," are clearly in evidence. In conclusion the writer points out that the fight is to continue; he evidently agrees with a labor leader whom he quotes to the effect that the "interested public," of which the employers talk so much, is a myth, and he closes his article by quoting the words of an employer: "Keep your eyes on the Employers' Association. It is young yet. It is in that stage where it only attacks unions while they are striking. Soon it will attack between strikes. And then? These are doubtful times. The future is further off than it ever was."

NEED THIS WARNING.

Workmen and sympathizers who wish to give financial aid to the Colorado miners in their fight against despotism—and we hope there will be many of them—should heed the following warning printed in the "Miners' Magazine":

"We wish to put our friends in all parts of the country on their guard against unscrupulous individuals who may represent themselves as being working in the interest of the striking and exiled miners in Colorado. It has not been so long since we were compelled to protect the liberal union men in all parts of the country against the impostor Richardson, who was leaving the impression wherever he went that the proceeds from the sale of his child labor song was to be a donation—a free will offering—to the struggling miners in Colorado. Richardson's money paid to Richardson ever got to the headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners."

"So we say again, be wary and watchful and don't allow every schemer with a plausible story to blink you."

"All the solicitors for funds in behalf of the deported and exiled Colorado miners have credentials from the proper officers of the Western Federation of Miners. These credentials bear the seal of the organization, and some others are genuine."

"More than this, the regularly accredited representatives of the Federation have explicit instructions to collect no money themselves, but are admonished under all circumstances to have the proper fiduciary officer of the union or organization which they visit send all donations direct to Secretary-Treasurer W. D. Haywood, 625 Exchange Building, Denver, Colo., who will issue a numbered receipt for the same and acknowledge donation to the proper union, organization or person. The field representatives are paid a regular salary and are in all respects honorable and reliable men, worthy of every confidence. Their transactions are open and above board in every city and hamlet where the exigencies of the occasion have led them. They have aroused the wage-workers to a full realization of the importance of the duty of the hour. We don't want their splendid work spoiled or curtailed by the appearance of any impostors. So be continually on the lookout and be sure that the seal of our organization appears on credentials."

VICTORY IN AMSTERDAM.

The Social Democrats of Amsterdam, Holland, have scored another brilliant victory in the election of Comrade Tack, editor of the party organ, "Het Volk," to the City Council, by a vote of 2,747, to 1,241 for the Liberal and 1,401 for the Clerical.

—Republican Governor Peabody, of Colorado, Democratic Governor Dockery, of Missouri, and Democratic Chief Justice of St. Louis, were all honored by votes of appreciation at the committee of Parry's Citizens' Alliance, and all for the same reason—their brutal outrages upon Labor.

WHAT BEN FRANKLIN SAID IN 1776.

The Socialist of the Twentieth Century May Quote the American Revolutionist of the Eighteenth.

In the memorable year of 1776 the old colony of Pennsylvania, becoming the State of Pennsylvania, adopted a new constitution. In the assembly which drew up that document, Benjamin Franklin took a leading part. In the course of the discussion, opposing the proposition to fix a property qualification for voting for members of the upper house of the legislative body, on the theory (afterward successfully championed by Hamilton) in the framing of the national constitution, that the lower house should represent men and the upper house property, revolutionary Ben Franklin said:

"Why should the upper house, chosen by a minority, have equal or greater weight than the lower, chosen by a majority? It is supposed that wisdom is the necessary concomitant of riches and that one man worth a thousand pounds must have as much wisdom as twenty who have each only one hundred and ninety-nine? AND WHY IS PROPERTY REPRESENTED AT ALL?"

"Suppose one of our Indian nations should now agree to form a civil society; each individual would bring into the stock of the society little more property than his gun and his blanket, for at present he has no other. We know that when one of them has attempted to keep a few swine he has not been able to maintain a property in them, his neighbors thinking they have a right to kill and eat them whenever they want provision. It being one of their maxims that hunting is free for all; the accumulation, therefore, of property in such a society, and its security to individuals in every society, must be an effect of the protection afforded to it by the joint strength of the society, in the execution of its laws."

"PRIVATE PROPERTY THEREFORE IS A CREATION OF SOCIETY, AND IS SUBJECT TO THE CALLS OF THAT SOCIETY, WHENEVER ITS NECESSITIES SHALL REQUIRE IT. EVEN TO ITS LAST FARTHING; its contributions to the public exigencies are not to be considered as conferring a benefit on the public, rendering the contributors to the distinctions of honor and power, but as the return of an obligation previously received or the payment of a just debt."

"The combinations of civil society are not like those of a set of merchants, who club their property in dif-

FOR THE DAILY.

Acknowledgment of Money Received for the Fund to Establish the Daily Call.

Financial Secretary Gerber of the Workmen's Co-operative Publishing Association acknowledges the receipt of the following amounts toward the fund for establishing the Daily Call: Cash Contributions—Punch card 472; 14th A. D., New York, \$2; Wm. E. Hirt, \$1; A. Francis, 50c; George J. Aleotti, subscription books, \$4.50; W. G. Haygood, \$10.00; Wm. D. 46c; Educational Educational Association, per Solomon, \$28; M. Grief, 25c; Wm. Meyer, 50c; C. Hertle, 50c; C. Haber, 50c; last year, \$10.95; previously reported, receipts from all sources, \$15,847.08; total collected to date, \$15,906.06.

Contributions should be sent and checks and money orders made payable to Julius Gerber, Financial Secretary, W. G. P. A., 64 B. Fourth Street, New York City.

JUST JUDGE MAKES WORKERS THINK.

German socialism cannot quite match the arbitrary methods of the Colorado capitalists and their political agents, but over there too the courts, in their eagerness to serve the property class, are making propaganda for Socialism. At Barraback recently a miner named Kramer was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for publishing and distributing a pamphlet exposing and condemning the intolerable tyranny and exploitation carried on by the administration of the government mines in the valley of the Saar. During the trial every effort was made by the court to prejudice the defendant's case and all extenuating circumstances were disregarded. Comrade Liebig, who acted as counsel for Kramer, was obliged to protest against the partiality of the judge, but in vain. In summing up the case and passing sentence, the judge did not venture to dispute the truth of the statements of fact given in Kramer's pamphlet, but based his decision on the "spirit" of the conclusions which he drew. It is reported that the case has caused great indignation among the miners and brought many adherents to the Socialist Party.

—According to press reports, the wire used in firing the dynamite at Victor was traced to a building on the company's property. Only one who had a pass could get access to that building. It looks suspicious for the mine.

"FRENZIED FINANCE."

Big Copper Capitalist Proposes to Tell Tales Out of School, Exposing Realities of His Class.

"Frenzied Finance" is the title of an article in the July "Everyday" which Thomas W. Lawson, copper king and sportsman, introduced "The Story of An Unhappy Copper." If we may judge from this preface his story will be more sensational yet than that of the Standard Oil Company, which John D. Rockefeller has been telling in "McClure's"—and as the Rockefeller group, the centre of all American capitalism, dominate the Annapolis, it will deal with many of the greatest men and methods of which the "system" has done, the evils they have created, and the indescribable imprints they have made on mankind are the products of a condition and not of their individuality, and that if not one of them had ever been born the same good and evil would today exist. Others would have done what they did, and would have to answer for what has been done, as they must. So I say the men are simply individuals; the 'system' is the thing at fault, and it is the 'system' that must be rectified." Just what Mr. Lawson means by the 'system' we have to see. It is to be supposed that he uses the word in a much narrower and more superficial sense than Socialists give to it—that he means the financial system by which big and shrewd capitalists fleece smaller and less wily ones, not the great industrial system, of which this is only a part, by which the capitalist class exploits the producers of wealth. Even so, however, his exposure of its workings will be very interesting, for he knows it "from the inside," he has a strong motive (as he acknowledges) of hatred and revenge and perhaps also a motive of sportsmanlike love-of-fair-play, he has so definitely outlined what he proposes to tell that we may be fairly sure that he is going to "make good" and after all, this financial "system," though only a part of capitalism, is now the dominant factor in it and is, no doubt, destined to play a most important part in shaping the future development of the class struggle.

—A trust has been formed comprising all the sugar factories and refineries of Italy. The capital is eighty million francs, and the American combine is said to be in the deal.

—What shattered his faith in human nature? "He bought an unbreakable comb, took a dose of unbreakable cod liver oil, visited a painless dentist, and voted the old party ticket."—The Hammer.

—Bell Socialists' pamphlets at your street meetings. Try a hundred of Hanford's of the Colorado strike. They will cost you \$2.50 and it's a poor local that can't dispose of at least one hundred. Socialist Literature Co., 124 William Street, New York.

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IOWA NOMINATES.

Well Attended Convention Held at Marshalltown.

Party Organization Has Been Easy and Its Work Shows Good Results—Full State Ticket Put in the Field.

MARSHALLTOWN, Ia., July 6.—The state convention of the Socialist Party was held here on the fourth. Fifty-three delegates were present, representing localities in twenty cities and towns in eight of the eleven Congressional districts. Perry Eugie was the temporary chairman and was succeeded by W. A. Jacobs on permanent organization, while Mrs. Triller acted as secretary.

Our Candidates.

The ticket nominated is as follows: For Secretary of State—John E. Hahn, Sioux City. For Auditor—Mrs. Carrie Johnson Triller, Dubuque. For Treasurer—Joseph Holmes, Marshalltown. For Attorney-General—J. S. McCrill, Des Moines. For Judge of the Supreme Court—W. J. Martin, Sac City. For Clerk of the Supreme Court—Jacob Rapheael, Davenport. For Representative of Supreme Court—Dr. E. E. Watson, Des Moines. For Railroad Commissioner—J. W. Zeller, Muscatine. For Presidential Electors—John M. Work, Henry Bitterman, L. W. Lang, Robert Brown, Watson Roberts, F. J. West, E. E. Bennett, J. S. Morris, J. P. Sample, and J. M. Maus. Three more are to be chosen by the State Committee.

Carl Kleck has been nominated for Congress in the Second District. E. D. Hammond in the Third, W. J. Fort in the Fifth, Perry Eugie in the Sixth, and Stanley Brown in the Tenth. Other districts are expected to nominate later.

State Platform.

A strong platform was adopted, pointing to the private ownership of the means of production as the cause of the workers' poverty and of social unrest, demanding public ownership and on also as the only means to freedom and peace, and pledging the party's adherence to the interests of the working class on every issue.

Organization and Press.

The State Secretary report showed receipts for the year amounting to \$1,180.18, of which \$278.75 had been paid in dues to the national organization. Notwithstanding the smallness of this fund, a great deal of work has been done. Besides lecture tours by "Comrades Herron, Hanford, and Carey, arranged by the National Secretary, the State Committee has made lecture engagements for Comrades Work and Kirschtick and has kept Comrades Jacobs, Bennett, McCrill, Davis, McKee, and Strickland in the field as organizers for a month or more each. There are now forty locals in the state, with about 500 members.

Propose Labor Conference

TO CONSIDER COLORADO AFFAIR.

The Chicago Federation of Labor proposes that a convention of delegates from central labor bodies all over the country be held in Victor, Colo., on Aug. 25, to decide upon the best way to help the Colorado miners. We do not know whether the suggestion is likely to be followed or, if so, what action is likely to be proposed. But we do know that the suggestion is being made. First, that for the immediate relief of the Colorado miners in their defensive fight money is needed and should be sent without delay to Secretary Haywood; second, that the only way effectively to rebuke such outrages and to prevent their recurrence is for workmen everywhere to vote against the Republican party of Peabody and Roosevelt, against the Democratic party, whose Cleveland and Steiwegers have long ago committed almost equal outrages, and against the private ownership of the mines which is the cause of class war—which is to say, vote for Socialism and its program of freedom and peace.

A SNAKE IN THE GRASS.

Last Sunday's edition of Hearst's Chicago "American" showed that this "friend of labor" was capable of descending to a depth that no other periodical has yet attained. A glaring headline on the first page introduced a two-column alleged confession of a Colorado miner, implicating Haywood and Meyer in the Independence dynamite outrages. Although to the practiced newspaperman the dispatch was plainly a fake, written in the editorial office, yet what is to be said of the human reptile who will fabricate such a dispatch when capitalism is seeking to bound innocent men to the gallows.

CLEVELAND AND THE RAILWAYS.

Grover Suppresses a Significant Point.

Telling the Story of His Intervention in the A. R. U. Strike, He Does Not Tell Why He Chose Edwin Walker as Special Counsel—A Fact That Should Not Be Forgotten.

Grover Cleveland comes out in support of the Democratic ticket nominated at St. Louis. Mr. Cleveland is quite right. He knows what he is doing.

Mr. Cleveland's support of the Tarke and Davis ticket makes it timely to consider Mr. Cleveland's record of antagonism to the labor movement.

In the June number of "McClure's Magazine" Mr. Cleveland has an article on the A. R. U. strike of 1904 and his action in sending federal troops into Illinois against Governor Altgeld's protest. In this article he does not follow either the rule of "telling the whole truth" or the rule of "telling nothing but the truth." A part of his falsification by omission the "Public" of Chicago thus exposed.

Mr. Cleveland's reticence regarding the General Managers' Association is really a conscious and studied and purposeful reticence, is susceptible of proof.

Who Was Edwin Walker?

"Why did Mr. Cleveland take the pains to describe Mr. Walker as an 'able and prominent attorney of Chicago,' which is to be presumed, and yet say no more to identify him? The answer will be found in 'Who's Who in America,' for 1903-1905.

"Who's Who in America" is a biographical dictionary of notable living men and women of the United States. It is published by A. N. Marquis & Co. of Chicago, and edited by John W. Leonard. The biographical data are obtained directly from the persons concerned. This is what appears with reference to Mr. Walker, the able and prominent attorney in Chicago, whom the Cleveland administration employed as special counsel against the Chicago strikers of 1904:

The Appointment Explained.

"To Mr. Walker was not only a railroad corporation lawyer, the general solicitor of the Chicago and North Western Railway for over thirty years, and Illinois counsel for one of the great railroads concerned in the strike and belonging to the arrogant and lawless General Managers' Association, but he was counsel for that arrogant and lawless association itself. He implies this in his little autobiography, wherein it appears that he 'was counsel for the railway companies and special counsel for United States in the lawsuits growing out of the great railroad strike of 1904.' Mr. Cleveland's reticence as to the General Managers' Association and his supercilious description of Mr. Walker as an able and prominent attorney in Chicago, are thus fully explained.

SCABS "HOLD-UP" STRIKE BOSSES

One encouraging feature of many defeated strikes is the fact that the bosses cannot count on the docile obedience even of their strike-breakers. In Houston, Tex., a lot of scabs were imported to take the place of the striking street-car workers. They were given \$5 a day and the fares they could collect. The fares did not amount to much, but the daily wage was more than double what the strikers had demanded. The scabs, however, realizing that their "money" would not, in any event, be of long duration, demanded a raise of \$2.50, alleging that local merchants overcharged them for everything they bought. The company granted their demand, but said hard things about their ingratitude and treachery. The moral is that there is no honor in capitalism, no cohesive power but that of "grift," and that, as capitalists cannot trust each other, neither can they safely depend on the mercenaries who do their dirty work.

THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCES.

Not Confined to Western Mining Camps.

Secret Organization of Business Men Against Laborers on a National Scale—Is Now Invading New York—Time for the Workers to Think and Act.

The readers of The Worker know the careful readers even of the daily press know—the infamous sort of work the Citizens' Alliance has been doing in Colorado.

The question, Do you wish to see Citizens' Alliance methods applied in NEW YORK? Is not an idle theoretical question.

The Citizens' Alliances of Cripple Creek and Telluride are not isolated and merely local bodies. They are branches of a great national organization. That organization already has its foothold in this state and it is working strenuously and tirelessly to increase its strength. As we write we have before us a confidential letter from the New York state branch of this lawless and criminal business men's association addressed to a firm in this city. Suppressing the name of this firm for obvious reasons, we here reproduce the letter:

"Dear Sir:—Nearly all trades have their Employers' Associations to deal with labor and other problems in their own lines, but they would be vastly more effective if they had the support of the great middle class who are indirectly affected by strikes, boycotts, violence, and labor legislation, which increase the cost of living and interfere with business prosperity.

"Employers often need public opinion and VOTES to offset the supposed political power of organized labor, which is more or less feared and courted by most public men. Out of this state of affairs has grown through out the West organizations known as 'Citizens' Alliances' largely started and supported by employers, but whose membership comprises editors, lawyers, clergymen, doctors, tradesmen, clerks, teachers, farmers, non-union workmen, and other citizens, all of whom have influence and votes to offset those of the labor unions and thus establish a fair equilibrium. In more than twenty cities these organizations have been found most useful. Strikes in many cases have been prevented or have failed because public opinion was against them. Boycotts have proved beneficial to those boycotted. Legislators and public officials have been encouraged to do their duty because they know that there is an organized public opinion to sustain them in doing what is right.

"A Citizens' Alliance for the state and city of New York has been incorporated with objects and officers as above, but names of members and contributors to the publication fund are confidential, unless by permission, to avoid the enmity and terrorism of organized labor. If you approve of this effort we ask your support. The enclosures indicate the necessity for such work, and as soon as possible we propose to publish a monthly journal as a medium of communication between members. Mr. Curtis, who represents the Alliance, will endeavor to see you soon. Yours respectfully,

"CITIZENS' INDUSTRIAL ALLIANCE" OF NEW YORK

"F. B. THURBER, President."

The enclosures referred to are certain extracts from the "Journal of Commerce" and the "American Grocer," together with a sort of prospectus from the Alliance itself, grossly maligning the labor movement and cautiously hinting at the measures that the associated business men propose to use against it.

If the workers of the East do not soon bethink themselves, we may well expect to see in Wilkesbarre or Gloversville, in Paterson or in Buffalo, in Waterbury or in Rochester, just such scenes of riot and violence, organized by and for the propertyed class against the propertyless, as have been exhibited of late in Victor and Independence and Trinidad.

COMPETITION ILLUSTRATED.

As a direct illustration of how capitalism wages the wars of its industry, try as a club to beat into submission those who rebel against its conditions, nothing clearer could be desired than the events recorded as occurring at the Baldwin Locomotive Works in Philadelphia.

Six thousand men have already been laid off. Four thousand more are to be dropped as soon as possible, bringing the total force down from sixteen to six thousand.

During these operations, three hundred strikers were employed in the boiler shop, unskilled men on strike. Their places were immediately filled from the six thousand discharged operatives.

There will be no more strikes in the Baldwin shop for a long time at least. There may be some at the best, but however, if any of the unlucky three hundred are clever enough to get onto the capitalist game of playing both ends against the middle—Erie People.

MILL'S DEFINITION OF SOCIALISM.

John Stuart Mill defines Socialism as "the joint ownership by all the members of the community of the instruments and means of production; which carries with it the consequence that the division of the produce among the body of owners must be a public act performed according to rules laid down by the community."

—New Orleans has nineteen negro labor unions, numbering 11,000 men.

CAPITALIST OUTRAGES CONTINUE IN COLORADO.

Citizens' Alliance, Under Military Sanction, Maintains Reign of Terror.

Six Union Men Horsewhipped and Deported—County Clerk Sympathizing with Miners and Refusing to Resign, Is Driven Away by Fear of Murder—Bell Excuses Capitalist Rioters—Tragic Aftermath.

We present below the bare statements of some recent developments of the last ten days in Colorado, where the Citizens' Alliance, backed by the Mine Owners' Association and tacitly approved when it is not openly aided by the military authorities under Republican Governor Peabody and Roosevelt's friend Bell, is carrying on its aggressive war against labor organizations. Much of the following matter, as indicated, is taken from the dispatches in the capitalist press, which adds to its value as evidence in the case of Labor men capital which is by no means at the level of public opinion.

The Citizens' Alliance for the prosecution. We present below the bare statements of some recent developments of the last ten days in Colorado, where the Citizens' Alliance, backed by the Mine Owners' Association and tacitly approved when it is not openly aided by the military authorities under Republican Governor Peabody and Roosevelt's friend Bell, is carrying on its aggressive war against labor organizations. Much of the following matter, as indicated, is taken from the dispatches in the capitalist press, which adds to its value as evidence in the case of Labor men capital which is by no means at the level of public opinion.

Tragic Aftermath.

DENVER, Colo., July 8.—W. H. Morgan, assayer and president and general manager of the Grand Mountain Gold Mining Company, has been found dead in a lodging house in this city. He had committed suicide. He was one of the first number deported from Cripple Creek. Letters left by him show that he had been threatened. He was an employer of union labor—New York Evening Post.

Horsewhipped and Robbed.

CANON CITY, Colo., July 7.—Six agitators "recently" deported, and who returned to the gold camp, were run out of Victor last night by masked men, and were ordered never to return to Teller County.

They were escorted several miles before being released. The men are J. C. Fraser, David O'Neill, William Haney, O. M. Tully, Fred Warburton, and Patrick McCarrel.

All except McCarrel arrived in Canon City this morning and boarded a train for Denver, where they will lodge a complaint with Governor Peabody. The men say they were brutally treated by their captors, and were robbed of \$300.

The men were picked up in Victor yesterday afternoon, and held under guard at the Baltimore Hotel until 10:30 o'clock last night, when they were secretly removed by deputy sheriffs. It was the intention of the deputies to take the prisoners to Cripple Creek, but they were intercepted by the masked men, and forced to surrender the captives—New York Times special.

DENVER, Colo., July 9.—Four of the six union men who returned to their Cripple Creek homes and were run out by a masked mob, have given an account of their deportation to President Meyer of the Western Federation of Miners. They said they were horsewhipped and robbed of all their money and valuables, amounting to several hundred dollars, by the "white-caps."

They assert that the military and deputies conspired at their seizure by the mob. The names of a dozen citizens of the Cripple Creek district whom the mob were furnished to President Meyer. Three of the men had returned to Victor on passes furnished. It is said that others doomed to deportation from their families and their homes.

The reason for the deportation of Rust is that he violated one of the ironclad rules of the military despotism—subscribed \$10 toward a fund for the relief of the wives and children left destitute by the exiling of their husbands and fathers.

"A letter from Rust, while at Canon City, Colo., just before he was taken to Bell's bull pen, says: "Anyone known to express sympathy for the union is deported. The chief counsel for the Federation is in solitary confinement for sending aid to the families of deported men. I was taken in twice, and the last time was given my choice of renouncing the union or going to the bull pen to await whatever they chose to hand out to me. Lots of the boys here in the bull pen are sick already, and if they keep us here much longer there is likely to be an epidemic. When you hear of lawlessness, remember it is not the miners, but the vassals of our great war Governor, James Peabody."

Feared for His Life.

VICTOR, Colo., July 10.—Because of the terror that has been caused by the actions of the Citizens' Alliance here, Frank P. Mannix, Clerk and Recorder for Teller County, has left here under military guard. He feared that his life would be taken by foes of the miners' union if he remained.

Mannix was escorted as far as Canon City by soldiers commanded by Adjutant General Bell in person. General Bell is said to have admitted that he cannot control the Citizens' Committee, and that the situation is dangerous for those whom they wish to run out of the district.

Mannix, who is in sympathy with the union miners, had been before the Citizens' Committee several times in the last week and his resignation demanded. This he refused to give. The County Commissioners were requested to remove him. They replied that they were advised by counsel that they had no authority to remove Mannix and declined to meet the request of the committee.

Mannix feared for his safety and a guard of soldiers was placed at his residence. Late last night he decided to leave the district, and General Bell and a detail of soldiers accompanied him. Mannix said he was not being deported.

Bell Excuses Rioters.

Discussing the case, General Bell is credited with saying: "There is no telling what would happen if Mannix remained in the district. He left because he thought it would be facing death to remain about Cripple Creek with conditions as they are today.

WIDESPREAD UNEMPLOYMENT.

Over 600,000 Men Thrown Out in Recent Months.

Steel Workers and Western Railway Men the Latest Hit—Season Sale Opportunity to Cut Wages—The Cause and the Cure.

The St. Louis "Post-Dispatch" has made an investigation of the subject of unemployment and comes to the conclusion that within a few months past no less than 650,000 men have been added to the army of the unemployed, distributed among industries as follows:

Railroad employees 120,000
New England mill operatives 80,000
Packing house employees 75,000
Iron and steel workers 140,000
Cowmen 90,000
Workers in other trades and industries, estimated 180,000

Total 650,000

When we are told on good authority that in Philadelphia alone 30,000 textile workers are unwillingly idle, it becomes evident that the estimate made by the "Post-Dispatch" is not extravagant.

In the Steel Mills.

Since the St. Louis paper made its investigation, while the New England cotton-mill shut-downs continue, the condition in the iron and steel industry has become even more trying. The men have to choose between reduction of wages and enforced idleness, with a probability of very uncertain employment even if they accept the cut. This is illustrated by the following New York "Times" special:

"PITTSBURGH, Pa., July 7.—The labor situation in Pittsburgh is growing critical. The workmen of Ohio are suffering with the workmen of Pittsburgh. It is announced to-night that the workmen of four more Union Mills were locked out to-day. They are at Girard and Warren, and two at Youngstown, employing all told 2,000 men.

"The move to-day is a practical admission of failure of the first attempt on the part of the employers to force the reduction demanded. On last Tuesday they asked the union workers to return to the revised rate, but this was refused without the consent of the conference committee.

"The reduction which the trust has attempted to force on the men is from 23 to 30 per cent.

"President Mueller of the Amalgamated Association is much displeased at the action of the employers, and said to-night: "Another conference was spoken of between the employers and the representatives of the workmen, but none has been arranged. Should any effort be made to operate the mills now closed they will be placed at once on the non-union list and dealt with accordingly."

What good it will do to threaten putting mills on the unfair list, it is hard to see. The owners do not have to operate all their mills. It suits their business interests, at present and for some months to come, to have some of the mills closed and some of the men idle. Of course they close the union mills. They can wait; they are not going to go hungry; and they count that the men thus locked out and thrown on the labor market to compete for jobs will, directly or indirectly, help them to force the reduction of wages in other mills.

Western Railroad Men Suffer.

On the railroads of the West extensive reduction of force and wage-cuts have already taken place. The same evil is now striking the railroad workers of the West, even though the carrying of the wheat crop is under way.

Dispatches from St. Paul, Minn., state that: "Retrenchments ordered by lines out of St. Paul, Minn., during the past thirty days aggregate \$2,500,000, of which \$1,400,000 will be carried on by the Great Northern system alone. President James J. Hill's orders to the Great Northern passenger department are that a saving of \$1,000,000 must be made this year in that department.

The allowance for general advertising is cut to almost nothing. In the operating department Hill's orders are that \$400,000 be saved this year, and these are being carried into effect by lengthening train runs, consolidating duties of crews and reducing the maintenance of way forces and the shop forces. More than 18,000 men are affected, but the economy ordered will be so adjusted that only a small percentage will be thrown out of work entirely. More work and less pay will be resorted to to keep the men on the pay rolls. The Northern Pacific is making an equal reduction in expenses along the same lines and will save \$400,000 in operation. The Chicago & Great Western has instituted plans to save \$300,000, and has begun reducing train and engine crews. The Minneapolis & St. Louis will reduce its force and save \$100,000. The Omaha and the Burlington by consolidation of train runs, lengthening of hours of work and requirements of additional service will save \$300,000."

The Cause and Cure.

All this is not due to accident. It is not due to this being an election year. It is not due particularly to the Republican party being in power, for the same thing has repeatedly happened during Democratic administrations. It is due to capitalism, whether served on the political field by Republicans or Democrats.

The capitalists own the mines, mills, railways, and other means of production. They control industry. They are guided by their own profit interest. The workers, being fairly well employed during several years, produce im-

ROOSEVELT SHUTS HIS DOOR AGAINST UNION MINERS.

Two workmen came from Pennsylvania to Oyster Bay last Tuesday to see the President. They were coal miners. They were denied by their organization, the United Mine Workers of America, to carry a petition to the chief magistrate of the nation—the officer sworn to see that justice is done, to see that the constitution is obeyed, to see that republican institutions are maintained, to perform the duties of his high office without fear or favor. These two coal miners bore a petition asking the President to investigate the treatment which their fellow workmen, their fellow unionists are receiving at the hands of the capitalists and of Roosevelt's copartisan, Governor Peabody, in the Trinidad district of Colorado.

They are Republicans—at least, they were; perhaps they have learned their lesson. They came to Oyster Bay full of hope and faith in the great Theodore Roosevelt.

They met Secretary Loeb. They sent in word that they wished to see the President in person—just for a brief interview, but in person. The answer came back: His Excellency the President of the United States would not see these coal miners. They might communicate with him in writing, if they wished, but they could not have access to the sacred presence.

They protested; they expostulated; they pleaded; all in vain. Coal miners complaining of grievances at the hands of capitalists and Republican officials get no audience at Oyster Bay. They went away, sadder and, let us hope, wiser men.

Suppose a deputation of mine owners, bankers, railway directors, or other "eminent citizens" had come to Oyster Bay—would they have been turned from the President's door? Never. "Delighted," would have been Roosevelt's greeting, with a hearty handshake to attest it, and careful attention to what they had to say.

That is the kind of government we have to-day. It is a government of capitalism run mad, of "vested rights" puffed up with pride and assuming imperial haughtiness.

That is the kind of government the workers will DESERVE for another four years if again they vote for capitalism.

GAIN IN OREGON. WEST VIRGINIA IS IN LINE.

Belated Returns Show Encouraging Increase.

In State Election Last Month the Socialist Party Picked 26 Per Cent. More Votes Than in June of 1902 and Over Four Times as Many as in 1900.

PORTLAND, Ore., July 6.—At last we are able to give you the figures for the vote of the Socialist Party in the state and congressional election held here last month.

Comrade Rasmussen of Portland, our candidate for Food and Dairy Commissioner, polled 9,988 votes. C. C. Mikkelsen of Grainsville, for Judge of the Supreme Court, got 9,419. In the First Congressional District our candidate, B. F. Kamp of Salem, has 2,800 and in the Second George R. Cook of Portland has 3,678. This gives us an average vote, the state over, of 6,332.

Two years ago our average vote was 5,018. Thus we gain about 20 per cent. It is also pleasing to note that in 1902. One of our candidates then ran as low as 3,332 votes and another as high as 5,576—a range of 2,044. This year, with a larger total, the difference between the highest (the two Congressional candidates) and the lowest is but 380.

In June of 1900 we had no ticket, but at the national election in November we polled 1,466 votes for Debs and Harriman.

INTERNATIONAL LABORERS' UNION.

The Cleveland "Citizen" reports that the International Laborers' Union, a new body to which the American Federation of Labor refused a charter, is growing rapidly, having formed seven new locals last month, bringing its total up to 180. It won a bed-carrier's strike in Dayton a few days ago, establishing the eight-hour day without reduction of wages. It is said that the I. L. U. may affiliate with the American Labor Union.

UNION MEN IN NEBRASKA TO GIVE US ALL A FARM.

Millions of acres of land in Nebraska are to be opened up to settlers. Cowboys are on hand in large numbers, prepared to claim the full 640 acres each and then turn them over to the cattle companies who have already fenced in and been using much of the ground. As these barons are to be the largest gainers, there is no doubt but that they were mainly responsible for the measure. The poor devil with no capital will have to sell his claim to the cattlemen for a song.

These quantities of wealth. Less than half of their product comes back to them in wages; more than half goes to the capitalists as profit. The masses of workers, getting less than half the value they create, cannot buy in the market half of the product their employers offer for sale. The capitalists, being relatively few in numbers, do not care to buy and use nearly all the surplus. The same thing happens in other countries. So the market is glutted; there is overproduction—while many of the people are in want. A glut in the market means reduced prices or restriction of output. The capitalists are naturally not willing to cut prices if they can help it. They prefer to restrict output. And restriction of output means enforced idleness for large numbers of wage-workers, intensified competition for employment, and reduction of wages.

Hard times is as natural a thing under capitalism as the alternation of day and night in the physical world. But while we could not, if we would, stop the revolution of the earth and the changes of day and night, we can, when we will, put an end to hard times, once and forever, by putting an end to capitalism, putting an end to exploitation, making the means of production public property, making ourselves the masters of our jobs, and producing for our own use instead of for the profit of a parasitic class.

The unemployed and those who fear unemployment, should vote for Socialism this year.

TOTHEM WAY ABOUT.

After noting the outrages on the miners and their families in Colorado, one of our Western exchange cables "Is Colorado in America?" President Roosevelt's criminal indifference to the reign of capitalist anarchy in that state impels the "Sentinel" in that humiliating belief that America is now in Colorado.—Reading Union Sentinel.

"THE LABOR WAR IN COLORADO"

By Ben Hanford

will be the most valuable campaign document of the year. It should be distributed in hundreds of thousands of copies. THE PEOPLE MUST BE INFORMED OF THE FACTS AND THEIR LESSON. The price is put at the lowest possible figure to cover cost of publication—5 cents a copy, or \$2.50 A HUNDRED. NOW READY. ORDER AT ONCE.

SOCIALIST LITERATURE COMPANY.

184 William Street, New York City.

TWIN PARTIES OF CAPITAL.

The result of the Democratic national convention at St. Louis is eminently satisfactory to August Belmont—August Belmont, American representative of the North Atlantic Construction Co., of the Subway Realty Co., of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co., of the Brooklyn Heights Railroad Co., of the New York & Rockaway Beach Railroad Co., of the Long Island Railroad Co., of the New York & Long Island Terminal, of the Kingston Consolidated, of the Chicago Milwaukee & St. Paul, of the Louisville & Nashville, of the Westinghouse Electric, of the Republic Iron & Steel, of the Clarkburg Fuel Co., of the Fairmont Coal Co., of the Somerset Coal Co., of the North American Transportation & Trading Co., of the Cane Company of America, of the Golden Reward Consolidated Gold Mining Co., and of fifteen banking, trust, and insurance corporations. Why shouldn't it be?

The Parker and Davis ticket is very pleasing to Cord Meyer, Democratic State Chairman in New York—Cord Meyer, director of two banks, of four trust companies, of an insurance company, of the American Agricultural Chemical Co., of the Citizens' Water Supply Co., of the Lake Charles Rice Milling Co., of the Lanyon Zinc Co., of the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. Why shouldn't it be?

The only thing we really know about the head of the ticket—except that he is Belmont—is that he was among the nine New York Judges, Republicans and Democrats acting together in beautiful harmony, who "KILLED THE EIGHT-HOUR LAW last year. Is not that enough?

What we know about Henry Gaseaway Davis is that he is an exploiter of labor, the biggest, coal, coke, and railway magnate in West Virginia, a partner of Belmont in several of the companies named above, an associate of Ellins-Ryan-Brady ring—formerly including Whitney, too—who link together the Coal Trust, the Tobacco Trust, and the Trolley Trust with their octopus grip. What more do we care to know?

What we know about David Bennett Hill—aside from his strictly political career—is that, as United States Sena-

tor from New York, he fought against the Income Tax Bill to the last moment, and that afterward, as counsel for a combination of great millionaires, he succeeded in getting the United States Supreme Court to declare the Income Tax UNCONSTITUTIONAL. Does not that give us sufficient knowledge of him?

An income-tax plank was proposed at St. Louis, by the way—and was, unceremoniously killed.

A plank providing for government ownership of railways was proposed. "Oh, that's silly," said Hill, and it was discarded.

Do YOU think government ownership is silly? Do YOU think the income tax unworthy of consideration?

Equally significant was that speech of Lieutenant Hobson—Hobson the hero of occupation—reminding the delegates of the record of President Cleveland as a destroyer of labor unions. The bosses would have liked to muzzle Hobson, but he struck the real keynote of the convention. The Democratic party is pledged by this convention to enter into rivalry with the Republican party in servility to the capitalist class and brutality toward the workers.

In the character of their candidates, in the character of their platforms, so far as workingmen's interests are concerned, the two old parties are as like as two peas.

Just as the Republican national convention in 1900 said not one word in rebuke of the atrocities committed against Labor by Democratic Governor Steunenberg of Idaho, so the Democratic national convention this year has kept discreetly silent about the still greater atrocities committed by Republican Governor Peabody in Colorado.

The two old parties equally deserve the support of the capitalist class. It would make but little difference to the exploiters which should win.

They are equally against every interest of the working class. For the first time we have the lines drawn clear so that all may see—the Socialist Party against the twin parties of capitalism. We hail the day. We welcome a straight fight.

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from page 3.)

refreshment stands were liberally patronized. No intoxicating drinks were allowed on the stand. A large banner on each side of the boat, bearing the words "International Socialist Party," told the people in the towns along the river that there are some Socialists in the state. The second excursion of this season will be given on August 14. Owing to a decision of the Supreme Court of this state the names of our candidates, Eugene V. Debs for President, Benjamin Hanford for Vice-President, J. E. Nash for Governor, and the others, will appear on the ballot under the name "Public Ownership Party."

State Organizer Thompson put in two weeks' work in Otter Tail County with good results. We had only one local in the county before, but he organized three new ones, aggregating sixty-five members, and two or three more locals will soon be formed. All the meetings were well attended. A county convention was held on June 20 and a full ticket nominated. The Fergus Falls "Globe" and "Upland," a local Norwegian paper with a large circulation, will support the party benevolently. Otter Tail County was formerly a Populist stronghold with very radical tendencies, but the Populist party is so completely broken up that only nine delegates could be gathered together for its county convention. It is believed that a big vote for Socialism will be cast in this and the neighboring counties.

Here and There.

A. M. Simons of Chicago and Eugene Sawyer of New Haven, both delegates to the national convention and not members of the platform committee, have letters in the Erie "People" assuring the editor, that so far as their observation went, he expressed suspicions as to the conduct of the platform committee are unfounded, and particularly contradicting the statement that no printed report was made.

Max A. Hayes is the Socialist candidate for Congressman from the Twenty-first District of Ohio, which comprises the city of Cleveland. W. O. Critchlow is our candidate in the Dayton district.

Comrade Clarke of Mystic, Conn., reports that at Fieldman's meetings there and in New London \$9 was collected, half of which has been sent to the Western Federation of Miners.

At last week's meeting of Local Mystic eight new members were admitted, all veterans and most of them young men. The half-day's pay fund in Mystic so far amounts to \$25 and Stoughton will raise at least \$20. Five new subscriptions for The Worker and four for "Vorwärts" accompany Comrade Clarke's report. All this makes a pretty good showing for such a small place. Some of our locals in larger places should wake up and do proportionately as well.

Mother Jones was in Cleveland last

week, agitating on behalf of the Colorado miners and collecting funds for them. She was well received there, as she had been in Chicago the week before.

The Democrats of Biddford, Me., put Henry M. Donnelly on their legislative ticket without consulting him. Donnelly is a Socialist and he promptly repudiated in a courteous but unmistakably worded letter declining the nomination and giving notice of his opposition to both capitalist parties alike.

The office of The Worker and "Volenteering" has received the following amounts to be forwarded to the Western Federation of Miners for the Colorado strike: Krannack Kase, Br. 2, Yonkers, \$5; J. Neumann, Seymour, Conn., \$1; "Feuchte Erde," surplus of ring game at picnic, \$6; Social Democratic Women's Society, Br. 5, \$3; total, \$15.

New York Notes.

Thomas Pendergast, the Social Democratic candidate for Governor, is now making a speaking and agitation tour of the northern part of the state, holding meetings in unorganized cities and towns. He held a meeting in Carthage on July 2, and a local was organized there as a result. On July 4 he spoke in Cold Brook. Meetings were held in Gouverneur on July 5 and 6. Three meetings were arranged for at Ogdensburg, beginning on July 11, and he will then go to Malone for a series of meetings. Prospects are good for Socialism in Gouverneur and Ogdensburg. Comrade Pendergast reports that he has been well received all along the line, and that the local parties have been very fair in their treatment of him.

George Hoever has held two meetings in Troy, one in Oneida, and one in Canastota, near that place. All were successful, good crowds being present. He will next go to Ithaca for one or two meetings, and then put in a week in Rochester. After that he will be in Buffalo for seven days.

The Jameson comrades are agitating in surrounding towns with marked success. They have held meetings recently in Frewsburg and Ellington, both of which were well attended, and much interest in Socialism was aroused. At Ellington the pastor of one of the churches offered the use of his pulpit to the speaker for a Socialist address at any time.

The State Committee has several of the best speakers in the country engaged to tour the state, and it will be necessary for the locals to act promptly and co-operate in using them.

Franklin H. Wentworth of Massachusetts, a noted speaker and lecturer, who will be out under the supervision of the National Secretary during the campaign, has been assigned to New York for Sept. 1 to 12. Every local that desires to open its campaign in September should communicate with the State Secretary at once. Some other speaker will be sent out through the state from Sept. 15 to Oct. 1, and others will follow in regular order until the close of the campaign. If the

locals will take the speakers as they are offered to them in order, many difficulties will be overcome and needless expense avoided. The cost to the locals will thus be kept down to the very lowest point.

The State Secretary will hereafter issue a bulletin once or twice a month to the locals, covering all campaign matters and local should send in all information regarding meetings held and plans for future work.

Returns are now coming in on the national subscription lists for a half-day's pay, and locals that have not yet reported should do so at once. If the money is not all collected, a partial accounting may be made now and the rest later. Both national and state organizations are in a hurry of money to start the campaign. The State Secretary has so far received the following sums: List 1710, Buffalo, \$6.67; 1720, Green Island, \$2.32; 1735, Watertown, \$4.94; 1744, Yonkers, \$20.67; 1819, Kings, \$5.32; 1880, Kings, \$6.96; 1882, Kings, \$6. Contributions to the State Organization Fund have been received as follows: Kings County, 20th A. D., \$2; 21st A. D., \$1; 22nd A. D., \$7; 7th A. D., Br. 2, \$5; 13th and 14th A. D., \$1; 12th A. D., \$1.50; 8th A. D., \$1; 1st and 2d A. D., \$1.50; 20th A. D., Br. 1, \$2; 7th A. D., Br. 1, \$1; 1st and 2d A. D., \$3; 7th A. D., Br. 1, \$3; New York, 14th A. D., \$3.40; Local Stapleton, Chase meeting, \$2.

The Westchester County Committee met in Mount Vernon last Sunday afternoon. The delegates from Peekskill and Fortchester were absent. New Rochelle reported that the Building Trades Council would hold a Colorado indignation meeting on Saturday, July 16. They also reported doing some good with the half-day's pay list. Yonkers reported further agitation among the Italians; Comrade De Luca will address them at the picnic of Local Yonkers, which will be held at Grace Farm on Sunday, July 17. The comrades are working the half-day's pay list and also the banks. Comrade Chase will be the speaker at the Colorado indignation meeting to be held in Gerty Square, Yonkers, Friday evening, July 15. One hundred copies of Hanford's pamphlet have been ordered for distribution. It is understood that a number of comrades from the Bronx and the Workingmen's Educational Association will attend the Yonkers picnic. Comrade Dixon of New Rochelle is trying to organize a local in White Plains. The next meeting of the County Committee will be held on Sunday, July 31, at which arrangements will be made for the county convention.

Comrade Volkoff of Troy writes: "Good afternoon, and thanks for last Wednesday and Thursday of last week, with large audiences at both meetings. His subjects were 'The Declaration of Independence and Socialism' and 'The Evolution of Industry.'"

New York City.

New Yorkers interested in furthering the project of the "Daily Call" are reminded that on Sunday, Aug. 28, an excursion to Greenwood Lake will be held for the benefit of that enterprise. In making their plans they should make the 10th cent. tickets for adults will cost \$1. for children 50 cents, and everyone will have the option of bringing his lunch or paying 75 cents for dinner. The train will leave at 9 a. m. and return at 8 p. m., giving six hours at the lake.

Edward Meyer of the Down Young People's Social Democratic Club has recently received a letter from Hans Kuhnke, one of the officers of the Young People's Social Democratic Club of Austria, in which the writer extends fraternal greetings to the clubs in America. On May 12 the Austrian club held a convention in Vienna, and they are doing a great educational work.

The 12th A. D. will hold a special meeting on Wednesday, July 20, at 233 E. Broadway. Very important business is to be transacted.

At the last meeting of the 14th A. D. delegates to the County Executive Committee, Second Agitation District and an Agitation Committee for the district were elected. Other routine business was disposed of. The Entertainment Committee reported that \$24 was realized at the last entertainment in March. It was decided to order fifty additional copies of The Worker weekly until the campaign closes and sell these at street meetings; 100 copies of Hanford's "Labor War in Colorado" were also ordered. The Agitation Committee reported that successful meetings are held weekly. The district decided to remove headquarters, and all meetings in the future will be held in C. Gaydon's Hall, 286 E. Tenth street, every first and third Thursday in the month. All arrangements for the outing to Daly's Woods, Yonkers, N. Y., on Sunday, July 17, have been completed. The Jameson comrades are making it a point to make this trip with their families. Tickets are 15 cents for gentlemen and lady, and can be had at 64 E. Fourth street and 286 E. Tenth street. Refreshments for lady and gentlemen if ticket is presented 75 cents without ticket, \$1. Other particulars, including direction to the place, were published in last week's issue of the Worker.

At the last meeting of the 18th and 20th A. D. a collection for the national campaign fund amounted to \$9. Twenty-five tickets received for a picnic on the 14th A. D. were accepted and given in charge of Comrade Kramer to dispose of. The delegates to the Murray Hill Agitation District reported that no meeting had been held. The delegates were instructed to try to get the delegates from the other districts together and see if Murray Hill League could be secured for a ratification meeting. The delegates to the General Committee also were instructed to bring a resolution calling for a mass meeting at Union Square for the ratification of our ticket and as a protest against the outrage committed on the miners of Colorado. They also were instructed to ask the General Committee to find out the cause of Comrade Untermyer's resignation as delegate to the International Socialist Congress. Comrade Kramer was instructed to procure two banners, and Comrade Mullen was authorized to get \$5 worth of literature, which will be disposed of at the outdoor meetings.

In the 35th A. D., Branch 2, Comrade Jones was elected corresponding secretary, Comrade Kramer was elected financial secretary and treasurer. Comrades Shering, Rampher, and Mayer were elected delegates to the Bronx Borough Agitation Committee.

vine, Cantor, and 18th were elected delegates to the General Committee. An adjourned meeting of the West Side Agitation Committee will be held Monday, July 17, 8 p. m., at the West Side Union Hotel, 342 W. Forty-second street. All comrades on the West Side should make it a special point to attend this meeting.

The Socialist Literary Society has established its headquarters at 233 E. Broadway, in one of the finest club-rooms of the East Side, and plans are under way towards the buying of the whole building. The campaign has already been opened, and from two to four open-air meetings are being held every week, which prove to be very successful, commanding big audiences and large quantities of literature being sold. The Shakespeare Club under the direction of J. E. Nash has been organized for July and August, and will be resumed again in September. Arrangements are being made for a speaker's class. The society is steadily growing in membership, and hopes to reach the 200 mark in the near future. Meetings are held every Wednesday, and good work is being done for Socialism in general and for the East Side particularly. It belongs to the only headquarters of the party. All comrades, friends and sympathizers are invited to visit the clubrooms and join the ranks.

The first meeting of the new General Committee was held July 9, Comrades Paulitsch and Lichtstein presiding. Credentials Committee reported as follows: 1st, 3d and 5th A. D., financial report and credentials for 2 delegates; 2d and 8th A. D., no report and no credentials; 4th A. D., no report and no credentials; 6th and 10th A. D., report and credentials for 4 delegates; 7th and 9th A. D., report and credentials for 3 delegates; 11th A. D., no report and no credentials; 12th A. D., no report and no credentials; 14th A. D., report and credentials for 4 delegates; 15th and 17th A. D., report and credentials for 3 delegates; 16th A. D., report and credentials for 2 delegates; 18th and 20th A. D., report and credentials for 3 delegates; 19th A. D., report and credentials for 2 delegates; 21st A. D., report and credentials for 3 delegates; 22d A. D., report and credentials for 4 delegates; 23d A. D., report and credentials for 3 delegates; 24th A. D., report and credentials for 3 delegates; 25th A. D., American, report and credentials for 2 delegates; 26th A. D., Bohemian, report and credentials for 2 delegates; 28th A. D., report and credentials for 2 delegates; 29th A. D., report and credentials for 3 delegates; 30th A. D., report and credentials for 3 delegates; 31st A. D., report and credentials for 3 delegates; 32d and 33d A. D., no report, no credentials; 34th A. D., no report and no credentials; 35th A. D., Br. 1, report and credentials for 4 delegates; 36th A. D., Br. 2, report and credentials for 4 delegates; Annexed District 1, no report and no credentials; Annexed District 2, no report and no credentials. That while the 21st A. D. had elected four delegates it was only entitled to three delegates, and that while the 23d A. D. had elected three delegates it was only entitled to two delegates. Motion carried that all delegates having credentials be seated, excepting the delegates from the 21st and 23d A. D.; that the delegates from those districts retire and confer as to who shall represent their respective districts. Motion carried that the delegates from the 4th A. D. be temporarily seated, and that they be instructed to have the financial report of the district filed with the organizer before the next meeting of the General Committee. Motion carried that all delegates from districts which have made no reports be likewise seated, and instructed as in the previous motion. Motion carried that the resignation of Comrade Schoellinger be accepted. Motion carried that the communication of Comrade Schoellinger of 20th A. D., Bohemian branch, be accepted, and that the request, that certain members of the branch who are too poor to pay dues be not dropped from the roll, be complied with. Comrade Paulitsch of the 18th and 20th A. D. was instructed by his branch to request that a General Committee arrange for a mass meeting during the first week in August, to protest against the Colorado strike, and that a collection for the striking miners be taken up at said meeting. Also that the National Secretary be requested to furnish information as to why Comrade Untermyer resigned as delegate to the International Congress. Comrade Hall of 15th and 17th A. D. was instructed by his branch to move that the National Secretary be requested to act as a delegate to be known as Colorado Day, and that indignation meetings be held all over the country on that day. Motion carried that the State Committee be asked to request the National Committee to act one day as Colorado Day. A motion that one day in August be observed as Colorado Day in New York City and that fifty meetings be held on that day was lost, and a motion was carried that if the National Committee complies with the request, that the City Executive Committee arrange for a mass meeting as possible for Colorado Day. Minutes of the meetings of the City Executive Committee for June 21, June 22, and July 5 were read and the actions of the committee were approved. A motion that the Organizer be instructed to communicate with the National Secretary regarding meetings for Comrade Debs was amended that the matter be left in the hands of the City Executive Committee. Comrade Lester reported as delegate to State Committee, and Comrade Jablonski and Egerton of committee elected at previous meeting to visit Board of Managers of The Worker, reported that they had done so, and had suggested to the board several methods to increase the circulation of the paper, and requested that the request of the board that a special General Committee meeting be called to hear a statement of committee elected by the board, be complied with. Motion carried that Organizer be instructed to call a special meeting of the General Committee for the purpose and that all party members be requested to attend such meeting. Comrades Panzer and Gills of committee elected at last meeting to investigate the application of Morris Sulliger reported that the applicant was considered a scab, and that he was asked to resign, and a vital check maker's union; the detriment of organized labor, and that his application be rejected. Motion carried that this body convene in the report, and that the application be re-

jected. Nominations for committee and officers for the ensuing term were made as follows: For City Executive Committee of seven members: Christ, Schults, Orland, Lane, Bartholomew, Egerton, Uhl, Cassidy, Spranger, Slobodin, Leman, Mayer. For Credentials Committee of three members: Stahl, Gills, Bohman. For Auditing Committee of three members: Treisman, Fick, Wolf, Van Name. For Grievance Committee of five members: Cassidy, Lichtstein, Bartholomew, Levine, S. Solomon. For delegate to State Committee: Leman, U. Solomon, Abrahamson. For Recording Secretary: Mayer, Malkiel. For Treasurer: Orland. For Comptroller: Bartholomew, Hart, H. Stahl, Edwards. For Sergeant-at-Arms: Van Name. The following were asked to mail whether they accept or decline and election will be held at the next regular meeting. Motion carried that the Organizer's salary be \$15 per week and the following nominations, were made for that office: Julius Gerber, John C. Chase, Herman Reich, and Nick Geiger. Motion carried that the nomination for financial secretary be laid over until the election of an organizer. Motion carried that the salary of the 18th and 20th A. D. be in regard to the resignation of Comrade Untermyer as delegate to the International Congress be referred back to said district. Comrade Paulitsch of 18th and 20th A. D. presented a request from his district that a referendum be taken on the method of taking and counting vote. Comrade Lichtstein took the chair to enable Comrade Paulitsch to discuss the matter, and after the discussion the decision of the request in its present form out of order. On appeal from decision of the chairman he was sustained. Comrade Paulitsch resumed the chair and Comrade Lichtstein moved that each one voting on referendum vote shall sign an individual ballot, which ballot the secretary of a branch or local shall retain, and that the list returned by the Organizer shall be furnished to said Organizer. Motion carried that the following resolutions be adopted: Resolved, that the receipt of the following amounts to- ward the fund for establishing the "Daily Call":

Cash Contributions—Jacob Byn, Winthrop, Can., \$1; B. Merkert, \$50; F. Leibman, Kingsley, Ore., \$1; Unknown, 25c; H. Janitz, Alameda, Cal., 25c; C. Lianus, \$50; G. Kreutzing, Lakebay, Wash., \$150; J. Stiefel, F. Stengel, W. Nill, W. Herberich, C. A. Hiss, \$10; O. Steiner, Dayton, O., 50c; G. Michelson, Jr., Boston, 50c; Adolf Karpats, \$5; J. Lobigue, Watertown, N. Y., \$1; W. B. Stinner, Cleveland, 50c; S. Holtschuh, Philadelphia, 50c; Int. Ass'n of Machinists, No. 278, Concord, N. H., \$5.00; Bro. of Carpenters, No. 738, \$2; Do. No. 68, Miner, Wis., \$1; Do. No. 1642, \$3; Do. 37, Sheboygan, Wis., \$1; Mill Men's Union No. 151, Lancaster, Pa., \$1; B. A. D., Brooklyn, \$2; \$10; R. Pohl, \$5; 10th A. D., Brooklyn, \$5; Frank M. Paulsen, 10c; Beer Bottlers and Deliverers No. 122, Boston, \$5; part of proceeds of picnic of Locals Bridgeport, Ansonia, and Waterbury, Conn., Polish Socialist Alliance, \$5; previously acknowledged, \$3,329.92; total, \$3,363.32.

Paid on Pledges—Peter Frank, Cincinnati, \$5; A. Lee, \$5; M. M. Bartholomew, \$2; W. O. Hopgood, Shreveport, Me., \$2; J. Mullen, Jr., Jacob M. Brooklyn, \$1; A. Ninkowski, \$5; Noble Kuchin, 50c; Jacob Oginksky, 75c; Louis Blum, \$2; Morris Pollock, \$1; Edw. Schneyerman, 75c; previously acknowledged, \$3,040.15; total, \$3,060.40.

Recapitulation—Cash contributions for week, \$63.40; paid on pledges this week, \$35.25; previously reported, receipts from all sources, \$15,045.92; total collected to date, \$16,014.71.

cal Queens to buy 2,000 of Ben Hanford's pamphlet on the Colorado outrage; after discussion it was decided to hold a mass meeting on Aug. 1 at Kruescher's Hall, Myrtle avenue, corner of Cypress avenue, Evergreen, instead, and engage two speakers to address the meeting, and to have 2,000 handbills printed and distributed in the various unions throughout the county requesting them to take part in said demonstration. Financial Secretary Heller filed the following quarterly report: Received, during quarter, \$144.85; expended, \$76.25; balance on hand, \$68.59; adding financial secretary's cash, \$12.85, make a total of \$79.45 on hand. Organizer Hahn was instructed to call a meeting in College Point to revive that section, as it has fallen asleep. The committee on reorganization was instructed to request Local Long Island City to pay its debts to Local Queens for printing of primary notices and delegates' expenses to Chicago, amounting to \$15, the request to be made at the reorganizing meeting.

FOR THE DAILY.

Acknowledgment of Moneys Received for the Fund to Establish the "Daily Call."

Financial Secretary Julius Gerber of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, acknowledges the receipt of the following amounts to- ward the fund for establishing the "Daily Call":

Cash Contributions—Jacob Byn, Winthrop, Can., \$1; B. Merkert, \$50; F. Leibman, Kingsley, Ore., \$1; Unknown, 25c; H. Janitz, Alameda, Cal., 25c; C. Lianus, \$50; G. Kreutzing, Lakebay, Wash., \$150; J. Stiefel, F. Stengel, W. Nill, W. Herberich, C. A. Hiss, \$10; O. Steiner, Dayton, O., 50c; G. Michelson, Jr., Boston, 50c; Adolf Karpats, \$5; J. Lobigue, Watertown, N. Y., \$1; W. B. Stinner, Cleveland, 50c; S. Holtschuh, Philadelphia, 50c; Int. Ass'n of Machinists, No. 278, Concord, N. H., \$5.00; Bro. of Carpenters, No. 738, \$2; Do. No. 68, Miner, Wis., \$1; Do. No. 1642, \$3; Do. 37, Sheboygan, Wis., \$1; Mill Men's Union No. 151, Lancaster, Pa., \$1; B. A. D., Brooklyn, \$2; \$10; R. Pohl, \$5; 10th A. D., Brooklyn, \$5; Frank M. Paulsen, 10c; Beer Bottlers and Deliverers No. 122, Boston, \$5; part of proceeds of picnic of Locals Bridgeport, Ansonia, and Waterbury, Conn., Polish Socialist Alliance, \$5; previously acknowledged, \$3,329.92; total, \$3,363.32.

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OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN NEW YORK CITY.

Open-air meetings have been arranged by Local New York to be held at the places named on the nights designated below. The assembly district organizations are requested to take notice of their meetings and see to it that they have the platform out on time and that sufficient literature is distributed.

FRIDAY, JULY 15.

6th A. D.—N. W. corner of Fourth street and Second avenue. Speakers, I. Phillips, L. D. Mayer and T. J. Lewis.

14th A. D.—S. W. corner of Tenth street and Second avenue. Speakers, S. Edelstein, Fred. Paulitsch and Ed. Meyer.

30th A. D.—S. E. corner of Eighty-fourth street and East End avenue. Speakers, J. C. Chase, A. Abrahamson, and Edw. Cassidy.

SATURDAY, JULY 16.

34th A. D.—S. E. corner of One Hundred and Thirty-eighth street and Willis avenue. Speakers, J. C. Frost and I. Sackin.

31st A. D.—S. E. corner of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Algernon Lee and Edw. Cassidy.

MONDAY, JULY 18.

9th A. D.—S. W. corner of 22d street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Edw. Cassidy and Thos. J. Lewis.

20th A. D.—S. W. corner of Twenty-fifth street and Third avenue. Speakers, Edw. Bering, Wm. Leddingwell, and A. Abrahamson.

10th A. D.—S. W. corner of Sixty-third street and Amsterdam avenue. Speakers, Alex. Rosen, L. D. Mayer, and I. H. Harris.

TUESDAY, JULY 19.

11th A. D.—S. W. corner of Thirty-fifth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Jacob Paulitsch and Chas. Franz.

14th A. D.—S. W. corner of Twelfth street and Avenue R. Speakers, Edw. Meyer, J. C. Chase and A. Abrahamson.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 20.

7th A. D.—S. W. corner of Twenty-second street and Seventh avenue. Speakers, Fred. Paulitsch, L. D. Mayer and Alex. Rosen.

7th A. D.—S. W. corner of Sixteenth street and Eighth avenue. Speakers, Thos. J. Lewis and S. Edelstein.

THURSDAY, JULY 21.

2d A. D.—N. E. corner of Carline and Riecker streets. Speakers, Chas. Franz and I. Phillips.

28th A. D.—S. W. corner of Seventy-sixth street and Avenue A. Speakers, J. C. Chase and A. Abrahamson.

15th A. D.—S. W. corner of Forty-first street and Tenth avenue. Speakers, L. A. Harris, Jacob Paulitsch and I. Sackin.

FRIDAY, JULY 22.

8th A. D.—N. W. corner of Fourth street and Second avenue. Speakers, S. Edelstein and Alex. Rosen.

14th A. D.—S. W. corner of Tenth street and Second avenue. Speakers,

THE MEAT WORKERS' STRIKE.

If the meat packers' strike continues, it is likely to assume an importance equal to that of the coal miners' fight of two years ago, affecting like that, the supply of a prime necessity of life.

Already the retail price of meat has been advanced 10 and 20 and even 30 per cent. The capitalists who control the meat supply wish to make the whole of the people suffer for the strike, in the hope of setting the workers of other trades against the strikers.

Fellow workmen, do not be deceived. This fight of the meat workers is a fight against one of the most atrocious of all capitalist organizations, the national Meat Trust—atrocious alike in its treatment of its employees and in its treatment of other workmen as consumers. Do not al-

low yourselves to be made the ally of the Meat Trust against the strikers. Above all, do not fail to realize this lesson and improve it upon others: It is a most evil and dangerous state of affairs when a few men control for private profit all the means of supplying a necessary part of the people's food. So long as we allow this condition to exist, we are all at the mercy of the organized capitalists. They exploit and oppress their employees; the employees, in self-defense, are bound to resist; and all of us must suffer the consequences.

As Socialists we say, not merely "Down with the Trust!" but "Let the nation own the Trusts! Let the people who produce wealth control its production!" That is Socialism. That is the way to peace and plenty and freedom.

THE WORKERS' NEED AND THE SOCIALIST DEMAND.

By Eugene V. Debs.

Consider the barren prospect of the average boy who faces the world today. If he is the son of a workman his father is able to do little in the way of giving him a start.

He does not get to college, nor even to the high school, but has to be satisfied with what he can get in the lower grades, for as soon as he has physical growth enough to work he must find something to do, so that he may help support the family.

His father has no influence and can get no preferred employment for him at the expense of some other boy, so he thankfully accepts any kind of service that he may be allowed to perform.

How hard it is to find a place for that boy of yours!

What shall we do with Johnnie? and Nellie? Is the question of the anxious mother long before they are ripe for the labor market.

"The child is weak, you know," continues the nervous, loving little mother, "and can't do hard work, and I feel dreadfully worried about him."

What a picture! Yet so common that the multitude do not see it. This mother, numbered by thousands many times over, instinctively understands the capitalist system, feels its cruelty and degrades its approaching horrors which cast their shadows upon her tender, loving heart.

Nothing can be sadder than to see the mother make the boy she bore by the hand and start to town with him to peddle him off as merchandise to some one who has use for a child-slave.

To know just how that feels one must have had precisely that experience.

The mother looks down so fondly and carelessly upon her boy; and he looks

The Worker.

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week. The rate for a half page is \$5.00
per week. The rate for a quarter page is
\$2.50 per week. The rate for a single
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a double column is \$2.00 per week.

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1901.

In the State of New York, on account of
the certain provisions of an act passed by
the Legislature of the State of New York,
and the name of Social Democratic Party,
and the name of Social Democratic Party,
is published in the State of New York, as
shown above.

The Socialist Party for Social Democratic
Party of New York should not be confused
with the so-called Socialist Labor Party,
which is a separate and distinct organization,
and which is not affiliated with the
Socialist Party of New York.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic
Party) of New York is a party of the
people, and is not a party of the
moneyed class.

1900 (preliminary) 92,730
1901 (final) 93,730
1902 (final) 93,730

ON THE
PRESIDENTIAL TICKET.

FOR PRESIDENT—
EUGENE V. DEBS,
OF INDIANA.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—
BENJAMIN HANFORD,
OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK STATE TICKET.

FOR GOVERNOR—
THOS. PENDERGAST,
OF WATERTOWN.

FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—
CHARLES R. BACH,
OF ROCHESTER.

For Secretary of State—
E. J. SQUIRE of Jamestown.

For State Treasurer—
EMIL NEMPEL of New York.

For Attorney-General—
LEON A. MALKIN of New York.

For State Comptroller—
W. W. PARSONS of Brooklyn.

For State Engineer and Surveyor—
S. B. EARLY of Buffalo.

For Associate Judge of the Court of
Appeals—
WILLIAM NUGENT of Troy.

So, after all, President Roosevelt did
see the real miners' committee—when
they had been properly subdued and
"taught to know their place," given to
understand that workmen must
humbly ask for audience and await
His Excellency's good pleasure, no
matter how important their business,
and that it is only Wall Street bankers
and big corporationists like Platt and
Adams that have the right of entry.
It is a pity that the miners did not
stand enough on their dignity to refuse
to go again to Oyster Bay under such
humiliating conditions. It would have
done much to increase the President's
respect for them had they taken such a
course. But let us hope that at least
some, if not all, of the miners have
learned something from the experience.

THE AMERICAN SMELTING AND REFINING
COMPANY has distributed among its
employees dividends to the amount
of \$200,000. This action is being
highlighted as a striking example of
capitalist generosity, a proof that there is
no class struggle, a demonstration of the
loving interest which big Bohemian
capital takes in the welfare of Little
Brother Labor.

This transaction is worth looking
into. The distribution is made in ac-
cordance with an announcement of the
company that, after providing for in-
terest on bonds, dividends on stock,
depreciation and improvements, to the
amount of \$7,500,000, it would divide
among its "faithful" employees 25%
per cent. of its remaining current sur-
plus, provided such amount should not
exceed \$100,000.

Nearly thousand dollars is 25% per
cent. of \$100,000. This it appears that

this trust "made" during the year the
sum of \$7,500,000—that is to say, its
employees made this much for it—and
it spends \$7,500,000 in interest and
dividends to its non-producing bond-
holders and stockholders, in making
good the wear and tear of its plant, and
in adding to the value of its prop-
erty; then it keeps out \$300,000 more;
then it generously gives \$90,000, or a
trifle over one cent in the dollar, back
to the men whose labor of hand and
brain produced it all.

Each of the ten thousand workers
get an average of \$9 added to his poor
yearly wages, while each of the two
or three hundred owners pockets thou-
sands of dollars as a reward for hav-
ing allowed these men to work.

This is "benevolent feudalism." The
workers are expected to be grateful for
this infinitesimal gift—and the worst of
it is that some of them will be
grateful. They are expected to be
"loyal" to the Smelting Trust for the
sake of this beggarly \$9—not to strike,
under any provocation, not to agitate
against abuses, to work a little harder
and faster than ever before, to "be
content in the station in which it has
pleased God to assign them" and in
which it pleases the Guggenheims to
keep them forever and ever, amen!

This profit-sharing scheme is about
the shrewdest and most dangerous
method the profit-takers have ever de-
vised for keeping the workers at their
injury. But even this will not avail
them. Some of the workers will be
deceived by it, but not all—and ever
fewer and fewer. For even working-
men can do simple sums in addition
and subtraction, multiplication and di-
vision, and if one employee in a hun-
dred figures the thing out and sees the
meaning of the scheme, he is likely to
keep everlastingly at it till he wakes
most of the other ninety-nine wake up.
They will see that, if they are entitled
to anything, they are entitled, not to
25% per cent. of a paltry remainder
of the surplus of their own labor,
but to 100 per cent. of the whole. And
they will know how to get it, too.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

If we could have directed the course
of the capitalist organizations, of the
Republican and Democratic parties,
and of the national and state govern-
ments, in their legislative, judicial,
and executive branches, during recent
months, we could not have planned
anything better calculated to create an
unparalleled opportunity for the So-
cialist Party than the course which,
of their own will or under the pressure
of economic necessity, they have actu-
ally pursued.

Everywhere are to be found work-
ingmen and others who have been life-
long Republicans, but who, within the
last six months, have become utterly
disgusted with their party by the con-
duct of Roosevelt, of Peabody, and
others of its leaders. Everywhere are
to be found men, heretofore stalwart
Democrats, who are now completely
disillusioned by the actions of the con-
vention at St. Louis. Everywhere are
to be found men, formerly unwilling
to listen to Socialist argument, who
have begun to learn their lesson from
the "Employers' Associations, the Citiz-
ens' Alliances, the anti-labor court de-
cisions, the farcical pretense of anti-
trust suits, the lockouts and blacklists,
the increase of the army of the unem-
ployed, the wholesale reduction of
wages, the steady advance of the cost
of living, the impudent lies of the
capitalist press, and the truckling so-
phistry of bishops and college presi-
dents.

This year of 1904 will be reckoned in
history as a most eventful year in the
history of the United States and a
most critical year in the annals of the
Socialist movement. Never before have
such opportunities been presented to
us. Never before have the capitalists
committed so many blunders along
with so many crimes and done so
much to prepare the way for our agita-
tion. Nor can we expect that such an
exceptional opportunity will again
present itself, at least for many years
to come.

The land is full of seething discon-
tent. The fermentation of new ideas
is going on all around us. It is for us
to enlighten that discontent and or-
ganize it, that it be not wasted in
mere confused and negative protest. It
is for us to clarify and unify those in-
choate new ideas that are springing up
and direct them to constructive action.
Should we rise to the occasion? If we
do not, if we lazily trust to "evolu-
tion" to do our work, if we fall short
of the demand that the times make,
then we may expect to see others come
to the front and take our place, to do
the work that we ought to have done,
and perhaps waste much time and en-
ergy and cause much disorder and suf-
fering because they lack the experi-
ence and discipline that we have
gained.

The next three months should be a
time of strenuous and thoughtful ac-
tivity for every Socialist. The fields
are indeed ripe for the reaping, and
they are great fields, and the reapers
are few. We cannot spare a man. We
cannot afford to lose a day. We must
work, or it will be too late.

By the holding of public meetings,
by personal converse in the shop, by
discussion in the union, by forcing the
attention of the public press, but above
all by the distribution of Socialist pa-
pers and pamphlets and leaflets at
meetings and from house to house and

wherever opportunity presents, we
must bring the clear message of So-
cialism to all the people in this most
critical campaign.

Let us not waste time in guessing
whether we shall get 500,000 votes, or
a million, or more. Let us resolve to
get all that can be honestly got—not
votes for Debs and Hanford merely,
but intelligent votes for Socialism.
The result will come. If we do the
work. But we ought to do more work
in this campaign than in any four cam-
paigns of the past.

THE APPEAL TO SUSPICION.

We said last week that we should
soon take occasion to present our views
on the question of methods to be used
in party controversies, as suggested by
our recent criticism of the methods ac-
tually employed by the Erie "Peo-
ple." Now is as good a time as any.
We have reason to believe that the
readers of The Worker—and they are
very truly representative of the active
membership of the Socialist Party
throughout the country—have approved
our course in this special case. But
this special case is relatively unimpor-
tant, unless the right lesson is
drawn from it for our guidance in the
many similar cases that will arise in
the future. We therefore ask that all
our readers will note that we are trying
to discuss it as an illustrative case
only, to discuss it without animus, in
effect to discuss, not this case, but a
question of method involved in it
which is so important that it really
becomes a question of principle.

Here, then, are the facts in the case:
A party paper, edited with such abili-
ty as to give it a high standing and
great influence within the party, used
its editorial column to state that hints
and rumors are afoot to the effect that
the new platform was "railroaded"
through the national convention, and
that the committee "deliberately held
back" its report to a late day in order
so to "railroad" it; that the platform
committee's report was not submitted
in print; and that "enough has been
disclosed to warrant the belief that it
was not fair and above board." Be-
lieving, upon good information, that
such hints and rumors are false, even
if not maliciously intended, and noting
that the only thing "disclosed," the
only definite statement offered in evi-
dence—namely, the statement that the
platform committee did not report in
print—is an erroneous statement, and
considering that at least six of the
comrades who composed the platform
committee, and who are alleged to have
deliberately held back their report in
order to "railroad" it, are now holding
honorable and representative posi-
tions in the gift of the party (two
are national candidates, one as National
Secretary, one as Secretary to the In-
ternational Bureau, and two as editors
of party papers), and considering that
such an accusation, if well founded,
would prove them to be unworthy of
such confidence, and, if not well found-
ed, would do injustice to them and to
the party which they represent—upon
these considerations we called for a
prompt and clear and full presentation
of the evidence which our colleague
alleged to have been "disclosed," and
for the publication of the names of the
men from whom he had got his infor-
mation. The answer, so far as con-
cerns that paper, has been silence.

Personally, the editor has justified him-
self by arguing that it was a fact that
such rumors were current, and that he
had a right, as editor, to report this
fact; that he was partly convinced of
their truth, and had therefore a right
to give them a partial editorial sanc-
tion; and then, indirectly, he has
furnished us statements of alleged
fact from three witnesses, one to the
effect that they had any knowl-
edge of a deliberate holding back of
the report, not to the effect that the
report was not printed that statement
had been completely disproved, but to
the effect that they had not had a fair
opportunity to discuss the platform
when reported. We cheerfully printed
those statements. But we did not and
do not believe that they at all justify
the method of attack adopted by the
paper in question.

The injustice done to Comrades Debs,
Hanford, Mallory and the others, is a
minor matter. They can take care of
themselves. Their records are open.
And their reputations are no nearer to
us than that of any comrade of the
rank and file. The immediate injury
done to the party by the publication of
such rumors in campaign times is a
minor matter. If there is anything
wrong in the party, The Worker wishes
to have it exposed, even though it be
a fortnight before election. The scar-
ing away of timid voters does not
bother us. We value the publicity
which is essential to democratic party
government much more than a few thou-
sand votes this way or that. No, it
is not of such injuries as this that we
complain, but of the injury done to
the spirit of democracy within our
movement by the precedent set of ap-
pealing to suspicion instead of appeal-
ing to plain judgment. That is the
only point this considering.

We have spoken of the publicity
which is essential to democratic gov-
ernment. The Worker has always
stood for such publicity—some-times
discreetly and too hotly, perhaps, but
the sort of publicity that serves the
purpose of democracy is not a pub-
licity of anonymous hints and rumors,
but a publicity of definitely alleged

facts, alleged by men whose identity
is revealed to the party, so that it can
weigh their reputation for veracity and
for good judgment in forming its opin-
ion.

If John Smith sees Thomas Jones
pick a man's pocket, it is not only
John Smith's right, but it is his duty,
to inform the victim and the police.
But if John Smith gets up in a public
place and says, or goes into an editor-
ial office and writes, "It is rumored
that Thomas Jones is a thief, and
enough has been disclosed to warrant
the belief that he is no better than he
should be," and if he fails to support
this accusation with reasonably credi-
ble and pertinent evidence, then
Thomas Jones very rightly has an ac-
tion against him for damages; and
what is more to the point, the people
have an action against them for crime,
in that he abused that freedom of
speech and press which the people
have to some extent established, that
he perverted it from its right function
of disseminating useful truth, that he
so used it as to introduce baseless sus-
picions and fruitless discussions into
that society which he ought rather to
help guide in the ways of judgment
and harmony.

Mark Twain tells us very amusingly,
but also with almost complete histori-
cal accuracy, of the method of trial
and rule of evidence followed in trials
for treason in medieval Venice. The
accused, he says, was brought before
the Council of Three and examined; if
the Three found any evidence against
him, they had him tied up in a sack
and dropped into the Grand Canal; if
they did not find any evidence against
him, they said to themselves, "This
man is evidently a very shrewd and
dangerous conspirator, for he has con-
cocted all the evidence"—and they had
him tied up in a sack and dropped into
the Grand Canal. Now in Venice there
was a sort of public letter-box called
"the Lion's Mouth," to which anyone
might go at night and drop in an un-
signed note accusing another of trea-
son, with the assurance that the man
he accused would be arrested and tried
by the Three. The cruelly unjust trial
was the legitimate and inevitable re-
sult of the method of anonymous and
indefinite accusation, appealing to sus-
picion, not to judgment.

In certain parts of the South it has
happened again and again that some
idle mischief-maker starts a story that
a white woman had been insulted by
a negro. Very soon, in passing from
mouth to mouth, the story would grow
to an allegation that such-and-such a
negro had committed a criminal ac-
t upon such-and-such a white
woman. Then the crowd would start
out and catch that negro—or some oth-
er, if he could not be found (for sus-
picion, once aroused, will seize upon
any victim)—burn him alive and carry
away pieces of his bones as trophies
of "speedy justice." And then, when
all had cooled down, it would be found
that no rape had been committed, that
no insult had been offered, even, that
the whole horrible affair had been an
example of the demoralizing influence
of the substitution of suspicion for
judgment.

We might multiply instances, were it
necessary. We might tell of the "de-
lators" of ancient Rome or of the
witchcraft trials of Salem or of the
denunciations of 1793. Or we might
ask the reader to recall his observa-
tions of the sufferings of innocent
women whose reputations have been
blasted by the mere words and winks
and sinister smiles of prurient scan-
dal-mongers—had they spoken plainly,
their victim could have defended her-
self; but who can challenge and refute
a gossip's vaguely slanderous hints?

We cannot afford to countenance
such methods of accusation within the
Socialist Party. We cannot afford to
permit the formation of an atmosphere
of suspicion—a fog of doubt and fear,
in which every stock or stone becomes
a giant and every shadow a goblin. We
want daylight and fresh air.

The Worker stands for public-
ity. The Worker maintains that eter-
nal vigilance is the price of liberty,
of self-government. But between vigil-
ance and suspiciousness, between the
same watchfulness of the brave and
honest man who falls not to see what
is and fears not to tell what he sees
and the hysterical apprehensiveness of
the panic-stricken wailing who ex-
pects to meet ghosts and so is ever
ready with ghost stories—between
these there is a difference as wide as
that between Raphael and Mephisto-
phelus.

We are no hero-worshippers; there is
none whom we deem incapable of er-
ror or even of crime; we do not believe
in angels nor in devils. We are no
sentimentalists; party controversies
have no terrors for us, provided they
be rightly conducted. We stand for
the right of every Socialist to
differ with even the party's chosen
representatives on questions of prin-
ciple or tactics within the limits where
he ought in duty to leave the party,
and his right freely and frankly to ex-
press his differing opinion within the
bounds of parliamentary decency. We
stand for the right of the obscurest
party member to accuse the most out-
standing comrade having done wrong, and
to have his statement of fact fairly
weighed and passed upon. But we in-
sist that every accusation must be
made in such form that it can be
weighed and passed upon.

As long as our civilization is essen-
tially one of property, of forces, of ex-
clusiveness, it will be marked by de-
lusions. Our riches will leave us sick;
there will be bitterness in our laughter,
and our art and our college professors
and our millionaires will be sick with
delusion. Only that good profit which we
take with all good deeds and which
marks the end of our journey.

Democracy does not mean simply, "I
as good as you." It means: All
of us are better and wiser and more
important than any of us. But in or-
der that this may be true, it is neces-
sary that the "all" may be an organic body,
superior to the best of its members,
not a mob, based upon the "majority."
In order, that is, that democracy may
perish and not degenerate through an-
archy into oligarchy—it is necessary
that we should always most scrupulously
observe and enforce certain re-
straints—one of the most important
of which is that one has no right to
speak ill of another without bringing
plain and sufficient evidence, nor even
to believe ill without having plain and
sufficient evidence before him.

Vigilance and publicity are safe-
guards of democracy. But the vigil-
ance must be sane and the publicity
honest, else they do not deserve those
good names, else they become sources
of intrigue and corruption.

Only so much need be added: If this
is true and important for every com-
rade, it is doubly true and imperative
for party officers and especially edi-
tors, whose lighter words inevitably
carry weight.

NOTE, COMMENT, AND ANSWER.

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"Comrade George B. Benham, the well-
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support from our comrades. This
seems a rather mild repudiation; and
why does our Californian contemporary
persist in calling this renegade "com-
rade"?

We observe, and with pleasure, that
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year and established 50 cents a year as
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sible honestly to sell goods below cost,
and anyone who knows the facts will
testify that 25 cents a year does not
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way satisfactory size and quality. The
party will be a great deal better served
if we have but a half-dozen good
weeklies, self-supporting and growing,
than if we have half a hundred poorly
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THE CONDITION OF
THE WORKING CLASS.

To me, at least, it would be enough
to condemn modern society as hardly
an advance on slavery or serfdom, if
the permanent condition of industry
were to be that which we behold, that
90 per cent. of the actual producers
of wealth have no home that they can
call their own beyond the end of the
week; have no bit of soil, or so much
as a room that belongs to them; have
nothing of value of any kind except as
much old furniture as will go in a
cart; have the precarious chance of
weekly wages which barely suffice to
keep them in health; are "bought" for
the most part in place that no man
thinks fit for his place; are separated
by so narrow a margin from destitu-
tion that a month of bad trade, sick-
ness or unexpected loss brings them
face to face with hunger and pauper-
ism. . . . This is the normal state
of the average workman in town or
country.—Frederic Harrison, p. 429,
Report of Industrial Remuneration
Conference, 1895.

THE COURSE OF CIVILIZATION.

As long as our civilization is essen-
tially one of property, of forces, of ex-
clusiveness, it will be marked by de-
lusions. Our riches will leave us sick;
there will be bitterness in our laughter,
and our art and our college professors
and our millionaires will be sick with
delusion. Only that good profit which we
take with all good deeds and which
marks the end of our journey.

COMMERCIALISM AND THE DRAMA.

An Address Delivered by Courtenay Lomon at the First Meeting
of the Progressive Stage.

[A speech delivered on June 30 at
the first public meeting of the Pro-
gressive Stage, a society organized for
the purpose of interesting the masses
in the teachings and the art of the
great dramatists by producing modern
social dramas of progressive tenden-
cies, as well as the older classic dramas
neglected by the commercial stage,
and by holding lectures and discus-
sions on these dramatists and their
works. For further information in re-
gard to this society address John
Hopp, 203 E. One Hundred and Four-
teenth street, New York City.]

The subject which has brought us
together to-night presents itself to me
in the form of three questions. We
must consider: First, what are the
causes, shortcomings and evils of the
American stage as it is; second, what
is the cause of these things; third, how
can a stage with a nobler standard of art
and a higher mission be created? In
short, we have to consider the condi-
tion, the cause and the remedy. No
discussion of or tinkering with the
superficial aspects of the problem will
avail; only by digging down deep to
the roots of the trouble can the truth
be reached.

In too many of the dramas produced
on the American stage today super-
stition, vanity and false idealism;
passing diversion and cynical wit is
usually the best that they can give.
Such a stage has no light to throw on
the great issues which confront civiliza-
tion. It does not deal with the great
social problems which press upon the
race. It amuses, sometimes, but does
not inspire nor instruct. Having no
vital connection with life, it is di-
vorced from true art and offers merely
ephemeral or abandoned amuse-
ment, thus descending to the function
—so necessary and valuable in its
place—which is better, more frankly,
and more fittingly performed by the
music hall and the vaudeville show.
Such a stage, irrelevant to all the
great realities of life, cannot be vital-
ized by the real art which gives the
power of bestowing a deeper enjoy-
ment and a higher and more lasting
pleasure to the plays of dramatists
who take their art seriously.

At present all our theatres are owned
by capitalists—who care only for
profit, and are patronized by a parasitic
class of idle rich in search
for such forms of amusement as do
not involve thinking—a labor which,
like all other labor, is highly distaste-
ful to them.

The poorly paid school teacher, the
poet who fights with the magazine
editors for a scanty living, the writer
who sticks to his ideals and lives on
little rather than turn to literary hack
work and live well, the struggling
artist—all these educated and intellec-
tual people—and, more important, all
the workers, who are merely cynical and
laugh at jokes about themselves, it
makes them feel inferior. The cyni-
cal wit of the up-to-date stage ought
to cause a revolution—not because it
is bad wit but because it so exposes
the rottenness of society—but it does
not, because it does not go down to
the roots of things and show the cause
of conditions as they are. So this mere
cynicism is permitted, cutting sar-
casm on existing society are allowed
as long as they are merely cynical and
do not reach the cause of existing
evils. But drama like Ibsen's "Pillars
of Society" or his "Enemy of the Peo-
ple" or Hauptmann's "Weavers" or
Shaw's "Widower's Houses" are al-
most never produced because their
revelations threaten the interests of
the rich. The "upper classes" will tol-
erate the production of plays on the
art problem, to be sure—they have
plenty of time for that—but they are
much occupied in experimenting
with it—but any vital reference to the
social problem, which includes the
sex problem, is distasteful and repug-
nant to them because the general dis

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The Worker

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NEW YORK, JULY 31, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

"THE DISAPPEARING PUBLIC."

That "Disinterested Public," of Which the Civic Federation Confusionists Talked, Is Hard to Find.

Ernest Poole, Writing in "The World To-day," Shows That the Recent Rapid Growth of Unions on One Side and of Trusts and Employers' Associations on the Other Has Pretty Well Eliminated the Neutrals.—"The Strike Is Becoming the Class Struggle."

As the labor struggle grows more distinct and rises above all other issues, from every side come appeals to "the great American public," "the outside suffering public that has no use for the labor struggle and only asks for peace." Is there such a public, or is it disappearing to re-emerge as a part of one or the other of the two great economic classes, the employers and the employed?

A Divided "Public."

To answer this question the public must first be analyzed.
The American public is made up of fifteen million voters and their families. Of these, seven million are farmers and farm laborers; seven million are wage earners in factories, stores, railroads and mines; one million are big employers, petty employers, professional men and other salaried workers.

In looking for a sudden change in the mind and feeling of this public we naturally turn first to the seven million wage earners and one million employers and salaried workers in cities and towns. Here we find a startling change. In 1897 the American Federation of Labor had 285,800 members. In September, 1903, it was receiving per capita dues on 1,745,270, and this number represents at least 2,500,000, for it is an undoubted fact that in the average local unions not over two-thirds of the members are paying dues at one time. To this number must be added the 500,000 in unions like the American Federation.

How Labor Forces

Are Crystallizing.

Five years ago in Chicago the unskilled workmen still suffered from the years of depression. In the sweatshops 30,000 wretched fellows bent to their machines from twelve to sixteen hours a day, giving forth in twenty years a life's vitality and receiving the slum in return; 40,000 teamsters lived on bare subsistence wages and were trained for future strike-alonging by a life of endless hunger for proceeds in the jam of down-town streets; 10,000 dock laborers lived in alternate stretches of fierce day and night strains and then long periods of drunken idleness; and in many other callings the workers had been weakened, brutalized, degraded. In 1900 these masses began to awaken. They saw the skilled workers, whose unions had weathered the depression, begin slowly to force up wages. They themselves were gathered on the streets at night and harangued by union organizers.

When in the Chicago stockyards, completely demoralized, it was known that Michael Donnelly had come to organize the 30,000 workers there, not only did the employers take extreme precautionary measures against him, but the workers themselves threatened his very life, so bitter were their memories of strikes in the past that had failed. Night after night on the street corners or in the Halsted street saloons, Donnelly secretly approached man after man only to be refused, and often with bitter abuse. He followed the men to their tenement homes, and their wives in tears begged him to go away. But Donnelly kept on. At last after long slow weeks of discouragement, he had fifty-five recruits, and then one night each recruit was told to come alone to a small hall over a saloon. So secret had been the recruiting that even then no man knew what others he was to find at the meeting. In spite of this secrecy an employers' "spotted" was there, and four men who had been active in the meeting were soon after discharged. But the spark of unionism had been kindled. At the next meeting 1500 showed up and in a few weeks more a union had been formed with thousands of members. To-day the stockyards district is "union" through and through, and as I learned from the women settlement workers near by, the most enthusiastic unionists are the very women who at first had cried in fear when Donnelly came into their tenements.

THE LABOR UNION WAS BECOMING A PUBLIC.

Employers Organizing.

And now, in Chicago, as in other cities, the employers drew together. In June, 1902, ten of these more or less employers, employing between them over fifteen thousand men, met and planned the Chicago Employers' Association. Mr. John O. Shedd, of Marshall Field & Co., struck the keynote of their policy when he publicly declared: "We absolutely refuse to allow any outside organization to interfere in any way with the management of our business." Of such interference there were many examples for the next year saw no less than fourteen hundred strikes in Chicago. Using these strikes as stern object lessons, Frederick Job, the new association's secretary, "the employers' walking delegate," with many volunteer speakers to aid him, went out to organize employers' unions. Mr. Job, who has done more than any other man to organize Chicago employers, gave me this instance of how recruits were gathered:

Dollars vs. Men.

"Now, gentlemen, here is our proposition: Is your union making exorbitant demands for higher wages? Come in, with us—for we can tell you to a cent how much the other employers are paying all over the country. Are they demanding a closed shop? Come in with us and we will tell you just how many closed shops there are in Chicago and how the closed shop works out. If then you decide to run your own business and employ whom you please, we will find them for you. We will get them from Chicago and from all the cities where our employment bureaus are stationed. If the union now refuses to work with these men, let them strike, and then what happens? You start up your shop with non-union men. They are threatened and slugged by union pickets. We at once get out an injunction against these pickets. We were the first to make this injunction work. We retain two lawyers and employ four workmen to see that the injunction is enforced. One of our first principles is enforcement of the law. As the strike goes on your funds perhaps are getting low, but remember that our employers represent \$150,000,000, and that many of them will gladly pay to help in a fight they believe in, for wherever one employer wins he discourages unionism and helps us all."

It is not remarkable that these proposals should have been warmly welcomed. The association's membership swelled from fifty to two thousand. The metal trades manufacturers, the laundrymen, the brass manufacturers, the clothiers, the bootmakers, the team owners, the retail merchants, the coal dealers, the building contractors, and twenty-five other groups have united, and to-day in Chicago whenever the "HUSTLER" has not already combined employers, you will find them combined against unionism in EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS. And what is true of Chicago is true of the nation.

Little Bosses Coming In.

Next the petty employers flocked in by hundreds. The man who had three or four workmen saw that he must join some protective combine or go out of business. The unions pressed him hardest because he was weakest, and he could least afford to pay the higher wages they demanded, because, unlike the big employers, he could not save through improved machinery. His success depended on working long hours and getting the most out of his men through personal contact.

Cried "Peace" But There Was No Peace.

So far the recruits had been employers of the union-making type. The more moderate arbitration-loving employers were next to be won over. THIS IS FAST BEING DONE BY FORCING THE OPEN-SHOP ISSUE TO THE FRONT.

The cry for the open shop was first raised by the parent of all these bodies, the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, organized five years ago by Mr. Parry, the well-known president of the National Manufacturers' Association. Mr. Parry proposed to fight unionism by a fairly. In his debate with Mark Hanna, president of the Civic Federation which stands for conciliating the union, he showed that the union could not be co-opted unless the employer gave up at least a part of the control of his business. He showed that the union must sooner or later bring the union shop, and this assertion was soon echoed on the other side by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor. In these words: "As the immortal Lincoln said, this country cannot long remain half free and half slave," so may we say that any establishment cannot long remain, or be successfully operated, part union and part non-union. The issue had now been clearly defined, and when it had been impressed by hundreds of speakers and pamphlets and journals and papers upon employers all over the country, then thousands of the arbitration lovers began coming over from the camp of the Civic Federation. As a result this Federation's conference of employers and labor leaders last autumn was not the brilliant success of the preceding year, but was, on the contrary, a bitter failure, and its proceedings were never published. For, in that conference, the labor leaders, headed by Gompers, came out strongly for the union shop, and the employers maintained that wages must not be reduced in the on-coming depression; the employers declared that reductions were inevitable.

Far below the native American working classes are the under millions of foreign birth, ignorant, slow, with poorest standards of living, but voters, and in numbers the strongest part of the old unorganized city public.

On this mass is turned with increasing care the energy of the I.L.O. officers, salaried and volunteer, in the American Federation of Labor, which spent last year on organizing alone \$60,000. The 111 national unions are adding their organizing forces. "Our fourteen salaried organizers," said Thomas Kidd, secretary of the National Wood Workers, "are directed" as they travel through every state in the union, not only to organize wood workers, but to help in organizing workmen of every trade wherever the chance arises." In Chicago the hundred thousand Italian day laborers are now being brought together by Federation organizers who have already organized the Italians in

—So long as workmen do not respect themselves enough to vote for members of their own class, why should capitalists show them any consideration? Poole is born to be second, they say.

—Your local or branch is holding weekly public meetings, isn't it? Why not spend \$250 and get twenty-five copies of The Worker weekly for four months and distribute them? Try it.

(Continued on page 3)

IN MILWAUKEE.

Work of the Social Democratic Aldermen.

Fighting for Establishment of the Eight-Hour Rule for All Public Work—Other Measures That Old-Party Members Do Not Like.

MILWAUKEE, Wis., July 20.—The Social Democratic members of the Board of Aldermen, though a minority, keep the old-party members busy these days in their making a record that will probably result in the returning of a Socialist majority at the next city election.

Frederick Heath, who may be considered the leader of the Social Democratic delegation, introduced at a recent meeting an ordinance providing that eight hours shall be the legal maximum workday for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed by the city or by any contractor or subcontractor upon any public work for the city; that not less than the prevailing rate of wages shall be paid; that it shall be unlawful for any city officer or contractor to require or permit workmen to work more than eight hours in any one day, except in cases of extraordinary emergency; that any officer or contractor violating this provision shall be subject to a fine of from \$10 to \$50 and imprisonment for not more than thirty days for every such violation; that the Board of Public Works shall be required to incorporate these provisions in every contract for public work; and that any contractor violating provisions of this ordinance shall forfeit all rights under his contract.

Of course, the Republicans and Democrats in the Board will unite to kill this ordinance. But, "there'll come a time." And when the time comes, with a Socialist majority, the contract system itself will be wiped out and all work will be done by direct employment under the best possible conditions for the workers.

Alderman Heath is also making a fight to see that, if any trolley franchises are granted, it shall be under such conditions as will give the city power to control the company, to compel it to give good service and to make it pay for the value of the franchises.

Another Social Democrat, Alderman Melms, is making a hot fight against the Ice Trust and for a municipal ice plant.

The Socialists in the Board are also interesting themselves in the question of providing sufficient public baths and keeping them in sanitary condition—a thing which the infamous had housing of the working class, for the profit of the landlords, renders very necessary.

CHILD-LABOR AND TRAMPS.

We have a municipal lodging-house in Chicago largely filled with tramps. In addition to housing them, an intelligent effort is made to get them into regular industry. A physician in attendance makes a careful examination of each man who comes to the lodging-house, and if he is found to be what connection could be genuinely established between premature labor and worn-out men. It is surprising to find how many of them are tired to death of monotonous labor and begin to tramp in order to get away from it, as a business man goes to the woods because he is worn out with the stress of business life. This inordinate desire to get away from work seems to be connected with the fact that the men have started to work very early, before they had the physique to stand up to it, or the mental vigor with which to overcome its difficulties, or the moral stamina which makes a man stick to his work whether he likes it or not. But we cannot demand any of these things from a growing boy, and a man who has been a tramp for years is naturally restless, his determination easily breaks down, and he runs away. At least this seems to be true of many of the men who come to the lodging-house. I recall a man who had begun to work in a textile mill quite below the present legal age in New England, and who had worked hard for sixteen years. He told his tale with all simplicity, as he has been a cotton wither, and he said: "I don't know for sixteen years." I gave the words as he gave them. "At last I was sick in bed for two or three days with a fever, and when I crawled out, I made up my mind that I would rather go to hell than go back to that mill." Whether he considered Chicago an equivalent for that I do not know, but he certainly tramped for four years. He does not steal. He works in the summer and wanders about the rest of the year, getting something to do when he can; but the suggestion of a factory throws him into a panic and quickly causes him to disappear from the lodging-house. The physician has made a diagnosis of general debility. The man is not fit for steady work. He has been whipped in the battle of life, and is spent prematurely because he began prematurely.

What does this mean? That the young cannot stand up to the grind of factory life; that they break down under it and that we have no right to increase the list of paupers of those who must be cared for by the municipal and state agencies because when they are still immature and undeveloped they are subjected to a tremendous pressure.—Jane Addams, in *Charities*.

OLD MEN NOT WANTED.

No man over thirty-five years old applying for work on the Delaware & Hudson Railway will be accepted in the future. This is the gist of a clause of the new rules just issued by the company and distributed among the employees.

Steadily, as capitalism becomes better organized and, as accordingly, the demand for labor becomes subject to regulation from above, it becomes harder and harder for any but the young and most vigorous of the working class to get permission to earn their living. Men over thirty-five are less adaptable than younger men. Out with them, says capitalism. Let them beg or starve or commit suicide. We have no use for them.

To advise them and industry and sobriety to workmen as a means to independence, in the face of such a prospect as this, is the bitterest mockery.

W. F. OF M. HEADQUARTERS.

The headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners have been removed, and in future all contributions should be sent to W. D. Haywood, Secretary-Treasurer, Union 3, Pioneer building, Denver, Colo.

MAY JOIN A. L. U.

A referendum vote has been ordered among the members of the Box Makers' and Sawyers' Union on the question of affiliation with the American Labor Union. There are 38,590 members in good standing in the union.

—Your local or branch is holding weekly public meetings, isn't it? Why not spend \$250 and get twenty-five copies of The Worker weekly for four months and distribute them? Try it.

THE RIGHT RING.

Wisconsin Workingmen Make Manly Declaration.

State Federation of Labor Points Out Danger to Civil and Political Liberties and Urges Action While It Is Yet Time.

GREEN BAY, Wis., July 24.—The following ringing resolutions were adopted by the state convention of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor held here this week:

"Whereas, The encroachment of corporate capital is threatening the life and liberty of this republic, as shown in Colorado and elsewhere, by suspension of the right of habeas corpus, the denial of free speech, and by a subsidized press misinforming the public, and

"Whereas, The Eight-Hour Law and the discrimination of government by injunction have been denied by Congress, and the recent national convention of the Republican and Democratic parties have shown that both of them are dominated absolutely by trusts and organized capital; and

"Whereas, The civil liberties of the masses are in danger, since disfranchisement of the white and black workingmen alike is being adopted by state legislation under the disguise of inability to read and write, or by the demands of property qualifications for voting; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we demand that union men of this country do their duty by themselves and the producing class to save 'The People's' representative government, and to secure the full protection of labor for the workers; and furthermore, be it

"Resolved, That we call on the workmen, including farmers and the masses in general, to assist us in this by studying the principles of Social Democracy, and by voting for the only party pledged to the emancipation of labor."

UNIONISM IN GERMANY.

Rapid and Continuous Increase in Number of Organized Workers—Remedial Legislation Forced by Socialists Helps to Promote It.

During the last year German trade unionism has had an almost phenomenal growth. The membership of the so-called liberal trade unions, which are permeated with Socialist ideas, as distinguished from the Hirsch-Duncker and "Christian" trade unions, has increased from 352,000 to 445,000. This is the largest addition they have received during any year, and as their numbers are constantly growing it is very probable that the million mark has already been reached.

"Vorwärts" predicts that the development in this respect will be very rapid for some time to come. As the industrial and economical conditions are somewhat improving after the depression, the demand for labor in general and skilled labor in particular will be more and more felt, while the new law in regard to child employment, a concession wrung from the government and the dominant parties by the influence of the Socialist vote, will take away a great deal of cheap labor from German industries, which the employers are also alarmed at.

The employers, on the other hand, are strengthening their organizations and otherwise preparing themselves for the conflicts which are looked upon as unpreventable. But as German employers have been accustomed to proceed with much reckless disregard against the workmen, many skilled laborers who were formerly indifferent to unionism have been forced to join existing unions in their own defense.

A GOOD TIME FOR ALL.

On Saturday and Sunday, Aug. 6 and 7, beginning at 2 p. m. the first day and 10 a. m. the second, there will be held at the Soldiers' and Sailors' Westchester Park for the benefit of the fund for the labor headquarters to be established in Eighty-fourth street.

The "Socialist Band, the Carpenters' Band, and the Letter Carriers' Band will play; the Music Section of the W. E. A. will give a siltier concert; and half-a-dozen workmen's singing societies will add to the entertainment. There will be a gymnastic exhibition by pupils of the German Free Schools, and a wrestling match that will be worth seeing. Then there will be prize bowling and other games for young and old, and dancing, of course.

Tickets bought in advance cost 10 cents. Admission at the gate will be 15 cents.

To reach the park, take the West Farms car at One Hundred and Twenty-ninth street and Third avenue or take the Elevated to One Hundred and Seventy-seventh street and then the trolley.

LIBERTY CALLS FOR NEW LIBERTY.

The remedy for the shortage of democracy is democracy. Liberty needs new liberties more than new markets. Government of the people by the people and for the people is only half the truth. The other half is industry of, by, and for the people. This means industrial democracy or Socialism.—Henry D. Lloyd.

RECORD-MAKING INJUNCTIONS.

Chicago and West Virginia Judges to the Front.

Strikers and Sympathizers Forbidden to Speak to Other Workmen Without Consent—Another Judge Simply Says, "You Shall Not Organize."

CHICAGO, July 21.—What is said to be the most stringent labor injunction ever issued by the Cook County Superior Court has been granted by Judge Haney. It was given in behalf of twenty firms in the Chicago Metal Trades Association, restraining members of District Lodge No. 3, International Association of Machinists, from picketing the plants. The injunction also forbids strikers and their sympathizers from even talking to workmen without the consent of those employers.—New York Evening Post.

In Davis' Realm.

Some of the capitalist papers report—and some fail to report, so that we cannot vouch for the accuracy of the statement—that the Supreme Court of West Virginia has issued an injunction which in its despotic sweep surpasses even that given by Judge Haney of Chicago in the "injunction strike." Forbidding the United Mine Workers of America to organize the mine employees in West Virginia.

The truth of the report is not at all improbable.

The "Citizens' Citizen" remarks: "The Supreme Court of West Virginia is the tool of the mine owners, just as the lower courts are."

A Bi-Partisan Combine.

"Davis, the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate, and his Republican relative and business associate, Senator Stephen B. Elkins, control the two old political machines of that state, and they use them to protect their business interests."

"They are the leading mine owners and for years have fought every attempt to organize the workers, and their hirelings have committed nearly every crime in the calendar to keep the mines non-union and the laborers in a state of slavery worse than existed half a century ago."

"Having been made multi-millionaires by the sweat and toil of others these two autocrats have nothing to fear."

The law-making and law-interpreting bodies of West Virginia are completely under their domination, and now they are ambitious to acquire greater power nationally and they will spend millions to win."

"How any self-respecting workman can vote for such men is past understanding."

VETOED, OF COURSE.

Republican Governor of Massachusetts Kills Bill to Prohibit Night-Work for Women and Children While Men Are Begging for Employment.

Governor Bates of Massachusetts has distinguished himself by vetoing the only labor bill passed by the Legislature of that state this year. It was a bill to prohibit the employment of women and children in shops and factories during the hours of 6 p. m. and 2 a. m. In view of the fact that there are tens of thousands of men out of work in Massachusetts and that child and female labor is growing to an extent that is rapidly destroying home life for the working class, such a measure might have been expected to have some chance. But the Republican Governor took his cue, as usual, from the Artwork Club, the association of textile-mill owners and managers, whose only interest is to get cheap labor at any cost to humanity. So women will go on, driven by poverty, working at night in the mills, while husbands and fathers walk the streets and tramp the country roads, begging in vain for permission to earn an honest living.

WHERE THE SOUL IS DOWN AND OUT.

Ellis Wheeler Wilcox discourses fluently in the New York "Journal" in his usual cheerful vein, under the headline, "We Make Our Own Lives." "Health, Wealth, Success Lie in Our Own Souls."

If Mrs. Wilcox lived in Colorado under the present Republican administration she might find that her soul had not so much to do with her health, wealth and success as her environment; or perhaps her soul is such a well ordered soul that it could fall into line with the present "law and order" line, and furnish copy that would not arouse the wrath of our literary adjutant general; otherwise it might be that she would come under the edict of banishment which General Bell has promised to all people "who live by their mouth." Which would you prefer, Ella, to burrah for the Citizens' Alliance or to sit tight and hold your jaw?—Denver Clarion-Advocate.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AS AN EDUCATIONAL FORCE.

To-day the Socialist organizations which devote themselves to the elevation of the masses, to the spreading of moral and political enlightenment, to the cultivation of science, literature, music, and other forms of intellectual refinement, are legion. To-day it is a principle adopted by the rank and file, as well as by the leaders of the party, that the only way to combat successfully the ruling system of militarism and officialism is the peaceful revolutionizing of minds.—Kuno Franke, in "Modern German Culture."

"Poverty is hell, but it isn't the kind the preachers preach against."

PRECEDENT FOLLOWED.

Colorado Capitalist Methods Extended.

Letter of Illinois Orders All Union Men Out of "His" Town—Shotgun Rule in Florida.

Illinois miners are forced to face a grave condition and Colorado scenes may be re-enacted there. J. Leiter, the speculator and stock gambler, issued an ultimatum ordering all members of the United Mine Workers of America to leave the town of Zeigler, Ill., which is a new mining town of more than a thousand inhabitants, and has three hundred houses, a postoffice, bank, department store, water works and electric lights. Leiter owns the town and everything in it.

Stockades and Rifles.

Leiter has refused to pay the union mining scale agreed to by other coal operators in the district, and has offered the miners 17 cents per ton less than the scale and demanded that they work ten hours per day. The miners walked out, and say that no union miner will accept the conditions offered, and that they will use all peaceful methods to keep non-union men from working. Thereupon Leiter brought seventy-five Chicago policemen and detectives to Zeigler, built a stockade and made other preparations to fight the union men who are camped opposite the town. The unionists fear that if Leiter succeeds in his schemes other operators will follow his lead and the struggle will spread all over the state. There is a growing impression that Leiter is being secretly supported by certain Illinois operators. Every mine in the state is union and some of the operators are anxious to smash the organization.

In Florida, Too.

Colorado methods are also creeping into Florida. A dispatch from Pensacola says the citizens of Milton "have determined that there shall be no more labor bossism in their midst and have followed up this determination effectively. An agitator has small chances of getting out of the county alive, in case he has the bravery to try and stay over night in the settlement. This has been demonstrated on more than one occasion, and but a short time ago, when an agitator named Henderson sought to organize the workmen of that county, he was called to the front door and his body filled with buckshot. The ignorant explained that 'death was from unknown hands,' but the prevailing impression in the town was that Henderson had stayed in the town one hour too long." It looks as though there are stormy times ahead.

STRIKE BREAKERS JOIN STRIKERS.

Even Unorganized Italian Laborers, When They Understand the Situation, Manfully Refuse to Scab.

CARBONDALE, Ill., July 25.—More than 100 non-union men have turned back from Zeigler, the town owned by Joseph Leiter. A large party had been shipped, but when conditions were explained to them, all came back to the city, and were later sent to St. Louis by the Miners' Union. Italian workmen cannot be induced to enter the place.

Guards patrol every approach to the city. A searchlight is being installed on the mine tippie 100 feet high, which will cover the entire twelve square miles of land owned by Leiter.

The United States postoffice and the Illinois Central Railroad station have been moved outside the dead line.

A stockade twelve feet high and constructed of two-inch plank, will be added to the stockade.

WILL ROOSEVELT ACT NOW?

It is now certainly up to President Roosevelt to act or to show cause for not acting. All through the strike the active union men have had difficulty in getting their mail. At last they have got evidence incriminating two United States postmasters and have demanded action from Washington, as shown in the following dispatch:

DENVER, July 24.—Secretary Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners has forwarded a telegram to President Roosevelt saying that Postmaster F. M. Beardon of Victor is one of the members of the committee which he says is responsible for deporting miners from the Cripple Creek district, and asking that steps be taken to prevent Federal office holders from taking part in such demonstrations. The telegram reads:

"General F. M. Beardon, postmaster at Victor, is one of the committee responsible for deporting members of the Federation and other residents of the Cripple Creek district. Can you not prevent Federal officers from committing such crimes?"

Complaints have also been made to the President against Postmaster Beardon of Cripple Creek, alleging that they have permitted mail sent to union sympathizers to be opened and mutilated.—New York Times.

Appeal to the Red Cross.

One more feature has come to light showing that a state of war exists—want and unprovoked war, in which the stronger side does not even observe the rule of war that non-combatants, such as women and children, should be relieved from suffering as far as possible. Here it is:

DENVER, Colo., July 19.—The ways and means committee of the Western Federation of Miners has appealed to the Red Cross Society to take charge

WE NEED NOT FEAR FREEDOM.

I do not know what woman will do when she is free. I am willing to trust her. I do not even know what man will do when he is free. But what I do know is that all outworn institutions of human tyranny that fear the free man are the same ones that doubly fear the free woman; and every weapon which revolutionary logic can give me for my own salvation, I will give to place in my sister's hand for her salvation, too.—Franklin H. Westcott.

WORSER THAN STATE OF WAR.

More News of Capitalist Despotism and Anarchy in Colorado.

Military Authorities Help to Establish State Blacklist—Forty Miners Arrested for Refusing Mine Owners' Association Cards—Union Has to Appeal to Red Cross.

The military authorities in Colorado, under the direction of Republican Governor Peabody, have established "a state blacklist" against the Western Federation of Miners.

It will be remembered that these were the words that Democratic Governor Steiensen of Idaho used a large oval four years ago, in denouncing the similar measures which he had taken there—"We have established a state blacklist against the Miners' Union."

The rule is being established that NO MAN SHALL BE ALLOWED TO WORK IN ANY MINE UNLESS HE HAS A CARD FROM THE MINE OWNERS' ASSOCIATION CERTIFYING THAT HE IS NOT A UNION MAN.

We present the news verbatim as given by the Associated Press:

Forty Miners Arrested.

VICTOR, Colo., July 21.—The military authorities are making many arrests at the Portland mine. Regarding the reason for the arrests, Judge McGarry, chairman of the military commission, gave the following statement:

"It has been ascertained that about one hundred men working in the Portland mine are in the interests of the Western Federation of Miners, and leaders among the men have organized a walkout in a body for the purpose of embarrassing the operations. The management learned of this in time to secure men to fill their places. The names of all the members of this conspiracy were obtained by the military authorities and they are making arrests. The places of the men will be filled promptly, as the management has been preparing for this for several days. These men obtained employment in the mine by deceit and false representations, and were old employees. Their names were secured by detectives working in the mine."

A detail is patrolling Cripple Creek in order to pick up the men wanted, who may be misled by the authorities at Victor.—New York Evening Post.

A State Blacklist.

DENVER, Colo., July 21.—The Portland mine is closed again in consequence of the action of the military authorities. The mine was giving employment to about 600 men. Squads of soldiers have arrested forty of these, including the entire mechanical force at the three working shafts. This comprised engineers, firemen, master mechanics, and skilled men in other departments.

The men thus summarily removed from their labor are ACCUSED OF NO CRIME, the only accusation being that they REFUSED TO SURRENDER THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS AND TAKE OUT MINE OWNERS' ASSOCIATION WORKING CARDS.

Six of the forty men arrested were declared to be "all right" by the military board and were released. Twelve others were released on their own recognizance. Each of the remaining twenty-two, when questioned, admitted that he had intended to quit work on the Portland, but denied knowledge of the others' plans.

It is alleged that the union men were to walk out in a body. There are said to be about 600 men on the mine. The Portland payroll who have not taken out Mine Owners' Association cards, and THIRY WILL NOW BE REQUIRED TO TAKE OUT SUCH CARDS OR LEAVE THE DISTRICT.—New York Times.

Nothing Can Stop Revolution.

I stood some years ago near an avalanche in the Alps which could not be stopped by an injunction. I fled from a blizzard in North Dakota which could not be thwarted by any court. I felt the rumble of an earthquake in Sicily which could not be quelled by an edict in all the Churches of Europe. I saw the floods of the Niagara which mock the army, even the militia. Against the sweep of the comet what could Cleveland do, though he was a Pope and sent a bull after it? Let us disapprove of all these forces of nature, but what is your lack? It makes no difference whether or not you favor an earthquake. Let the court enjoin it. Let the squabblers of the anti-slavery hold up their guns and fire. Let the Cripple Creek go on the earthquake while the Hebrew slaves march out of Egypt and the Turkish sultan in the Red Sea. Crack! It goes again and the agrarians of Rome seize their short swords. Crack! and the serfs of Germany and Hungary carry everything before them. Crack! once more and the forces of the French Revolution give death to monarchs. Crack! and the floods of the Nile burst their banks. Crack! and the Washington confronts George III. Crack! again! And old Abe rides the earthquake, till chatted labor falls, buttressed by Supreme Court and church and editors and capital and Congress and poor old Huchanan. Crack! again! And Garibaldi is in his red shirt! Crack! goes the earthquake now and then again, and again, the wise world it. It is coming! Crack twice in our own country within little more than a century and God help us to hear it again. The sovereignty of anials must be overthrown.—John Swinton.

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I do not know what woman will do when she is free. I am willing to trust her. I do not even know what man will do when he is free. But what I do know is that all outworn institutions of human tyranny that fear the free man are the same ones that doubly fear the free woman; and every weapon which revolutionary logic can give me for my own salvation, I will give to place in my sister's hand for her salvation, too.—Franklin H. Westcott.

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TO SUBSCRIBERS.

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The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed.
No bills or receipts sent to individual subscribers.

The Worker

NEW YORK, AUGUST 7, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

DO YOU LIKE GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION?

If You Object to It, You Should Read What Candidate Theodore Roosevelt Has to Say About You.

Hundreds of thousands of workingmen in the United States within the last year, not to go farther back, have been moved to protest against the flagrant injustice of what is called "government by injunction"—the use of the injunction on behalf of employers in labor disputes for the purpose of penalizing otherwise lawful acts on the workers' side and of depriving accused workmen of the right of trial by jury.

These men will be invited this year to put Theodore Roosevelt into the Presidential office for another four years. Let them read what President Roosevelt has said of them. In his book on "American Ideals" (Putnam's edition, 1897, p. 204), he says:

"Men who object to what they style 'government by injunction' are, as regards the essential principles of government, in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors, who lived in caves, fought one another with stone-headed axes, and ate the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros."

"They are dangerous whenever there is the least danger of their making the principles of this ages-old past living factors in our present life. They are not in sympathy with men of good minds and good civic morality."

This is President Roosevelt—the President Roosevelt who took Attorney Knox from the Steel Trust's office and put him in the Cabinet to make a pretense of "curbing" the trusts;

The President Roosevelt who took Judge Taft, on account of his record of decisions against Labor and made him, first Governor in the Philippines and then a member of the Cabinet;

The same President Roosevelt who took Paul Morton (Morton of the C. B. & Q., the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., and the Santa Fe), one of the worst union-busters in the country, through

his whole career, and put him too in the Cabinet;

The same President Roosevelt who, after talking bravely of "civic morality," has upheld Platt, endorsed Quay, and made a pact with the unspeakable Addicks.

This is the candidate the Republican party offers us, as against Belmont's Parker, one of the destroyers of the Eight-Hour Law and accepted as satisfactory by the "honest men of Wall Street."

Can you make a choice between them, you workingmen?

You don't have to choose between them.

Against both of them is a workingman, a workman's candidate, a man who does not believe in government by injunction (he has suffered under it), but who does believe in honesty and has given his life to honest advocacy of the cause of his class—Eugene V. Debs, candidate of the Socialist Party.

THE PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT.

A Plain and Frank Tale to Readers and Friends of The Worker in Regard to Its Present Situation, Its Needs and Its Prospects.

The Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, publishers of The Worker, have decided that the time has come to make a full public statement of the financial standing of the paper, so that its readers may know its burdens, may estimate its prospects and its needs, and may act accordingly.

First a word as to the Association itself. The S. C. P. A. is a body of German-speaking party members, mostly workmen, originally organized for the purpose of publishing the German Socialist daily, the "New Yorker Volkszeitung." It is incorporated under the co-operative societies laws of the state of New York. Under its charter and by-laws each member has but one vote, no matter how much stock he may hold, and no profits that may be made cannot be divided among the members, but must be devoted to the propaganda of Socialism.

Thirteen years ago, in the infancy of the movement among the English-speaking people, this Association assumed the additional duty of publishing an English weekly, then called "The People." This enterprise it has carried on through many crises and vicissitudes. In April, 1901, the name of the paper was changed to The Worker, as it now remains.

Those who are familiar with party history for a number of years will readily believe that this paper has not been maintained without heavy sacrifices. Even now, with our 23,000 party members and over 230,000 voters, all of our weekly papers, with possibly one exception, are run at a deficit, week after week and year after year.

So far as The Worker is concerned, this deficit has been borne chiefly by the R. C. P. A. and the German comrades of New York and vicinity. We do not complain of this, nor least of the comrades have simply done their duty in helping to bring the message of Socialism to the American working people. They have done it willingly. They ask no praise. They rejoice in the work that has been done and will go on working for the cause to the best of their ability.

But now that the idea of Socialism has penetrated to every part of the land, now that the American comrades have become the majority in the party, we deem it proper that a statement of the affairs of this English Socialist paper be laid before them.

The Worker has gained in circulation slowly but, on the whole, steadily. It might by this time have been made a self-supporting enterprise, if it had been run on the "business" principle. It was not.

Six years ago, the subscription price was cut from \$1 to 50 cents, in order to make the paper more accessible to the masses. A year and a half later, the size of the paper was increased 50 per cent, to meet the demand for more party news, domestic and foreign. Then an assistant editor was engaged in order to improve the quality of the paper proportionately with its size. These improvements have been appreciated, but the comrades have probably not realized their cost.

Figures That Speak.

We therefore present this statement of the paper's financial condition for the year ending July 1, 1904:

Editorial salaries and expenses	\$30.00
Business office salaries and expenses	30.00
Composition	25.00
Commission on adv., electric light and power, gas, agitation, sundries	7.50
Paper	25.00
Expediting, postage, and mail	27.50
Discount to subscribers and dealers	2.13
Total	\$167.13
Average total weekly expense	\$125.44
Subscriptions and adv.	\$90.00
Advertising and sundries	15.00
Total	\$105.00
Average total weekly income	\$81.25
Average weekly deficit	\$44.19

The income from subscriptions and sales indicates an average paid circulation of something less than 12,000 a week. The actual circulation including exchange lists, agents' lists, and samples, was considerably larger.

What Can Be Done.

These figures will bear a little further analysis. The first four items under expenses, aggregating \$100.43, are what is called "operating expenses." If the circulation should be reduced by half, they would not decrease much; if the circulation should be doubled, they would not increase much.

The last three items of expense, aggregating \$66.70, are so-called "fixed charges," which rise or fall practically in proportion as circulation grows or less.

Again, in regard to income, a paper like The Worker must depend upon circulation, not upon advertising, to meet its expenses.

Now, what does this mean? IT MEANS THAT IF WE CAN DOUBLE THE PAID CIRCULATION OF THE WORKER, IT WILL BE PUT ON A SELF-SUPPORTING BASIS.

The weekly expense would then be, approximately, twice \$125.44 plus \$100.43, or \$251.31.

The weekly income would be, approximately, twice \$90.00 plus \$15.00, or \$215.00.

We believe that THIS CAN BE DONE.

What We Ask of You.

What we ask of our readers, then, is not donations or other makeshift help. We want ALL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND ALL INDIVIDUAL READERS WHO VALUE THE EXPERIENCE OF THE WORKER—ESPECIALLY IN NEW YORK AND THE NEIGHBORING STATES—TO MAKE IT MORE USEFUL TO THE PARTY. IF IT REACHES 25,000 PEOPLE WEEKLY, IT WILL DO TWICE AS MUCH FOR THE CAUSE AS IT NOW DOES.

This is what justifies us, readers, in presenting the facts and asking YOU to help, because you are interested in the results of its work.

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The experience of several districts in this city and several local elsewhere shows that it is easy to sell from 20 to 100 or more copies at every street or hall meeting. A hundred copies at the office will cost you only 50 cents by mail, 75 cents. If you sell half of them, you cover the cost.

But even more important than this is the work of getting INDIVIDUAL SUBSCRIBERS. We have to depend on our readers to act as solicitors, because this is a propaganda paper, not a business enterprise. We believe every reader can get at least one new subscription a month, if he realizes the necessity and makes an effort. Some do far more than that.

The subscription price is 50 cents a year and 25 cents for six months. Our paid-back cards are sold, in quantities of 25, with the help of other comrades, at 40 cents and 20 cents respectively. Every local or district should choose an agent and start him off with a stock of say five yearlies and five half-yearlies (costing \$3), and it should be considered his special duty to push the circulation—to get the party members to subscribe, to take subscriptions at public meetings, and also, personally, with the help of other comrades, to canvass the district from house to house or from shop to shop, as thoroughly as possible.

We intend, from week to week, to make a report (much briefer than this) in these columns, in regard to the circulation of The Worker, showing how many old subscriptions have expired and how many new ones have been acquired. Every three months we shall publish the quarterly financial report. In this way the comrades will be informed of the results of their work and of ours, and can guide themselves accordingly.

Comrades, we have laid the matter before you. It is up to you. What will you do?

SPECIAL FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

From now till Election Day you can get The Worker for sale or distribution at meetings, in bundles of 100 or more, at the rate of 50 CENTS A HUNDRED.

Several districts that have tried it find it easy to sell from 20 to 60 copies of The Worker at every public meeting.

Especially in New York City and State The Worker should be distributed, because it bears the official name and emblem of the Socialist Democratic Party and publishes every week the names of our state candidates and news of the movement in the state. It is necessary that the people be given this information, in order to prevent new Socialist votes from going to the wrong party through mistake.

COTTON-MILL STRIKE IN MEXICO.

A combine of all cotton-goods manufacturers in Mexico is in process of formation. Most of the cotton-mill companies, as well as other big corporations, in that country are partly controlled by American capitalists.

AN INTERNATIONAL TRUST.

A dispatch from Berlin announces that a trust is being formed which will include all the great tool-making manufacturers of Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, and the United States. The capitalists think it very unprofitable for workmen of different countries to regard each other as brothers; but themselves are quite ready to forget national differences in combining for profit.

DIAMOND WORKERS MAKE A GAIN.

The American diamond cutters got an advance of from 20 to 25 per cent. in wages last week. This is a result of the success of the recent strike of the diamond workers in Holland and Belgium, the chief center of the industry. This is an example of international solidarity—of how, spite of national frontiers, patriotic sentiment, protective tariffs, or anything else, the interests of workmen in all lands are linked together and the gain or loss of one portion of the working class is the gain or loss of all.

AGAINST PEABODY.

Colorado Socialists Nominates a Deputee.

A. H. Fenton, When the Citizens' Alliance Mob Drove Out of Telluride, Needs Our Ticket—Platform Offers Only Cure for Present Evil.

DENVER, Colo.—The following is the platform of principles and demands adopted by the state convention of the Socialist Party of Colorado:

The private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth is the cause of the class struggle in society, and it affords the opportunity for parasitic appropriation of the products of labor, thus dividing society into two hostile classes—the capitalist, or non-producing class, and the wage-working and consuming class.

Recognizing in the wrong economic organization of society the fundamental cause of the existing warfare in state and nation, we proclaim it the purpose of the Socialist Party of Colorado to use the political power of government to overthrow the existing capitalist system of competition and wage-slavery and establish in its stead the Co-operative Commonwealth—that is, the social ownership of the means of production and distribution.

We declare for the collective ownership of the mines and mills, the land and capital, the machinery of manufacture and distribution of wealth. We propose to establish the social ownership of the social product in order that the individual may have free opportunity to labor and the full product of his toil.

We propose to reduce the hours of labor to the level of industrial production and distribution, necessary by the product of the entire collectivity.

A means of immediate relief, we demand: The exclusion of women from injurious employment and the abolition of child labor.

The freedom from toil of all workers after a certain age-limit and ample provision for all such, and for the sick and helpless.

Equal opportunities for all children, free books and free meals.

The establishment of free hospitals, libraries, gymnasiums and places of amusement.

The abolition of all penal institutions, except places of detention and of scientific treatment and supervision; the abolition of capital punishment.

The abolition of military training in public institutions of learning and the teaching of the doctrine of fraternity and human brotherhood in its stead.

A. H. Fenton of Telluride was nominated for Governor. Although himself a business man, Comrade Fenton is a hearty sympathizer with and a holder of the labor movement. Because of his giving aid and countenance to the miners' organization he was deported from his home some four months ago by a Citizens' Alliance mob. He has for some time been the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the National Committee of the Socialist Party for Colorado and is a delegate to the national convention.

The other candidates are: For Lieutenant-Governor, William Ash, Delta; for Secretary of State, W. E. Marsh, Silverton; for Treasurer, Comrade Darow, Colorado Springs; for Auditor, Frank Kuntz, Aspen; for Attorney-General, Channing Sweet, Denver; for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Luella Twining, Denver; for Congressman-at-Large, Forrest Woodside, Falcon; Presidential Electors, John E. Spiers, Wray; William Shandager, Colorado Springs; H. A. Maynard, Denver; John Slater, Salida; Hans Hansen, Dejepto.

CHARITIES BUREAU HELPS MEAT TRUST.

Chicago Poor Authorities Turn Strikers and Their Families from the Door—Why Now and Why Not Before.

CHICAGO, July 30.—The Bureau of Charities has resolved not to give any help to the people who have been thrown out of work and reduced to want through the meat workers' strike. In every case, where a striker or his family have applied for aid, they have been refused and told to go to President Donnelly of the Butcher Workmen's Union.

It is a notorious fact that in times of "industrial peace" and "prosperity," all through the recent years, the wages of stockyard and packing-house employees have been so low and their chances of work so uncertain, that more than one-fifth of the inhabitants of "Packingtown" were forced to ask for charity every year.

So long as it would help to make them submissive, barely to hold body and soul together and keep them making profits for the Trust, this aid was doled out. Now, as soon as they revolt and attempt to establish their right to a little more decent conditions, the respectable charity-mongers shut the door against them.

DID BELMONT SEND ONE LIKE THIS?

"I can remember," said Senator Sorghum, "when I sent the telegram that practically denied my political future." "Indeed," was it addressed to a convention? "No. To a man who was seeking out a campaign fund. It read: 'Turns accepted. Draw on me at sight.'—Washington Star.

The cause of tyrants is one the worst of all, and the cause of resistance to tyranny is one also.—Wendell Phillips.

Let us always rejoice when the tyranny of our opponents leads them to the cause of the slave with the cause of free speech.—Wendell Phillips.

Let us be just to Russell Sage. He doesn't charge his clients for the air they breathe while in his office, although he must fully realize that the air, being found on his premises, belongs to him.—Hitchcock.

AN ATTEMPT TO WHITEWASH PARKER.

A reader sends us a clipping from an out-of-town paper, purporting to be a dispatch from New York, and headed "Parker Saved the Eight-Hour Labor Bill."

The article explains that "Parker is acceptable to both Labor and Capital in his own state" and contains the following paragraph:

Labor loves Judge Parker because he saved the Eight-Hour Law. The Legislature passed an eight-hour bill, its constitutionality was attacked. The Supreme Court declared the law invalid. Labor appealed to the Court of Appeals, and Judge Parker, in an able opinion, declared the statute valid and binding.

This is an absolute falsehood. The facts are as follows:

A contractor on public work in Orange County violated the law.

Action was brought against him.

The court of first instance upheld the defendant (the contractor) on the ground that the law was unconstitutional.

On appeal, the Appellate Division reversed this decision and upheld the law.

The case was then carried to the highest court in the state, the Court of Appeals, of which Alton B. Parker was and is a judge.

IT IS TOO LATE, MR. BRYAN.

By E. S. Egerton.

Though you intend supporting Judge Parker, you claim you "will organize the radical Democrats immediately after election."

It is too late, Mr. Bryan. Your devotion to regularly killed radical Democracy, drove thousands of your followers into the Socialist Party, and it is meet that the whys and wherefores of your intentions be now called to your attention. A concise relation of the experience of the New York radicals will suffice for the purpose.

In 1897 your friends organized the Progressive Democratic League and established headquarters at the Hotel Marlborough. You stopped at the Marlborough in June of that year. Your devotees arranged for a reception in your honor, but to placate John C. Sheehan, the then leader of Tammany Hall, you would not even enter the rooms of the league. Mr. Bryan, you may have forgotten your words in reply to the invitation. They were: "I will not engage in factional fights."

Many of the Progressives remembered them, did a lot of hard thinking, and became Socialists.

In 1897, after the failure of the Progressive Democratic League, the radicals organized the Democratic Alliance, and nominated your staunch supporter, the late Henry George, for mayor. Your word of commendation was not forthcoming. Many more did a lot of hard thinking and became Socialists.

In 1898 the remaining radicals seeing the conservatives fast getting control of the party machinery, organized the Chicago Platform Democracy. They held a convention at Syracuse in opposition to the regulars, and nominated a full state ticket. Your silence was

On April 23, 1903, the Court of Appeals gave a UNANIMOUS decision, overruling the Appellate Division, reaffirming the ruling of the lower court, and holding that the law in question—the so-called eight-hour section of the Penal Code—was unconstitutional.

The decision was written by Judge Edgar M. Cullen, a Democrat. It was concurred in by Judge Alton B. Parker and two other Democrats and five Republicans.

Anyone who wishes to verify this may go to the files of the New York "Times" (April 20, 1903, p. 2, col. 5, and April 30, p. 8, cols. 2 and 3) or to other New York papers of corresponding dates and find that the decision was unanimous. He may then turn to the "New York Red Book" or any other authoritative book of reference for that year and find that the names of the justices are as we have given them. Or he may go to any law library and consult the record of decisions given by the New York Court of Appeals in 1903, and he will find that we have stated the facts correctly.

The Democratic press bureau would like to whitewash Judge Parker if it could, but it cannot do it in this case.

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BEN HANFORD ON THE ROAD.

Vice - Presidential Candidate at Work.

Opening of the Campaign in New Hampshire.—A Report of Hanford's Speech at Manchester.

MANCHESTER, N. H., July 27.—The Socialist campaign here was opened with a banner-raising and a speech by Ben Hanford, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party. Geo. A. Little made a brief address at the raising of the banner and invited the people to attend a meeting in the city hall, at which Sumner F. Clifton introduced Comrade Hanford. The Manchester "Times" summarizes a part of Hanford's speech as follows:

"It is my purpose to tell you what Socialism is. I will try to give you a definition of what we mean by Socialism. It means the collective or government ownership of the means of the production of wealth. This means, of course, the government ownership of mills, factories and shipyards. We do not, however, mean to propose the ownership of these means of producing wealth by a government of a few millionaires."

"We propose to establish a government of the common ordinary working people. There are men who believe this would be impossible. They think that the government is too dark and mysterious and occult a thing to be run by the workingman. Now, we do not think so. We know what government is. It is organization. You men who belong to a lodge or a church or a union know what organization is. Well, government is organization, just as these things are, with one difference. You have to belong to the government, but you need not belong to other forms of organizations unless you want to."

"If you cannot escape from this, you cannot unless you are very rich. Now, if this government for the rich is good for them, is it not true by this same token that a government by the workingman should be good for the workingman. The people of this country produce its wealth and if they can do that they can run its government. And what is more if they should try it and should do their worst it would be at least no worse than at present."

"People will say to this proposition, that this would create an army of government employees. They may that this would be most undesirable, but remember that when they ask you to vote the Republican or Democratic ticket they are asking you to give them a government job. They do not think it will hurt them to have it."

"Another thing which is said against Socialism is that it is an insurmountable obstacle to success. Who does the corruption in this government? Take the postoffice, for example. Is it the letter carrier or the mail clerk? The post-office pays the railways in some cases more than twenty times what it should for railway service. It is the railroads that have corrupted the postoffice. The postoffice does not corrupt the railroad, and under government ownership the railroad would not corrupt the postoffice. It is not in any case the laborer, but the owner who is the source of corruption."

"Suppose, for example, that our share in these free streets were negotiable, and that in times of trouble we sold them. What would be the result? Some one would gradually possess himself of them all. Then we would pay him for all our present free privileges. If this government can own satisfactorily the streets which do not produce revenue, why should it not own street railways and other things which do produce wealth. If, for example, I owned all the water privileges in this city I could soon have a drought. To all intents and purposes, I would own you. Now at present the trusts own you, because they own the necessities of life."

"The great question before you is this: Who owns your shop? Don't be led astray by anything else. You must live by your wages and you want to know who is going to own you. Don't be fooled by the tariff question. It is only a bait that is over a century old. It reminds me of a way I saw a man catch eels once. He baited his

THE TYRANNY OF "INJUNCTIONISM."

It Has Remained for This Sacred-Profits System to Set the Example of a Judge on the Bench Forbidding Lovers to Speak Under Penalty of "Contempt of Court."

We have often heard capitalists and their spokesmen tell how Socialism would interfere with personal liberty—how, under Socialism, you couldn't marry without asking the

The Worker.

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Entered as second-class matter at the
New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 4,
1890.

In the State of New York, on account of
certain provisions of the election law, the
Socialist Party is officially recognized under
the name of the Social Democratic Party, and
is entitled to the right of suffrage.

The Socialist Party for Social Democratic
Party in New York should not be confused
with the so-called Socialist Labor Party.
The latter is a small, rigid, unworkable
organization which utterly ignores the
trade unions and carries on an absolute cam-
paign of slander against the real Socialist
movement, which supports the trade unions.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.
The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic
Party of New York) passed through its
second general election. Its growing power
is indicated and its victory is
indicated by the following figures:
2010 (Independent) 7,730
2402 (State and Congressional) 229,770

THE EXECUTION OF VON
PIELKE.
If ever human people had reason
sufficiently to rejoice over the death of
any man, that man was the late
Minister of the Interior, Von
Pielke. In a singular degree he com-
bined the vices of a Judas and a Nero.
His whole career was stained with the
blood and blood of thousands of vic-
tims, from the benefactor and foster-
father whom he betrayed many years
ago down to the Jews of Kielceff,
the workmen of Baku, and the political
prisoners. The killing of Von Pielke
was not a murder; it was the execu-
tion of a monstrous criminal.

It was no accident that a man of so
thoroughly infamous character had
come to occupy so high a position in
the Russian government. That, of all
governments, being the most autocratic
and reactionary, must needs crimi-
nals as its administrators. It was
not Von Pielke that made the Tsar's
government atrocious; it was the at-
titude of Tsarism itself that gave Von
Pielke his opportunity. And it follows
from this that it is not to be expected
that his removal will essentially
change the character of Tsarism, any
more than the hanging of a common
murderer puts an end to murder.

The assassination will probably serve some-
what to restrain the government
through fear, for a time, and it will
certainly have the good effect of in-
creasing the forces of revolt—as was
immediately demonstrated by the ex-
ecution of Muraviev's carriage.

But our Russian friends do not expect
to regenerate Russia by assassina-
tion. They reserve that method for
the punishment of exceptional acci-
dents, but their policy of educating and
organizing the masses will be carried
on just the same. The reports of a

wide-spread plot against all the high
government officials, which some sen-
sationalists and perhaps some interest-
ed Russophiles have set afloat in the
British and American press, may be
set down as bogey-man stories of the
crudest sort.

One aspect of the matter for us
Americans is worth thinking of, and
thinking of with shame. Under the
extradition treaty with Russia made
by Cleveland's last administration, if
anyone connected with the plot against
Von Pielke's life were to escape to the
United States, this government would
be obliged to arrest him and turn him
over to the vengeance of the Autocrat.

No distinction is recognized in
this matter, between criminals and po-
litical offenders. Anyone who under
Russian law is liable to capital punish-
ment is, by this treaty, denied the
right of refuge in the United States;
and under Russian law, as cited before
the court at Kielceff last week, any-
one who does anything against the life
or health "or honor" of the Tsar is
liable to the death penalty. It is not
likely, indeed, that the government at
Washington would carry out the pro-
visions of this treaty in such a case
at the present time. Popular feeling
(and perhaps anti-Russian policy, too)
would probably influence the Adminis-
tration to find some pretext for violat-
ing the agreement. That is good, so
far as it goes. But nevertheless, it is
a disgrace to the United States that
such a treaty exists.

THE SLOCUM INDICTMENT.
We are surprised. Also we are
pleased—with some misgivings. The
men who were really guilty of the gi-
gantic Slocum murder have been in-
dicted.

Our surprise is due to the fact that
criminals of this sort—capitalist crim-
inals—are very seldom ever indicted.

The qualification of our pleasure in
the indictment is due to our doubt
whether it will ever go any farther
than an indictment.

We have seen a whole series of
crimes of this sort committed by cap-
italists, murders for profit—the Ford-
s Building collapse, the Ireland
Building collapse, the Windsor Hotel
fire, the Tarrant explosion, the New
York Central Tunnel collision, the
Newark grade-crossing disaster, the
Iroquois Theater fire, the Darlington
Hotel collapse. We have seen Repub-
lican, Democratic and Reform officers
of justice in power. And we have
never seen one of the capitalist crim-
inals—the men by whose orders and
for whose profit the necessary safe-
guards for human life were neg-
lected—ever imprisoned, to say noth-
ing of any heavier penalty. A few have
been indicted; and then the charges
have been belied, postponed, or the cases
indefinitely postponed. Eugene Ali-
son has been indicted; but Jerome and
McAdoo have made no effort to arrest
him.

If any of the Slocum murderers go to
prison we shall admit that there is
more decency in capitalism than we
have thought—not much, even then,
but more than we expected.

But we want to be "shown."

New York is so far not making a
good showing on the half-day's pay-
contributions for the campaign fund.
The Worker is interested in New
York's good name in party circles. Let
us not be humiliated. Greater New
York has fully thirteen hundred party
members. That ought to mean \$400
for the national office, as much for the
state office, and as much for the four
locals, on this contribution. Let the
New Yorkers not fall behind.

Our English comrade, J. R. Askew,
writing in "Justice," regrets that the
Democrats did not nominate Hearst
for President of the United States, be-
cause "had he been elected he would
have had to show his hand, and our
friends would have had a good oppor-
tunity for getting rid of a man who
for years has been able to impose on
the working class with a sham anti-
trust campaign." Never fear, Comrade
Askew. We have got rid of Hearst
and, we believe, of his kind. And,
though it may not yet be generally
recognized, it was the work of the So-
cialist Party that did it, by drawing
the lines clear. We have every reason
to be delighted with the present polit-
ical situation in this country.

"Cortelyou meets Perkins." So comes
the news. Who is Cortelyou? Chair-
man of the Republican National Com-
mittee. Who is Perkins? Partner of
J. Pierpont Morgan and chairman of
the finance committee of the United
States Steel Corporation. What do
you suppose they met for? To discuss
the weather?

NOTE, COMMENT, AND ANSWER.
We suppose that Comrade Purdy,
whose letter against the party's ex-
clusion of trade unionism we print
—for the sake of fair play and peace in
the family—elsewhere in this issue,
represents a certain element in the
ranks of our party. That this element
is small is shown by the fact that but
1,180 votes were cast on referendum
against the Chicago convention's trade-
union resolutions—it being remembered
that many (probably most) of these,
even, were based on quite another ob-
jection—on an idea that the resolutions
involved a tacit condemnation of the
A. L. U.

Comrade Purdy wishes to be held
wherein exists the connection between
Socialism and trade unionism. Well,

we are never tired of repeating. So-
cialism is, primarily, a political move-
ment of the working class—the politi-
cal revolt of the working class against
the rule of the capitalist class. Trade
unionism is an economic movement of
the working class—the economic revolt
of the working class against the rule
of the capitalist class. Their methods
are different. Their conscious ends are
so far different, that one devotes itself
chiefly to the daily struggle over ques-
tions of immediate relief, while the
other lays stress on ultimate and com-
plete emancipation.

This is an important difference, and
necessitates separate organization. But
it does not necessitate nor justify hos-
tility between the two movements. In
an army, the work of the sappers and
miners, the commissariat, the am-
bulance corps, and the reserves is differ-
ent from the work of the troops on the
front line. But he would be a very
poor tactician who, because all these
other are not advancing in the same
charge, should conclude that their
work is useless and should wish to cast
them off.

We have read Comrade Lalonde's
article in the "International" with
some surprise and a good deal of dis-
pleasure. It is so thoroughly ideologi-
cal, so utterly untrue to the materialis-
tic conception of history he professes,
that it is quite unnecessary to say so.
How it may be in New Zealand we do
not pretend to say; but in this country
it is absolutely not true that it is easier
to make converts to Socialism among
unorganized workmen than among
unionists. The splendid progress
which our party has made in the last
five years, since it repudiated the De-
Leonist position, is convincing evi-
dence, at least until better is forthcom-
ing, of the wisdom of our attitude of
fraternal sympathy with the unions.
If the unions did nothing else—and
they do much else, both in the ag-
gressive and in the defensive way—
but if they did nothing else, it would
be enough to justify their existence
that they have brought together al-
ready one-fifth of the population of the
country, taught them to feel and think
as workmen, taught them to hope
and wish for something better, trained
them in organized action and discipline
and so prepared them for the revolu-
tionary crisis that is approaching.

Do Comrades Lalonde and Purdy
really imagine that the organized cap-
italists are making a mistake when
they fight the unions? To our mind,
Lalonde's association alone is almost a
sufficient proof of the genuine value of
trade-union movement and an un-
intended endorsement of the well-
considered attitude of the Socialist Party
on this question.

In another column we note a corre-
spondence between the Toledo cor-
respondent and the National Socialist in re-
gard to the matter of vacations for
employees in the national office. The
occasion is perhaps fit for some re-
marks on the whole question of the
treatment of party employees.

There is a pretty general tendency
—often arising, indeed, from the best
of motives—to regard all party em-
ployees with suspicion, and contin-
ually to nag them and taunt them with
the fact that they are "living at the ex-
pense of the rank and file," until they
are worn out with worry and humili-
ation and either resign in disgust or
else, while sticking to the post of duty,
become really disqualified to do their
work well. Now we know that that
would be possible to go to the other
extreme—to give unthinking trust to
party secretaries and organizers and
agitators and so to spoil them by mak-
ing them irresponsible.

But it is necessary to go to either ex-
treme? Is it not possible for the party
to treat its hired servants with the
same consideration and yet exercise
the same surveillance over them that a
sensible business man practices with
his clerks and agents? It is a certain
fact that a man who acts on the as-
sumption that his employees are
shirkers and grafters generally suc-
ceeds in driving away the best of them
and making shirkers and grafters of
the rest. Even in ordinary capitalist
business, a certain degree of courtesy
and consideration in the treatment of
employees is found to be worth while.

Much more, we believe, is it worth
while in our party work.

While the matter falls into hammy,
pammy sentimentality. We agree with
Blanchard that "Socialism is not a
dream of a nation of stunted pig-
men who never 'dams.' " Even when
our work is done and Socialism estab-
lished, we do not expect to be always
falling on each other's necks and talk-
ing about sweet brotherhood. And we
quite well recognize that now we are
doing the reverse of the service that
the laboring man has rendered to us,
to some extent, he is guided by business
principles. But it is on this ground of
practical common sense, quite as much
as on the ground of Socialist comradeship
(which, after all, should not be for-
gotten), that we protest against this
tendency to worry and humiliate party
servants.

The party's employees are not "liv-
ing at the expense of the rank and file,"
any more than Mr. Morgan's em-
ployees are living at Mr. Morgan's ex-
pense. They are doing the party's work,
and getting paid for it. In general,
they are working harder and more ef-
ficiently than they would for any pri-
vate employer, because their hearts
are in their work; and, in general, they
could get better pay elsewhere than in
the party's service. There may be ex-
ceptions, but we do not know of any.

Some of the comrades employed in
the national office have had dealings
with pay, and this is objected to, be-
cause there is no party law expressly
allowing it. For our part, we would
think it wise (if necessary) to make a
party law requiring them to take vaca-
tions, because it would enable them to
do better work.

Has anyone observed that the work
of the national office is neglected? If
so, let him complain of it. But we
have heard no such complaint. We
know that the comrades there have
not gone about their work as a wage-
worker yet rightly does in private
employ—doing the required task for
the stipulated wage and no more. They
work evenings and Sundays when it
seems necessary—and that is not
very much all the time. We do not
suppose that there is a man in the
United States who works more compe-
tently than our National Secretary; we
do not know of any that works
more efficiently; and so far as we
know, the more is true of his assist-
ants in their somewhat less arduous
and responsible places. The results of

the work of that office in the last year
and a half are simply wonderful. Now
shall we begin to make rules—you
must be in the office at eight in the
morning, you must not quit till the
clock strikes six, you must not take
vacations without a special referen-
dum, and so on? Then is common de-
cency we ought to expect that these
comrades will quit coming sometimes
at seven in the morning and staying
till ten at night and will refuse to work
on Sundays and legal holidays, no mat-
ter how urgent the business on hand.
They wouldn't do it—we know that.
But would be only reasonable.

The first consideration of the party
in dealing with its employees should be,
How can we enable them to do the
best work with the least expense of
money and (what is far more im-
portant) of time and energy? And we
should choose men as we have in this
case) who will do the best work they
are able to do—not just so much work
for so much pay. Secondly, we should
choose a little, but we should choose
comrades, and not try to model our
conduct altogether on that of an Ethio-
pian Scrooge. They will reciprocate.
Always do. If some of them should
not, let us discharge them forth-
with. But let us not nag them.

Now comes the news that the Erie
"People" has been forced to suspend—
only temporarily, it is hoped. This is
an extremely unpleasant surprise to us,
for the "People" has, on the whole,
done very good work and has deserved
support. We are informed that the
affairs in detail, but are assured that
there is reason to expect that its pub-
lication will not be interrupted for
more than two or three weeks. Com-
rades who are inclined to send in a
subscription or two to help it out of
its difficulties (the rate is 50 cents a
year) may address 24 E. Fifth Street,
Erie, Pa.

This incident, following so closely
upon the trial of the status of the
Seattle "Socialist," and the failure of
the "New Nation," should impress
upon the comrades' minds the serious-
ness of the task of supporting the So-
cialist press, and especially in these
"hard times" when it is most needed,
and should be thoughtfully considered.

"The bearing of this observation lays
in the application on it," as Dick
Bunsby wisely says. The principle
which Comrade Mitchell lays down
everywhere in this paper—that present
improvement in the conditions of labor,
the accomplishment of measures of im-
mediate relief, though but partial or
even temporary, is desirable from the
revolutionary point of view, because it
fosters aspiration and self-reliance and
hope in place of dull despair—is a
sound principle and one that Socialists
should bear in mind. It would, of
course, be possible to make a false ap-
plication, inferring that therefore we
should be quiet about our ultimate aim,
suppress our revolutionary ardor,
and devote our energy solely to work-
ing for measures of immediate relief,
as many sincere reformers do. Ex-
perience shows the comparative futility
of reform methods. But the fault is,
not that they hinder revolution by
accomplishing reforms, but that they
neglect constructive revolutionary
work without even conceding it the
slightest present benefit. It is per-
fectly true that if we wish to get any-
where, we have to go "a step at a
time." But if we forget our final de-
termination, we are likely to waste a great
many steps, or even to take positively
wrong steps. This is what the supersti-
tious and empiric reformers and oppor-
tunists do. On the other hand, the
type whom we speak of as "impossi-
blist" are those who neglect the im-
mediate, neglect to consider the
road to it, and advise us not to take
the first step on the road for fear we
shall become too well satisfied with our
progress and shall sit down by the
way. This error is even a little worse
than the other. The real revolutionist
rejects it every step of progress,
works for every available real gain,
and, keeping the whole course ever in
mind, makes constant progress toward
the end, and the means to further and
greater gains.

It is understood that there are a couple
of agents of the national office at
work in Colorado investigating labor and
strike conditions, and that these men are
working strictly in secret—no one knows
who they are or what they are doing.
If the statement is really true, it is so
much the more to be regretted. It is so
important a matter as we now have in
Colorado the national Department of Labor
cannot afford to prosecute a still hunt. If
the information obtained has to be kept
secret, it is better that the government's
agents should be kept out of the matter
altogether, or else have their agents stay at
home.—Merrill Maguire.

It is quite in line with the methods
of the Roosevelt administration—
"clean as a brand's tooth," you know
—to make his investigations secretly.
If anything prejudicial to the working-
man could be dug up, it will be
made public at the right moment. Of
course, all can be kept dark. And
meanwhile, the government has "in-
vestigated"—and what more do you
want.

OF COURSE THEY COMEMEND HIM.
A reader calls our attention to the
fact that Mr. Parry's National Associa-
tion of Manufacturers, in its annual
convention this year, passed a resolu-
tion commending Governor Peabody
for his action in the Colorado miners'
strike.

Of course it did. That is no surprise.
The National Association, as a class-
and with but few individual excep-
tions—commends Bohemian Peabody (or his
lawless, unconstitutional, and inhuman
conduct. It is only to the working peo-
ple, as a class, that lovers of liberty,
order, and progress can safely look for
support.

THE RIGHT TO PROGRESS.
This country, with its institutions,
belongs to the people who inhabit it.
Wherever they shall grow weary of
the existing government, they can over-
throw their constitutional right of
amending it, on their revolutionary
right to denounce or overthrow it.

Neither let us be swayed from our
duty by false accusations against us
nor frightened from it by the threat
of destruction to the government, or of
danger to ourselves. Let us have
faith that right makes might, and let
us that faith let us in the end dare to
do our duty as we understand it.—Ab-
raham Lincoln.

IF YOU DON'T LIKE
THE LOOKS OF THINGS.

By Horace Traubel.

If you don't like the looks of things.
If you don't like the strikes. If you
don't like Colorado. If you would not
like to see money grow into a habit
and see men left behind. If you don't
like to see the third faces on the street.
If you don't like to see men go to
work under protest. If you don't like
to see the wrong mouths full and the
right mouths empty. If you don't like
to see loaf draw interest on loafing,
while every drop of interest on work-
ing. If you don't like to see the good
man every time he cuts off a coupon.
If you don't like to see every man
the enemy of every man instead of
the friend of every man. If you don't
like to see men tried before they
work. If you would rather see all men
work a little than have a few or many
men work too much. If you think that
the man who owns a horse turns him
man every time he cuts off a coupon.
If you find you cannot reconcile the
special loves of the castles with the
general love of man. If you find that
society is against society at the source
of life. If you are sick of seeing man
put into scales and weighed for his
worth. If you come to see that own-
ership is nothing, but that safety is
something and the choice to live is
something. If you find that the man
who tells you that he is a socialist is
telling you that he is a socialist. If you
want a world without you and no good
people and bad people and bad people.
If you want to take a fresh accounting
of stock and see just what the world has
that it can call its own. If you want
to see what all your bragging pos-
session will be at last the final fact
of ownership. If you are applying
great principles to the common life
and are not afraid to avow the result.
If you are willing to give up time and
friends and money and reputation and
everything to do the obscure chores of
service in a great cause.

Then I say come out and say your
mind. Come out with the frankest
speech. Come out living your faith.
I say that the world cannot hold you
back. Cannot resist you. Will have
to confess. Will be forced to acknowl-
edge justice. Then I say you must not
hesitate. Must not refer your trouble
to any friend or any lover. Must not
delay or apologize. Then I say that
all the wrongs cry out to your two
arms for action. Your two arms. Then
I say that you are the particular man
for whom the universe has been wait-
ing to run this particular errand. Then
I say that you will no longer defer jus-
tice to the incidents of your daily life.

Justice will then come first. Then you
will push everything else aside and
keep only brotherhood. Push gnawing
interests aside. And obstructing pro-
fits. And landlording rents. And wage-
slaves. And little per cents of advan-
tage now and then. You will push all
of these aside and keep only the one
thing worth while. Then you will push
all the political hangers on aside. And
defeating candidates for office. And
all the robber schemes of conventional
finance. Push all aside. Then you will
push all aside. All. To make room
for the man, your brother, who is now
to occupy the stage to the exclusion of
every countervailing phenomenon.

Then you will go ahead whatever holds
back. You will take private property
and sign it off into the general fund.
You will concentrate separated pow-
ers into one power. Separated men
into one man. Separated slaves into
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VOL. XIV.—NO. 20.

STATEMENT OF THE STRIKERS.

Instructive Address to the Public Issued by Striking Meat Workers.

Vivid Picture of Proletarian Degradation, Uncertainty of Employment, and Intensity of Labor under the Tyranny of the Beef Trust in the Stock Yards.

The following address to the public has been issued by Homer D. Call, Secretary of the Executive Board of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

"As the strike of the butcher workmen begins to seriously affect the whole consuming public, and as the public is more deeply stirred than by any labor struggle since the coal strike of 1902, it becomes our duty to place before the public, first, the evils against which we have struggled, second, how the packers forced this crisis upon us, and, third, the two deep issues which make this strike of so much importance to our organization. We wish to offer certain plain, hard facts. We stand ready to prove every statement made."

"When there was no union the men were naturally enough treated by the packers as mere parts of the equipment. The profits were alone considered. We will take the conditions in the cattle-killing department as typical of all the other departments. The largest runs of cattle came in on Mondays and Wednesdays. It was cheapest to kill these cattle at once, for this saved extra feeding and avoided shrinkage in weight. To do this the cattle butchers would be called on Monday at noon, or at one-half hour off for lunch, Wednesday from noon till 9 or 10 p. m., and then in the last three weeks they would work so little that the total number of hours averaged not to exceed thirty-five per week. In these hours the pace of driving men was steadily increased. In 1902 it took thirty-eight skilled butchers to kill and dress 840 cattle in ten hours. In 1903 fifteen men were required to do the same amount of work. The devices for speeding up were many. One was the intense rivalry aroused in their foremen. A foreman in the Chicago plant of a big concern was told that the corresponding foreman in their East St. Louis plant was killing and dressing a bullock one-eighth of a cent cheaper. The Chicago foreman had then to 'step up' his pace. At the killing-rooms all over the country reared. Gangs were reduced. THE MEN KEPT WERE DRIVEN HARDER; THE MEN DISCHARGED AND IDLE WERE HELD AS A CLUB OVER THE MEN STILL AT WORK. IF ANY MAN REVOLTED UNDER THE INCREASING STRAIN HE SAW TWO MEN AT THE DOORS, DEPRIVATION OF LONG IDLENESS AND EAGER TO FIGHT FOR HIS PLACE."

The Speeding Up System.

"There was no extra pay for late hours. Tuesday the men were often compelled to work from 7 a. m. to 8 p. m., with but one-half hour off for lunch. Wednesday from noon till 9 or 10 p. m., and then in the last three weeks they would work so little that the total number of hours averaged not to exceed thirty-five per week. In these hours the pace of driving men was steadily increased. In 1902 it took thirty-eight skilled butchers to kill and dress 840 cattle in ten hours. In 1903 fifteen men were required to do the same amount of work. The devices for speeding up were many. One was the intense rivalry aroused in their foremen. A foreman in the Chicago plant of a big concern was told that the corresponding foreman in their East St. Louis plant was killing and dressing a bullock one-eighth of a cent cheaper. The Chicago foreman had then to 'step up' his pace. At the killing-rooms all over the country reared. Gangs were reduced. THE MEN KEPT WERE DRIVEN HARDER; THE MEN DISCHARGED AND IDLE WERE HELD AS A CLUB OVER THE MEN STILL AT WORK. IF ANY MAN REVOLTED UNDER THE INCREASING STRAIN HE SAW TWO MEN AT THE DOORS, DEPRIVATION OF LONG IDLENESS AND EAGER TO FIGHT FOR HIS PLACE."

The Pacemaker.

"This crowd at the doors included all grades of labor. Even the most skilled position had to men competing for it. This was brought about as follows: "A young man of 22 years of age working at a less skilled job at \$9 a week was raised in place side by side with the most skilled workman, an older man, who earned \$15 a week. THE OLDER MAN WAS FORCED TO TRAIN THE YOUNGER AND HELP HIM OVER HARD PLACES. WHEN THE YOUNGER MAN WAS TRAINED HE TOOK THE PLACE OF THE OLDER MAN. THE OLDER MAN WAS DISCHARGED. THE YOUNGER MAN'S WAGES WERE RAISED ONLY BY SLOW STAGES. MEANWHILE THE COMPANY TOOK THE BALANCE. "But this slight raising was not the main object of the company. The main object was to keep the older man waiting outside, to increase the supply of labor and so keep labor at the mercy of the employers."

"Another device was the pacemaker. In a cattle killing of 230 men, ten of the most skilled were called 'steady time men.' That is, they received weekly wages for six full days, although in most weeks they worked but three full days. Hence their wages were double those of their fellow skilled workers. They set the pace of the machine, and the others, each a cog in the machine, had to keep up or fall out and be discharged."

Where Death Awaits.

"By 1900 this driving system had reached its climax. Sponging men gave out at 35 or 40 per cent. Hundreds were left crippled from pneumonia. Many died of consumption, the rate of which is even now increasing. Worn out or crippled men were put to lower grades of work or were discharged. Most of them had saved little for this premature old age. Sixty per cent. of the workers averaged but 16 cents an hour. Most of the workers averaged but thirty-five hours a week, making their weekly wages between \$5 and \$6. With a family to support, this meant that the wife and children must eke out the family earnings."

"Hundreds of children from 10 to 14 years old worked in the canning factories and missed all chances of education. This was the system which the packers had developed. To check this system the union was organized. It was chartered in Syracuse, N. Y., in 1897, but for two years it made no progress in the big centers. The packers bitterly fought each first attempt to organize. When in Chicago, in 1898, a local union of thirty-five men was formed, every member of it was discharged within three weeks. We then turned our whole energy on the small towns. We succeeded there, and so

strengthened, we tried the big centers with better success. "Then at last, in 1900, Michael Donnelly came to organize the greatest center of them all—Chicago. His first attempts were fought bitterly. One of his leaders was offered a life job if he would desert the new union. Scores of active union men were discharged. Still the union grew. In one year it reached 15,000 members in Chicago alone."

Excess Profits of the Trust.

"What has the union done for this community? Briefly, it has forced the packers to give more regular hours, to employ more men and hence to spread the work among us all instead of keeping half of us at the doors to unemploy the men who were working. The union has forced a uniform wage scale for all skilled workers to replace the old system, and has raised wages to meet the increased cost of living. This change has vastly improved the community. This condition the packers are now attempting to undo. They are attempting to reduce the wages of the common laborer—30 per cent. of our 60,000 members—from 18¢ cents an hour to the old rate of 10 cents, or even less. As the average week's work is but thirty-five hours, 18¢ cents per hour means \$6.50 a week."

"This wage the packers now propose to reduce to \$5 a week. And on what grounds? Is it because they cannot afford to pay the difference? This is a question for the public to examine as it examined the coal trust's financial condition in 1902. "We submit here but one point on which the public appears to be uninformed. Our secretary has for one year received weekly reports from every cattle-killing room in the country. These reports show that the average cost in labor for killing and dressing a bullock from the yard to the cooling-room is 44 cents. The average bullock weighs 700 pounds. The labor cost is but 6-100 of a cent per pound. The average price of beef at wholesale is 10 cents per pound. Labor is therefore 6-1000 of the selling price. Labor is not to blame for the rise of meat prices in the past four years. Can the packers afford to pay 18¢ cents per hour? If they can, shall they be allowed to reduce the wages?"

The Pressures of the Unemployed.

"The packing industry has not suffered from the depression as some others have suffered. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF MEN ARE OUT OF WORK AND WILL SOON BE WILLING TO WORK AT ANY WAGE. Shall the packers be allowed to use this oversupply as a club with them to reduce the wages of their men? In other words, are we to be treated as mere expense items or as the workers who have helped build up this industry? "There is a deeper issue. IF THE PACKERS REFUSE TO AGREE TO ANY MINIMUM WAGE FOR THE UNSKILLED, HOW LONG WILL IT BE BEFORE THEY ATTEMPT TO REDUCE THE WAGES OF SKILLED MEN? For in this industry the unskilled men may soon become the skilled men. Let them be treated as mere expense items or as the workers who have helped build up this industry? "This is the problem which confronts us. Shall the standard of the most poorly paid workers of Europe be established by the packers as the standard of life for American citizens? Shall labor be treated as a mere expense item, or shall it be treated as a sharer in the profits of industry? Shall this industry be developed solely for the profit of the packers, or shall it be developed to the good of the community as well?"

ACADEMIC ART.

You royal academician thinks he can get the style of Glotto without Glotto's beliefs, and correct his perspective into the bargain. Your man of letters thinks he can get Bunyan's or Shakespeare's style without Bunyan's or Shakespeare's apprehension, especially if he has no care not to split his infinitives. And so with your doctors of music, who, with their collections of discords duly prepared and recited or retarded or anticipated in the manner of the great composers, think they can learn the art of Palestrina from Cherubini's treatise. All this academic art is worse than the trade in sham antique furniture; for the man who sells me an oak chest which he avers was made in the thirteenth century, though as a matter of fact he made it himself only yesterday, at least does not pretend that there are any modern ideas in it; whereas your academic copier of fustie offers them to you as the last outpouring of the human spirit, and, worst of all, kidnaps young people as pupils and persuades them that his limitations are rules, his observations dexterities, his timidities good taste, and his empty phrases purity. And when he declares that art should not be didactic, all the people who have nothing to teach and all the people who don't want to learn agree with him emphatically.—George Bernard Shaw.

MOTHER JONES ON COLORADO.

She Speaks in the Central Federated Union of New York City, where Socialism is making progress.

Mother Jones, the never-tiring fighter for Labor's cause, on Sunday last spoke before the New York Central Federated Union, where she was greeted with enthusiasm after it became known that she was there in order to speak on behalf of the oppressed Colorado miners. She told the delegates that she always took part in the hottest fights, wherever she was, and that she had witnessed some of the most cruel and brutal deeds on the part of the authorities. "Only the pen of a Victor Hugo could picture the tyrannical acts under which the miners of that state have to suffer," she said. After describing the sufferings of the miners she declared that protection had been demanded by the miners from President Roosevelt. "He told the people," she continued, "that he could do nothing for them. But he was ready to do something for the bosses, when they wanted to exploit their men ten hours a day. When the workmen refused to work he ordered United States officers to the state, which was to force the men to submit to the bosses' demand. The mine owners of Colorado are continuing to rob the people. Two later months weekly pay one dollar into the hospital fund, they must pay for the doctor, pay for the schools and other taxes."

"With part of the money stolen from the miners, the bosses build churches, but it is to be doubted very much whether Jesus would ever have entered the state of Colorado under the conditions existing there now. "Mother Jones said that 75 per cent. of the strikers were Italians. Amid the applause of the delegates she said that they were the best fighters of the country. Her description of the conditions existing in that state deeply impressed all those who listened to her. "I have seen soldiers throwing a woman, who was to become a mother, on the street and the day following she gave birth to a free American," she said. "I have also seen soldiers shooting the striking miners from behind." Mother Jones called the militiamen the "monkey-brigade" of the nation. "It took six of Governor Peabody's lap dogs to take me, a woman of sixty-five, and put me on a train to get out of the country. I saw six of the Monkey Brigade people being necessary to watch for an elderly Anna like me. When you are casting your ballot you ought to think of all these things. If a mile had a vote he would exercise more sense in voting than you."

"Talk about appealing to President Roosevelt in such matters and expecting him to help you, you might as well tell your troubles to the moon. I remember once being in a crowd when he spoke from the rear platform of a car and talked about prosperity. Every time he opened his mouth there was one fellow with forty-nine patches on his trousers who jumped up and down and yelled like a clown. Afterward this clown asked me to loan him a quarter. I told him to go to the man he had been jumping up and down for and it didn't worry me a bit whether the fellow started to death or not, for there was no use in trying to save such a fool as that."

"People like Peabody and Bell caused the French revolution. The American capitalists therefore should not go too far. When they once overstep the line a revolution will also occur in this country." Mother Jones then asked the delegates to remember Colorado at the polls on next November. A vote of thanks was tendered to the speaker and several hundred copies of Debs' "Socialism and Trade Unionism" were bought of her. The C. F. U. also ordered five hundred copies more of the pamphlet.

STATE SECRETARIES.

The following is a list of the names and addresses of the state secretaries of the Socialist Party, which may be of use to readers in unorganized places:

Alabama—J. H. W. Martin, 304 Scott street, Little Rock.

Arizona—Albert Ryan, Jerome.

California—J. H. W. Martin, 1311 N. Broadway, Los Angeles.

Colorado—W. E. Martin, 1715 Exchange street, Denver.

Connecticut—W. E. Martin, 123 Exchange street, New Haven.

Florida—Wm. C. Green, Orlando.

Illinois—Jas. E. Smith, 133 Randolph street, Chicago.

Indiana—Frederick O. Strickland, 134 E. Washington street, Indianapolis.

Iowa—J. H. W. Martin, 3125 Twelfth street, Iowa City.

Kansas—Thomas E. Will, Sedgewick building, Wichita.

Kentucky—Walter Landerfick, 508 Washburn avenue, Newport.

Louisiana—Patrick O'Hare, 723 Common street, New Orleans.

Maine—W. E. Martin, 123 Exchange street, Bangor.

Massachusetts—J. H. W. Martin, 233 S. Boston street, Boston.

Michigan—J. H. W. Martin, 60 E. Fourth street, Detroit.

Minnesota—J. H. W. Martin, 60 E. Fourth street, Minneapolis.

Missouri—J. H. W. Martin, 60 E. Fourth street, St. Louis.

Montana—J. H. W. Martin, 60 E. Fourth street, Helena.

Nebraska—J. H. W. Martin, 60 E. Fourth street, Omaha.

Nevada—J. H. W. Martin, 60 E. Fourth street, Reno.

New Hampshire—W. H. Williams, Claremont.

New Jersey—W. E. Martin, 370 Main street, Orange.

New York—J. H. W. Martin, 60 E. Fourth street, New York City.

Ohio—Edward Garner, 835 Chippell street, Dayton.

Oklahoma—J. H. W. Martin, 1070 Union avenue, Oklahoma City.

Pennsylvania—J. H. W. Martin, 1305 Arch street, Philadelphia.

Rhode Island—J. H. W. Martin, 60 E. Fourth street, Providence.

South Dakota—Samuel Lovett, Aberdeen.

Texas—J. H. W. Martin, 60 E. Fourth street, Dallas.

Vermont—J. H. W. Martin, 106 Sumner street, Barre.

Washington—J. H. W. Martin, 717, Seattle.

West Virginia—Geo. E. Kline, Metchen.

Wisconsin—J. H. W. Martin, 60 E. Fourth street, Milwaukee.

REPUBLICAN TICKET.

ROOSEVELT & FAIRBANKS, Politician and Multimillionaire.

Platform: Gold Standard; Protective Tariff; "Good Trusts."

Supporters: ROCKEFELLER, Oil King. BRIDGES, Sugar King. SENATOR PLATT, Capitalist, Arrested for Forgery. PERRY HEATH, Bootler. SENATOR BURTON, Convicted Bootler. SENATOR DISTRIFF, Convicted Bootler. SENATOR SMOOT, The Mormon. DOWD, Sub-god. PEABODY, Colorado Bull Pen. JOHN MITCHELL, Labor Leader.

DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

PARKER & DAVIS, Politician and Multimillionaire.

Platform: Gold Standard; Protective Tariff; "Good Trusts."

Supporters: GUFFEY, Oil Magnate. BAER, Coal King. SENATOR STONE, Agent Baking Powder Trust. BUTLER, Bootler. SENATOR CLARK, Montana Land Pirate. BELMONT, Wall Street Banker. MARSHALL FIELD, Merchant Prince. SENATOR HILL, Professional Politician. STEINBERG, Idaho Bull Pen. SAM GOMPERS, Labor Leader.

"WE HAVE ARRANGED THE PROGRAM FOR BOTH PARTIES, AND ARE WILLING THAT THE VOTERS SHOULD EXERCISE THEIR CHOICE OF MEN."—James Buel, Secretary, National Bankers' Association. Both tickets are acceptable to the capitalist class. Is either acceptable to the working class?

It is well known that the capitalists, as a class, have small families. Why, then, do they applaud Roosevelt's ramswide speeches? Because they wish the workers to raise plenty of children and keep the labor-market glutted.

Four or five hundred Belgian comrades will visit Amsterdam, Aug. 28 to 30, to get acquainted with the Dutch labor movement.

Philadelphia Beggars Drivers Association to hold Bazaar, Sept. 29 to 30.

Six hundred furniture workers in Chicago are locked out in an open-shop fight, behind which is the employers' determination to return to the ten-hour day.

The municipality of Paris will be represented at the International Free Thought Congress to be held in Rome, Sept. 29 to 30.

A CALL TO ACTION!

For the Socialist Campaign of 1904.

To the Socialists of the United States. Comrades:—On the eve of battle the National Committee of the Socialist Party sends greetings to all comrades. The opportunity of a century has come to the Socialist movement. The field is clear before us and for the first time the enemies of labor and progress are aligned so that the working class can be arrayed in solid phalanx before them. The hour has come to rally the Socialist hosts for decisive action. The Republican and Democratic parties have adopted platforms and nominated candidates avowing the same devotion to the same capitalist interests. Theodore Roosevelt and Alton B. Parker, Grover Cleveland and William Jennings Bryan, David B. Hill and Benjamin Tillman, Gold Standard and Free Trade, Protectionism and Income Tax, are now in the same boat and headed for the same port.

The most powerful magnifying glass could reveal no difference between the trust-ridden Republican and Democratic parties. They are both rank with venality and honey-combed with corruption. As the tools of capitalist power they are used for the foulest functions and the stench that rises from their smelly to heaven has become intolerable. Face to face with these hosts of darkness stands the Socialist Party in class-conscious array, its members solidified and unquenchable, their eyes blazing defiance and their revolutionary banner flashing in the sunlight. These conflicting hosts will soon be battling for supremacy.

In the presence of this historic spectacle only hypocrites talk of peace and only cowards propose compromise. THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE AND THERE CAN BE NO PEACE UNTIL CAPITALIST TYRANNY IS WIPE OUT FOREVER AND THE FLAG OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM FLOATS TRIUMPHANT OVER AN EMANCIPATED WORKING CLASS. The battle of the ballots must prove us more worthy of the freedom we seek. Three months yet remain for preparation. Not an hour must be lost. Not a minute wasted.

Old and young must give proof of their unwavering devotion to the great cause. SOUND THE SOCIALIST SLOGAN FAR AND WIDE: DOWN WITH CAPITALIST TYRANNY AND WAGE SLAVERY AND UP WITH THE WORKING CLASS!

Spread the literature in every village and hamlet, every town and city. Proclaim the revolutionary doctrine from every house-top. Every worker seeking a way out of bondage, or tolling, ignorant and contented, for an arrogant master, must be reached and awakened by the glorious gospel of real emancipation. This can only be accomplished through your action at this vital hour. Mighty possibilities as well as the gravest dangers await us in this campaign.

The working class, some in despair and others in hope, have been driven from their old political affiliations by the lash of capitalism. The ruling capitalist class, drunk with their long lease of power, have taken full advantage of it to whip their victims into sullen submission to their rule. Stung and goaded to revolt the workers look forward to a means for speedy redress of their wrongs.

When the ballots are counted in November the world must be made to know that the Socialists of the United States have placed themselves in the forefront of the ever-swelling army of workers marching to the control of the governments of the world. Externally yours, for the Social Revolution. THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY. By WILLIAM MAILLY, National Secretary. Chicago, Ill., Aug. 1. N. B.—Campaign fund lists sent to any address upon application. Contributions will be received direct by the National Secretary, or through the local or county secretaries, who will remit to the National Secretary. Acknowledgment of all receipts made through the Socialist press. Address all communications regarding the National Campaign Fund to William Mailly, National Secretary, 230 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.

MR. WORKINGMAN, WHICH?

Republican Ticket.

ROOSEVELT & FAIRBANKS, Politician and Multimillionaire.

Platform: Gold Standard; Protective Tariff; "Good Trusts."

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Democratic Ticket.

PARKER & DAVIS, Politician and Multimillionaire.

Platform: Gold Standard; Protective Tariff; "Good Trusts."

Supporters: GUFFEY, Oil Magnate. BAER, Coal King. SENATOR STONE, Agent Baking Powder Trust. BUTLER, Bootler. SENATOR CLARK, Montana Land Pirate. BELMONT, Wall Street Banker. MARSHALL FIELD, Merchant Prince. SENATOR HILL, Professional Politician. STEINBERG, Idaho Bull Pen. SAM GOMPERS, Labor Leader.

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DEBS PLAYS LABOR FAKIR.

Timely Castigation of a Common Type.

Socialist Presidential Candidate Shows that Both Old Parties are Equally Hostile to Labor—A Not One for Kennedy.

When Eugene V. Debs read in a Terre Haute paper an interview with D. F. Kennedy of Indianapolis, a general organizer of the American Federation of Labor, in which he declared that union men were going to vote for Roosevelt because of the hostility to union labor of the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, Henry G. Davis, he gave a return interview to the Terre Haute "Tribune and Gazette," saying Kennedy as a not uncommon type of professional labor fakir and furiously pointing out that both old parties are equally hostile to labor.

The "Tribune and Gazette" reports the interview with the Socialist presidential candidate as follows: "This man Kennedy is a professional politician in the guise of a labor organizer," he declared. "He is a decoy duck to catch the labor vote. I know him and I know what I am talking about. In every campaign he is regularly in the pay of the Republican party. Upon his own ability the Republican party could not afford to pay him five cents a word for his speeches and his interviews and the only reason he can get a price at all is that he assumes to represent the voice of organized labor. His way of making a Republican speech is to pose as a labor leader. Mr. Kennedy is one of the gentlemen who holds up his hands when there is no election and declares that organized labor must not get mixed up in politics. He attempts to do that part of himself."

"I want to ask Mr. Kennedy a few questions," said Mr. Debs. "First he is on the subject of the enemies of organized labor. What does he think of his friend President Roosevelt and his Croton Dam labor record? What does he think about his open shop policy? The open shop means the dead union. What does he think of Roosevelt turning down the miners' committee? What does he think of Roosevelt standing idly by while organized labor is unlawfully driven out of Colorado? What does Mr. Kennedy think of Senator Fairbanks, the vice-presidential nominee of his party, the corporation attorney and all-around plutocrat who was a guest at the dinner given to Peabody at Chicago by the mine owners of Colorado to glorify his smashing labor record? Well as Henry G. Davis may be, he is at least not enough of a demagogue to join a labor union like Roosevelt did for the sole purpose of pulling the labor vote to him. What does Mr. Kennedy think about J. Frank Hanly, his candidate for governor, who has been repudiated by the state officers of the Federation of Labor for his treachery to organized labor? Why does not Mr. Kennedy also denounce these gentlemen as the enemies of organized labor?"

"Mark my word," said Mr. Debs. "Mr. Kennedy will support all these gentlemen in speeches this fall at so much per speech while he poses as a labor organizer and uses his influence to keep organized labor out of politics. It is such fakirs as these who make the labor vote the football of politicians and reduce organized labor to contempt. Mr. Kennedy is in the same political party with David M. Perry, but Perry has the honesty to avow his enmity to organized labor while Kennedy masquerades as a labor leader that he may traffic in the ignorance of his followers and sell out to the politicians. In traveling over the state in the interests of the Republican party Mr. Kennedy has already discovered 20,000 Democratic workmen who are opposed to Davis on account of his misdeeds in labor record, but he hasn't discovered a single Republican who has chipped about the labor record of any nominee of the Republican party. For the benefit of Mr. Kennedy's defective vision I may say that there are thousands of workmen in Indiana who are as quick to recognize a Democratic enemy and that they can also see clearly enough to perceive a political beachman when they see one, even though he wears the mask of a labor leader, and this fall they will vote for their own interests instead of being betrayed by men of the stamp of Mr. Kennedy."

PRESIDENT DONNELLY FOR SOCIALISM.

Leader of the Packing House Strikers Says It is the Coming Movement.

CHICAGO, Aug. 8.—President Donnelly of the Packing House Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Union, said today:

"The packing-house strike is the greatest educator of Socialism the West has ever experienced. From being unconscious Socialists the workers are realizing that they are in reality part of a great Socialist movement. "The harsh treatment meted out to the strikers by the packers and the inhuman conditions under which they are willing to have men and women live and work in their slaughter-houses has brought organized labor to the conclusion that the proposed class has no hesitation in consigning the masses to a fate worse than that of the slaves."

"Edward Tilden's advocacy of child labor in the yards has also added fuel to the flame of Socialism. "From this class distinction and recognition will arise the great Socialist third party to achieve reforms by the ballot instead of the strike."—Press dispatch.

MOYER REFUTES CAPITALIST LIES.

President of Western Federation of Miners Denies Statement in Capitalist Press that He Advised Unionists to Vote Democratic.

Various capitalist newspapers have printed statements that Charles H. Moyer, President of the Western Federation of Miners, who was so long imprisoned on the trumped up charge of "desecrating the flag," advised unionists to vote the Democratic ticket. In reply to any inquiry from the office of The Worker, Comrade Moyer writes as follows:

"Dear Comrade:—On my return to headquarters, Secretary Hayward handed me your issue of the 2d, also a copy of the enclosed clippings from the news of June 21. In reply I feel that it will only be necessary to forward you a copy of my report to the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners to convince you of my firm belief in the necessity of political action not only by the Western Federation of Miners, but by organized labor in general. I am unable to see any relief to be secured for the wage workers through pure and simple trade unionism, and I would either be a fool or a knave, after the many years of trials, to advise the laboring people to continue casting their ballots for the Republican or Democratic parties. Not only will I support the Socialist candidates nominated by the Chicago convention, but will raise my voice and use what little influence I may have with my class in the cause of Socialism."

"In conclusion permit me to say that during my incarceration in the military prison, I was quoted by the press and at many times falsely accused of making statements, solely for the purpose of turning my friends on the street against me, and thereby bringing about my defeat for re-election as president of the organization, but regardless of the persecution, I desire at this time to assure my comrades of

the Socialist movement, also my brother unionists, that I am to-day more determined to fight the battles of my class than ever before and that I will ever be found fighting shoulder to shoulder with my comrades, who are waging a war of extermination against a system which is blinding the chains of slavery more securely around the limbs of the wage workers and which makes Peabodyism a possibility. "In the Tenth and Eleventh Annual Conventions of the Western Federation of Miners I sent my ballot for a policy of education along political and economic lines, and had I had the privilege of being present at the Twelfth Annual Convention I would have reaffirmed the action of the former conventions. "The Republican and Democratic parties have done nothing for the wage workers, that I am aware of, that would lead me to change my views, up to this date, and offers nothing in the future. "I close by reaffirming my allegiance to the Socialist Party and my full and untiring support for the emancipation of the wage slaves. "Thanking the comrades of the East for their liberal assistance so freely extended to the Peabody victims, I am, fraternally, "CHARLES MOYER. "President Western Federation of Miners. "Denver, Colo., July 20."

—Keep your pockets full of ammunition. Five half-yearly paid-up subscription cards for The Worker for \$1. Get them. Sell them for a quarter each. Use the proceeds to get a new supply. "In arranging a public meeting, never forget to order a bundle of The Worker for distribution. One hundred copies, 75 cents; 200 copies, \$1.20; larger orders, 50 cents a hundred. —Sell Socialist pamphlets at your street meetings. Try a hundred of Hanford's story of the Colorado strike. They will cost you \$2.50 and it's a poor local that can't dispose of at least one hundred. Socialist Literature Co., 184 William street, New York.

THE MISSION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

By Eugene V. Debs.

To free the workers of the world from the curse of wage-slavery and its countless brood of festering evils, to reorganize society upon a basis of co-operative industry in which all shall be workers, owning in common the machinery of production and producing wealth for their own enjoyment, is the prime object of the international Socialist movement.

To organize the workers into a working-class political party through which to secure control of the powers of government, the law-making and law-enforcing machinery of the nation, to put into effect the above declared object is the mission of the Socialist Party. A more righteous cause never inspired men to action in this world. To secure control of government, the Socialist Party appeals to the working class and the ballot. Though a revolutionary party in the sense that it proposes to put an end to the present industrial system and establish a new social order, its program is one of perfect peace.

That violence and bloodshed are resorted to is not because of the Socialist Party, but in spite of it. The present system, called the capitalist system, because it is controlled by capitalists and operated in their interest, is based upon the slavery and robbery of the working class. Such a system has to be supported and protected by force. Violence follows as a matter of course. The club, the blow and the blood that follows it, the hyphen, the bullet and the "bull pen," the repeating rifle, the riot gun and rapid fire injunction are the gory and gruesome symbols of the capitalist regime of our day. The Socialist Party, seeing all this and understanding from careful study the cause back of it, does not advise the employed, unorganized, imprisoned workers to meet brutality with brute force, to answer the club with the club, or the bayonet with the revolver, but it does advise them to use their brains, remove the cause and walk forth free men.

There has been a great industrial change in the last century. New conditions have arisen and these demand a new system. Machines are now used instead of hand tools; great mills have taken the place of small shops, and armies of workers, co-operatively employed, are required to operate them. These machines and mills are at present the private property of a few capitalists and are operated purely for their profit.

All the wealth the armies of workers produce above a bare living is taken from them by the capitalists, the owners of the mills and machines, who are also their industrial masters. These owners and masters can close down their mills and exclude the workers from them at will. The workers are wholly dependent upon them and are at their mercy. In modern society the capitalist, the owner of the machine, the tool of production, without which the worker cannot work, and therefore cannot live, has the power of life and death over his workmen, their wives and children.

It is essentially a barbarous and dehumanizing system in all its effects. The capitalist is calumnyed and denigrated, while the worker is enslaved and brutalized. A few capitalists are gorged and bloated to the bursting point. Their fortunes are distorted and disclosed by their vulgar excesses. Their better nature is besotted and conscience has been suffocated.

The mission of the Socialist Party is to free your minds from prejudice, cultivate your intelligence, develop your talents, that you may become the slaveless masters of the earth. When you succeed to power, all humanity will be free and civilized, and the exercise of power to silence the discontent of slaves will be no longer necessary.

To the working class the Socialist Party is the working class. It is to free your minds from prejudice, cultivate your intelligence, develop your talents, that you may become the slaveless masters of the earth. When you succeed to power, all humanity will be free and civilized, and the exercise of power to silence the discontent of slaves will be no longer necessary.

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The Worker.
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(Known in New York State as the Social
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One hundred weeks, 5.05.

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In the State of New York, on account of
certain provisions of the election laws, the
Socialist Party is officially recognized under
the name of the Social Democratic Party,
to enable it to file its name and to appear
on the ballot.

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SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

Inspiring Report to the International Socialist Con-
gress at Amsterdam.

National Secretary Portrays the Industrial Development of the
United States, the Growing Intensity of the Class Struggle
and the Rise of the American Socialist Movement.

The International Socialist and Trade
Union Congress met at Amsterdam,
Holland, on Aug. 14, and the ses-
sions are expected to last for
at least six days. The Socialist move-
ment of all countries will be repre-
sented, and the number of delegates
will probably be over one thousand.
The sessions will be held in Gebeur
Concert Hall.

The representatives of the Socialist
Party of the United States present at
the Congress will be Algonquin Lee,
Merrie Hillquit, Herman Schlusier,
Mrs. Julia Pollock and Jacob Kohn of
New York, Mrs. Corinne Brown and
William Johnson of Chicago, Charles
Klein of New Jersey and Nicholas
Klein of Minnesota. Comrade Lee
acts in the place of Ernest Untermann,
who was elected by the national con-
vention to represent the Socialist Party
at the Congress, but who afterwards
resigned his mandate.

The Socialist Party of the United
States will present the following re-
port to the Congress, a sufficient sum-
mary of the conditions in this coun-
try among the delegates at the Con-
gress. The report is printed in Eng-
lish, German and French having been
written by M. Hillquit and translated
by Alexander Jones and Ernest Untermann.

To the International Socialist and
Trade Union Congress.

Probably nowhere in the world has
the process of industrial development
been so rapid and radical as in the
United States of America. Within a
comparatively short time our country
has developed from a somewhat back-
ward predominantly agricultural coun-
try into one of the leading indus-
trial nations. In no other country are
the modern machinery and methods
of production so perfected, the wealth
and industries so concentrated, and
the exploitation of labor conducted on
such an enormous scale, as in the
United States of America. And this
process of development is still con-
tinuing at an ever accelerating rate.
Every year witnesses some new cap-
italist enterprise of unheard of di-
mensions, some new trusts of
gigantic proportions, some new and
astounding invention in the methods
of production.

The class struggle in America.

The industrial revolution naturally
brought about a corresponding change
in the social relations of our popu-
lation. Some fifty years ago the classes
had not yet crystallized in the United
States, and the proletarian, in the true
sense of the word, had hardly any exis-
tence in the community. To-day the
number of its permanent wage work-
ers is no less than 12,500,000; the
standing army of unemployed and
transient reaches 1,500,000, at a con-
servative estimate, and more than one
half of the entire wealth of the coun-
try is concentrated in the hands of less
than 40,000 families. The United States,
which but half a century ago could
truly boast of being a land of equal
rights and equal opportunities, has to-
day at least as far as the white popu-
lation is concerned, become the seat
of the most glaring social con-
trasts between the two contending
classes of modern society—capitalists
and wage workers. The antagonism
between these class finds expression
in the ever increasing number of
strikes, lockouts, boycotts and other
demonstrations of hostility, and the
war between them grows in dimension
and intensity with every year. Between
1881 and 1891 more than 7,000,000
of American work-people were to have
been involved in 29,000 strikes and
lockouts and during the past three
years three millions have considerably
increased.

The most noteworthy battle fought
in our country between capital and
labor since the last International Con-
gress was without a doubt, the strike
of the anthracite coal miners of Penn-
sylvania in 1902, which involved about
120,000 men. The strike was a rebel-
lion of the coal miners against the
slave methods employed and the star-
vation wages paid by their employers.
It was fought with equal bitterness
on both sides, but the combined wealth
of the mine owners and railroad man-
agers was powerless against the heroic
determination of the miners. At the end
of the fifth month, the entire coal
supply of the East had practically been
cut off, and the great industries de-
pendent on it were seriously menaced.
The strike had assumed the dimen-
sions of a "national disaster." It was
at this juncture that the President of
the United States intervened, indicat-
ing the strikers through their repre-
sentatives to call off the strike, and
to have their grievances to the atten-
tion of a board of arbitrators of his
selection, which was to be expected
to betray the workmen.

Next in numerical importance to the
American Federation of Labor, is the
American Labor Union. This body was
organized in 1896 under the name of
the "Western Labor Union," and as its
title signified, it was originally con-
fined almost exclusively to the Western
States. In 1902 the present name was
adopted at an annual convention, and
the jurisdiction of the body was ex-
tended to cover the entire country. At
the same convention the organization
adopted a resolution declaring in favor
of international socialism and the So-
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readopted at the succeeding convention
of 1903. It was the adoption of this
resolution which marked the members-
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international movement for the aboli-
tion of the power that has, as was
frankly admitted by the Governor of
Colorado in justification of the recent
outrage above described. The Western
Federation of Miners at its annual
convention in June, 1904, also re-
corded socialism and the Socialist Party,
and the American Labor Union rep-
resents over 200,000 members and its
relations to our party are most cordial.

The once famous order of Knights of
Labor is now of hardly any influence
in the labor movement. The central-
ized form of organization and anti-
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der were not suitable to the modern
conditions, and the decay of the organ-
ization was at its height. To-day a
thousandth part of the membership of
the order represents all that remains of
its million members of two decades
ago.

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alli-
ance is an organization created by
some members of the Socialist Labor
Party in opposition to the existing bod-
ies of trade unions. The founders of
the organization were principally at-
tracted by their pardonable mis-
understanding of the conditions of the
labor movement, and the wisdom of
setting up a social body of trade
organizations under Socialist
inspiration was very questionable. The
Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance
never played any serious part in the
labor movement, and to-day leads a
quiet and uneventful life. It is a
purely sectional organization, but the
fact of its organization created a spirit
of hostility between the trade union

workers, with metal and coal, have
been on strike for some months. The
metal miners are organized in the
Western Federation of Miners, which
is affiliated with the American Labor
Union, and the coal miners are mem-
bers of the United Mine Workers of
America which is part of the Ameri-
can Federation of Labor. All the usual
methods of capitalist warfare were
tried by the mine owners, but the
strikers remained firm. The capitalists
of Colorado and the state government,
however, and supported by them, re-
sorted to desperate means: martial
law was declared in all regions af-
fected by the strike, and the state mil-
itary assumed command of those re-
gions; strikers were charged with re-
bellion without cause, and min-
ers were brutally treated for their
families and deported without the
slightest semblance of legal war-
rant; officers elected by the people who
were suspected of sympathizing with
the strikers, were forced to resign by
threats of hanging, mines employing
union men were closed by the order of
the military, a reign of lawless brutal-
ity was effected, and the conditions
now prevailing in Colorado are such
that those of Germany during the in-
famous "exceptional laws" seem mild
and civilized in comparison with it.

The Trade Union Movement.

As in all other countries, the exploi-
tation and oppression of labor resulted
in the organization of the working
class for the purpose of self defense.
In the United States the earliest and
most prevalent forms of such organ-
ization were the trade unions.
The number of organized work-
men in the United States is at present
estimated at about 3,250,000 and with
some exceptions they are affiliated
with one of the four existing national
confederations of trade unions: The
American Federation of Labor, the
Knights of Labor and the Socialist
Labor Union. Of these the American
Federation of Labor is numerically the
most powerful. On May 1, 1904, the
Federation consisted of 118 national
organizations, having a total of 2,500
subdivisions, 1,300,000 members, 604
city, county and labor unions, and
22 state federations. The total mem-
bership of the Federation exceeded
2,800,000. The American Federation
of Labor was organized in 1881. Its
growth was slow for a long time, and
the bulk of its membership, almost
three-fourths of it, was acquired dur-
ing the last four years.

The Socialists of this country have
always regarded the American Federa-
tion of Labor as a promising field for
the propaganda of socialism, and in-
variably bring up the discussion of
socialism at its annual conventions by
means of offering a resolution declar-
ing for the cardinal principles of So-
cialism. In 1902 such a resolution, in-
troduced by the Socialist delegates, re-
ceived almost half of the entire vote
of the convention. In 1903, the vote cast
for a similar resolution was much
smaller, but that vote could hardly be
considered as a test of the strength of
Socialism in the organization, since
some delegates voted against the resolu-
tion contrary to the instructions of
their constituents. On the other hand,
the vote against the resolution was
entirely against the particular form of
the resolution while favoring the sub-
stance of it. On the whole the Social-
ist Party has no reason to be discour-
aged with the progress of the Socialist
sentiment in the Federation, and it
proposes to continue the tactics hereto-
fore followed by it in its relations to
that organization: to support its strug-
gles against capital, to criticize the ac-
titude of some of its members, and
to encourage and inspire leaders, where
such criticism is called for, and above
all to utilize every proper opportunity
to preach the gospel of Socialism to its
members.

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inspiration was very questionable. The
Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance
never played any serious part in the
labor movement, and to-day leads a
quiet and uneventful life. It is a
purely sectional organization, but the
fact of its organization created a spirit
of hostility between the trade union

workers, with metal and coal, have
been on strike for some months. The
metal miners are organized in the
Western Federation of Miners, which
is affiliated with the American Labor
Union, and the coal miners are mem-
bers of the United Mine Workers of
America which is part of the Ameri-
can Federation of Labor. All the usual
methods of capitalist warfare were
tried by the mine owners, but the
strikers remained firm. The capitalists
of Colorado and the state government,
however, and supported by them, re-
sorted to desperate means: martial
law was declared in all regions af-
fected by the strike, and the state mil-
itary assumed command of those re-
gions; strikers were charged with re-
bellion without cause, and min-
ers were brutally treated for their
families and deported without the
slightest semblance of legal war-
rant; officers elected by the people who
were suspected of sympathizing with
the strikers, were forced to resign by
threats of hanging, mines employing
union men were closed by the order of
the military, a reign of lawless brutal-
ity was effected, and the conditions
now prevailing in Colorado are such
that those of Germany during the in-
famous "exceptional laws" seem mild
and civilized in comparison with it.

movement and the Socialist Labor
Party, and eventually led to the aboli-
tion of the rank and file of the Socialist
Party.

In addition there are also national or-
ganizations of railroad employees and
workers in the building trades num-
bering at least half a million who are
not affiliated with any of the national
federations.

The Socialist Movement.

Coming now to the Socialist move-
ment of our country, we are pleased to
say that we have reached the most
gratifying part of our report. The So-
cialist movement of the United States
has experienced its most marvelous
change since the last International
Congress. At Paris, in 1900, 101 dele-
gates represented a rather insignificant
and much divided movement. The old
Socialist Labor Party as well as the
new Socialist Democratic Party were
then in factions, and what little there
was of a Socialist movement was sup-
pressed into three distinct national or-
ganizations and a number of indepen-
dent state and local organizations.
Three distinct social and political
parties within the movement seemed
absolutely unconnected to all outside ob-
servers, but in reality they had a good
reason for existence; they were the
symptoms of a developing, vigorous,
popular movement, struggling for the
best form of its expression; they mark-
ed the growth of the movement, and
the growth of the movement of almost
every other country has at one time
gone through a similar evolution, and
they finally evolved a strong and
harmonious organization. In July,
1901, a convention was held in the city
of Indianapolis, at which all Socialist
organizations, with the exception of the
Socialist Labor Party, united un-
der the name of the SOCIALIST
PARTY.

Since then the progress of our move-
ment in this country has been rapid as
well as sound. In 1900 the mem-
bership of our party, or its prede-
cessors, probably did not exceed 5,000,
and the majority of these were fore-
igners, mostly German immigrants;
in December, 1903, the national Sec-
retary of our party reported a dues pay-
ing membership of about 25,000, and
the overwhelming majority of them
consisted of American born citizens.
At the last convention of our party,
May, 1904, 120 of the best and most
valued delegates were American born.
At the last Congress we reported that
the highest combined vote cast for all
Socialist parties was 88,000; two years
later, in 1902, that vote increased to
over 200,000, and we have every reason
to hope that the presidential election
of this year will witness a similar in-
crease. About five-sixths of the total
Socialist vote was cast for the candi-
dates of the Socialist Party.

In 1900 the number of Socialist elects
to public office was almost zero. You
hardly exceeded a dozen. To-day our
party has elected to public office in
various parts of the country, 350 of its
members. Of these, one occupies a
seat in the state legislature of the
State of Massachusetts, two are may-
ors of cities (Ansonia, Montana, and
Lansford, Pennsylvania), and the rest
hold various offices in municipalities
in the States of Wisconsin, Massachu-
setts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Indi-
ana, Montana, New York, Illinois,
New Jersey, Minnesota, California,
Missouri, Connecticut, Iowa, Louisiana,
North Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas,
Washington, and in the Indian and
Oklahoma territories. Of the officials
elected by our party in 1903 one
the mayor of Sheboygan, Wiscon-
sin, proved unfaithful to his plat-
form, and was expelled from the party.
In 1900 we could point to the exis-
tence of also weaklings as the English
language, besides seven dialects, and
weaklings in German, and one or more
peaks in the French, Bohemian,
Jewish, Norwegian, Polish and other
various languages. The party has be-
sides the hearty support of a large
number of trade union journals.

The last convention of our party was
decidedly the most representative and
important gathering of Socialists ever
held in America. For the first time
the entire country, every State, every
important state of the Union, East, West,
North and South, was represented in
a national Socialist convention. The
proceedings of the convention and the
platform and resolutions adopted by it,
amply attested the sound and class-
conscious character of the membership.
The convention nominated as its candi-
date for President of the United
States Eugene V. Debs, whose valiant
struggle for labor and the de-
votion to the cause of proletarian
Socialism are matters of interna-
tional renown. As the party's
candidate for Vice-President, Ben-
jamin Hanford, a tried and true Social-
ist for many years standing, a forceful or-
ator and untiring agitator for the cause
of Socialism, was selected.

With such excellent standard-bear-
ers, and with a determined and en-
thusiastic army of organized Socialists be-
hind them, we can only expect to
make the coming elections the most
effective ever witnessed in this country
and to win our spurs in the great and
noble international movement for the
abolition of wage slavery and capital-
ist misrule.

Fraternally submitted by the Social-
ist Party of the United States of
America.
By WILLIAM MAHLEY,
National Secretary.
Chicago, Ill., July 3, 1904.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS.

A Socialist Review of Reviews

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The Worker

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NEW YORK, AUGUST 21, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

THOMAS W. LAWSON'S OPENING SHOT.

First Instalment of his Sensational Exposure of the Standard Oil Ring.

Big Copper Capitalist Who Has Been On the Inside Vividly Describes the Organization, the Power and the Corrupt and Despot Methods of the Greatest Industrial and Financial Oligarchy the World Has Ever Seen.

Thomas W. Lawson, the big Boston capitalist who was used and deceived by the Standard Oil rulers in the Unhappily Named Copper Deal, is using all his energy and resources in law suits and in magazine articles to expose and harrow his former associates and betrayers.

His introductory announcement last month in "Everybody's Magazine" promised the most sensational and amazing disclosures. The first article of the series, which appeared in the August number of "Everybody's," is a promising beginning. Lawson's story is made still more interesting by the vivid and powerful style of his writing. His characterization of the great capitalists is as extreme in statement and in language as that of any opponent of the present system could be, but it is evident that "the public" in whose behalf he speaks is only the smaller investors and middle class capitalists and the "system" to which he attributes all the evils which he describes in the financial system by which the smaller investors are fleeced, not the industrial system by which labor is fleeced and upon which the other "system" is based. Nevertheless the articles are extremely valuable as showing the utterly corrupt and criminal methods of the great industrial pirates known as "captains of industry."

The first reads in part as follows: "Wall Street and the financial world know that there are two 'Standard Oils,' but to the public there is no clear distinction between Standard Oil, the corporation which deals in oil and things which pertain to the manufacture and transportation of oil, and 'Standard Oil,' the giant, indefinite system which sometimes controls all the 'Standard Oil' group of individuals and corporations and sometimes only certain of the individuals.

"This giant creature, 'Standard Oil,' can best be described so that the average man will understand it as a group of money-owners—some individuals and some corporations—who have a right to use the name 'Standard Oil' in any business undertakings they engage in. The right to use the name is of priceless value, for it carries with it 'assured success.'

"Standard Oil, the seller of oil to the people, transacts its business as does any other corporation, but it shall not hereafter touch upon its affairs, but confine itself wherever it uses the name 'Standard Oil' to the larger and many times more important 'system.'

Rockefeller's Army.

"There are eight distinct groups of individuals and corporations which go to make up the big 'Standard Oil':
"1st. The Standard Oil, seller of oil to the people, which is made up of many sub-corporations by actual ownership or by ownership of their stock, or bonds. Probably no person other than Henry H. Rogers, William Rockefeller, and John D. Rockefeller, knows exactly what the assets of the Standard Oil corporation are, although John D. Rockefeller, Jr., son of John D. Rockefeller, and William D. Rockefeller, the able and excellent business son of William Rockefeller and the probable future head of 'Standard Oil,' are being rapidly educated to this great secret. In this first instalment all 'Standard Oil' individuals and estates are direct owners.

"2d. Henry H. Rogers, William Rockefeller, and John D. Rockefeller, active heads, and included with them their sons.

"3d. A large group of active capitalists and first lieutenants, men who conduct the affairs of the different corporations or sections of corporations in which some or all of the 'Standard Oil' are interested. Many of these are the sons or the second generation of others who held high positions in Standard Oil's earlier days and of these Daniel O'Reilly and Charles Pratt are fair examples.

"4th. A large group of capitalists retired from active service in the Standard Oil army, who only participate in a general way in the management of its affairs, and whose principal business is looking after their investments. These men are each worth from \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000 to \$50,000,000 or \$75,000,000. The Rogers and the Rockefellers are fair illustrations of this group.

"5th. The estates of deceased members of this wonderful 'Standard Oil' family, which are still largely controlled by some or all of the prominent 'Standard Oil' men.

"6th. 'Standard Oil' banks and banking institutions, and 'the system' of national banks, trust companies, and insurance companies, of which the 'Standard Oil' has by ownership and otherwise practically complete control. The head of this group is James Stillman, and it is when they are called into play in connection with 'Standard Oil' business that he is one of the Standard Oil leaders, second to neither Mr. Rogers nor either of the Rockefellers.

"7th. The 'Standard Oil' army of followers, capitalists, and workers in all parts of the world, men who never require anything more than the order, 'Go ahead,' 'Pull out,' 'Buy,' 'Sell,' or 'Stay where you are,' to render as absolute obedience and enthusiastic cooperation as though they knew to the smallest detail the purposes which entered into the giving of the order.

"8th. THE COUNTERLESS Hordes of politicians, statesmen, law makers and enforcers, who, at home or as MSPRE-

HE WANTS THE LABOR VOTE!

Some Account of Parker's Running Mate.

Vice-Presidential Candidate of the Democratic Party is One of the Most Bitter and Unscrupulous Enemies of Labor in the Country.

WHEELING, W. Va., Aug. 14.—Three months of travel and observation in West Virginia has made the writer fairly familiar with its industrial conditions. Coal mining is the chief industrial interest of the Mountain State. The mining of coal is carried on at something like two hundred different points. Now the average coal camp anywhere is not very inviting, either to look at or to live in. Hardly a coal camp can be found that a thoughtful man would consider a desirable place in which to raise a family. A dull, monotonous prospect, with no signs of beauty, bad sanitary conditions, and with the marks of body breaking, soul crushing toil written plain on every face and form who dwells in the coal camp in whatever part of the country you find it.

Yet there are degrees of badness even in coal camps. Unquestionably the worst coal camps in the United States are located in West Virginia. Many of these have proven veritable hell-camps to the miners employed therein. This state is par excellence the land of the injunction. It is here that the notorious Judge Jackson flourishes like a green bay tree.

Nowhere in America has capitalism been more brutal and unscrupulous than in West Virginia in suppressing every form of unionism. It is akin to high treason in this state for the workers to act together for the protection of their own interests. The mine owners of the state are the leaders in the war on the unions. Desperately have the miners fought, and bitter has been their suffering to maintain the same balance of an organization. Yet there are degrees of badness even in the coal camps of West Virginia.

Taking the testimony of men high in the councils of the United Mine Workers, I find that the very worst coal camps in West Virginia are those controlled by the "Hon." Henry G. Davis, the tail of the Democratic national ticket. This man's hatred of unions is intense. Against the unions he has steadily waged war without quarter. He has used every device, every stratagem, every method to subvert the rebellious subjects. It is affirmed that as president of a big bank he warned the merchants of his mining district that they could not carry an account in his bank if they gave credit to any of his striking miners. The Henry G. Davis coal mining interests have been the most active in the state in bringing black laws from the far South to take the place of striking white miners. This same Henry G. Davis has been the most vigorous and active factor in the judicial war against the unions of this state. No man has played a larger part in the injunction method of crushing workingmen. Mr. Davis has been the king pin in a game in which Judge Jackson has simply been a tool.

Knowing the life history of Mr. Davis, we need not wonder at his methods. He is a typical Southern born master, though not to the manner born. He was at one time a wage worker. In the days before the war, he rose to the position of a plantation overseer, which means that he was the driver of black slaves. He must have liked the business, for he has continued as a slave driver, in the last sense of the term, even unto the present day.

Down here, Mr. Davis is called "the owner of West Virginia." His holdings in the state are indeed tremendous. By paying up back taxes he has procured a large share of his possessions. For the balance it is said he paid about sixteen cents per acre. Supposedly worthless lands have been procured very cheaply in this manner, and a fact with which Mr. Davis acquiesced himself prior to purchase. By this sort of cunning over-reaching he laid the groundwork of his fortune. Supplementing these methods with the grinding of the workers, whose toll has realized the wealth stored up in his possessions. Mr. Davis has developed into a mighty multi-millionaire. In this sort of thing which the modern two-legged donkey worships in the name of Enterprise.

The tactics of Mr. Davis are entirely of the money grabbing sort. I speak advisedly. He has not distinguished himself in any other direction. He is not noted for education, culture, philanthropy, public spirit, breadth of view. Those who have studied his Congressional career declare that he is contented in getting things done for the building up of the private fortune of Henry G. Davis. They tell a story down here—I will not vouch for its truth or how Mr. Davis procured a government appropriation to clear the rubbish out of a certain West Virginia river. Shortly after the task was completed large amounts of timber belonging to Henry G. Davis were seen floating down the river.

The Democratic party has at last reached the stage of consistency. That party nationally is dominated by the solid South. Forty-three years ago the master class of this same South plunged this nation into civil war for the upholding of human slavery. At the present time the worst form of child labor in America exists in the South, through collusion of the factory lords with Southern Democratic bosses. Trade unionism has hardly taken root in Southern soil. Nowhere in this country do the working class count for so little as in the South—nowhere are the workers' wages and standard of liv-

AN AGENCY TO BREAK STRIKES.

Typical Instrument of Capitalism

One of the Many Employment Agencies Which Make a Specialty of Furnishing Scabs and Thugs to Employers.

The following confidential letter to employers, from the largest employment bureau on the Pacific Coast shows what kind of service is wanted by the labor-crushing corporations and how easily they can get it.

"To-day we herewith enclose for you our Mr. Herbert V. Ready's book, 'The Labor Problem' (copyrighted) and published by us at great expense. 'Any man who is not with you is against you.' We are against any man or men who refuse to allow a man to run his business to suit himself. We are people of action, not of talk. We give everybody our ear, but few our voice. When compelled to talk it is short and decisive.

"Early this spring we were compelled to openly declare ourselves on the labor question. We took the best method by publishing the above named book. We, like President Roosevelt, have spared no one who was wrong, not forgotten to praise where praise was due. Amongst them, the Citizens Alliance, Southern Pacific Railroad, United Railroads, Governor Pardee, Mayor Schmitt, Chief of Police Whitman, President of the Labor Union, and those 'moral lepers,' the walking delegates, etc. The future labor troubles, etc.

"No business man will go looking for strikes, neither will he run away when one is declared on him. There is something worse than death, that is a boycott. Now, 'business men,' are not aware that the strikes this spring were only the preliminary skirmishes of the opposing forces; the heavy engagements are yet to come. Probably before election, absolutely after. If it were diplomatic on our part, which it is not, to acquiesce in the public with future labor troubles, you would be appalled. We never show our hand.

"We will be as well prepared to fight, our strikes in the future as we have in the past. Sitting up all night declaring strikes Sunday morning 2:30 a. m., so as to block up with newspaper advertisements, cuts no figure. Carriages can be sent to our residence in future as in the past at 3 a. m. Our printing plant combats them with newspapers. We can publish a newspaper.

"We do not look for trouble, neither do we run away from it. 'Listen to the following questions we put to some we engage: 'Young man, if we engage you as a watchman or special police, and we put two guns in your hip pockets, two in your hand and five every chamber with lead, will you allow the mob to destroy the company's property, and every chamber in the city as he goes, as an eye-witness we do not hire him. To be prepared, is sure success, which we attain every time.

"We will issue a special letter with a short time, relative to scarcity and high percentage of money, banking, overdraft accounts, the future labor supply, cost, etc., of same, advising both capitalist and contractor alike.

"We thank each and every one of our patrons (the names of which appear on back of this letter) for all favors shown us, and trust you will carefully read the enclosed book; and continue to do in future as you have in past and present, send us your orders for help. We will carefully select suitable help for each position. You can always depend on us in times of labor, peace and war.

"Very respectfully yours,
"MURRAY & READY."

"San Francisco, Cal., July 30.

On the back of this the names of over two hundred railroads and corporations are given as patrons and references and among them the name of the Hearst estate.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that men who are despised enough to take to professional strike breaking as a regular trade, and to do such despicable work as outlined above, can be found only among thugs, criminals, and desperadoes. It is the presence and actions of these reckless and villainous tools of capitalism which almost invariably causes whatever disorder attends strikes.

ONE PHASE OF THE CAPITALIST MIND.

First, it should be remarked that the consideration of labor as humanity and not as equipment is naturally foreign to the men who have put their indubitable genius into the conduct of the packing industry. These men have constructed a machine so enormous, so complicated, so delicate, so interdependent, that the slightest derangement means to them not only financial loss but what is equally serious—a disturbance of mental equilibrium. The agony to which they are subjected when they see their machine put temporarily out of gear by the intrusions of labor difficulties reveals not only the financier intent upon perfection, but the artist intent upon perfection. William Hard and Ernest Poole, in "The Outlook."

ing so low. The Democratic masters of the South are as lordly and overbearing to-day as when they cracked their whips over chattel slaves. It is entirely fitting that the national ticket of such a party should be graced with an experienced "nigger driver." From the viewpoint of the profit robbers and slave drivers of this nation, Mr. Henry G. Davis is indeed "wise, safe, and conservative."

FAILURE OF ARBITRATION.

Class Struggle Must Be Fought Out.

"Humanity" and "Right" Count for Nothing. Only Power and Fighting Strength Gain Anything for Labor—Remarkable Article by William Hard and Ernest Poole in the "Outlook."

In the current number of the "Outlook" is a remarkable article by William Hard and Ernest Poole, "The Stock Yards Strike; Competitive Wages and the Right to Live," dealing mainly with the question of industrial arbitration, from which the following is quoted:

"How would you fix a fair wage if it were left to you? How would you attempt to prove that 18½ cents an hour is too high a wage for unskilled labor if you were arguing before an arbitration committee?

"The man to whom these questions were addressed is the general manager of one of the big packing companies. He looked out from his window over the cluttered, smoke-fogged, and dreary landscape, and said:

"Every morning at that time there are hundreds of men who are willing to perform unskilled labor for less than 18½ cents an hour. Many of these men are willing to take even 15 cents an hour. Companies like the Illinois Steel Company and the Harvester Company are paying about 15 cents an hour. I should say that 15 cents an hour at the present time was just about the market rate. It is unfair to perform labor for more than the market rate. When the market demands 18½ cents an hour for unskilled labor, it is breaking the law of supply and demand."

"But suppose," said the interviewer, "that the men should ignore the law of supply and demand. Suppose that they should say that 18½ cents an hour was the lowest wage at which a man could buy a decent living. The average number of hours of work provided for unskilled labor during the month of July is forty. Forty hours at 18½ cents an hour is \$7.40. To ask a man to live on less than \$7.40 a week is to ask him to subject himself, his wife, and his children to conditions under which no democratic society can expect to produce healthy and intelligent voters. Would you attempt to meet this argument? Would you attempt to prove that the packers were not paying dividends large enough to justify 18½ cents an hour? Would you attempt to prove that decent living conditions were possible at less than 18½ cents an hour? Or would you tell the arbitrators that the whole argument was irrelevant and did not deserve answering?"

"I don't think," said the general manager, "that we should regard an argument based on profits and living conditions as a proper argument for an arbitration committee to consider."

The interviewer felt the force of the peace was rapidly melting out of its finest feathers. What will become, then, of arbitration? You talk about the law of supply and demand. The men talk about profits and living conditions. Those two lines of argument could extend the million mile battle without ceasing, or even converging. What is there left to do except FIGHT?

"You have said it," said the general manager. "The writers of the 'Outlook' article then quote a member of the Chicago Board of Arbitration as saying: 'IF THE UNION HAD SHOWN UP PRETTY STRONG, WE GAVE THEM A LARGE TASTE OF WHAT THEY ASKED. IF THE EMPLOYER HAD GOT THE UNION PRETTY WELL BEATEN, IT DIDN'T REEM RIGHT NOT TO THROW THINGS HIS WAY.' And further on they say:

"There is in Chicago a labor reporter who is sought out for information and consultation by the biggest labor leaders of America when they happen to be in town. He was at one time a conscientious worker, a man who believed in arbitration. The strategic position which he now holds is as unique as it is creditable. Every big Chicago strike feels his influence not only as a reporter but as an impartial adviser.

"Arbitration?" said Luke Grant, "I'm not getting out of the comic supplement. But if you want my opinion, I will give you one of the rules that I once wrote for the benefit of arbitrators: 'In case of a strike, split the difference—and call in the reporters.' That's what arbitrators are always doing. And when their decision isn't a compromise, it's apt to be a wise guess at the FIGHTING STRENGTH each side has shown. Arbitration in Chicago has established practically no body of principles."

The conclusion of the article is expressed in isolated cases. It is clear that arbitration so far is a straddle rather than a science. Being a straddle, IT CAN BE APPLIED ONLY WHEN THE STRUGGLE HAS PROCEEDED TO THE POINT WHERE A REFERENCE IS NEEDED FOR THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A DECISION.

"Arbitration cannot become a science till it has done something to reconcile the two points of view above outlined, and to establish a consistent body of principles governing questions like these:

"Till arbitration has found reasonable sufficient answers to these questions, it will remain what it is to-day—a diplomatic means of concluding peace after a struggle, instead of a scientific method of so fixing wages on recognized principles as to make future struggle unnecessary."

The questions above referred to, have been omitted for the sake of brevity, are all summed up in the question: Shall wages be determined by the law of

OF TWO EVILS CHOOSE NEITHER.

In this campaign all four Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of both the old parties are, more plainly, unmistakably, and directly than ever before, representative of the capitalist class alone.

The Socialist campaign is not one against candidates; it is against a class and its two parties. No matter what candidates either of the parties of capital might select, Socialists would be just as vigorously opposed to them because both old parties are the parties of the capitalist class and uphold the present capitalist system. But the fact that both these parties have chosen a set of candidates who by their wealth, their positions and their records are known to be especially hostile to the interests of labor is additional and emphatic evidence of the character of these parties.

The complete approval of both Presidential candidates by the capitalist class is typically illustrated in the following editorial of the "Merchant's Legislative League Advocate":

The two great parties have put their candidates in the field. Theodore Roosevelt has been nominated by the Republicans, and Judge Alton B. Parker has been named by the Democrats. There are abundant reasons for every merchant, every tradesman, every professional man, every manufacturer in the whole country to congratulate themselves upon the nomination. That means that whichever way the election goes, the United States will have a President who may be trusted. The nominations mean that there will be no radical disturbance of business and "safe and sane" methods. Business and industry, manufacture and commerce have nothing to fear from the election of either man. They may pursue their usual channels and make plans for the future without apprehension. Two great statesmen, two splendid Americans are nominated for the highest office in the world, and the election of either one will be creditable.

That business "may pursue its usual channels" means that capitalists and corporations may continue to reduce wages, raise prices and oppress and rob the workers without fear of the slightest interference; and that when the workers make any protest they may expect to get infamous injunctions and murderous militia as easily as in the past; that business men may fear no legislation or governmental action which would in any way interfere with their "safe and sane" robbery of the people.

The records of the candidates and their parties is good warrant for this cheerful capitalist prediction. The Democratic candidate for President is one of the judges who declared the New York state Eight-Hour Law unconstitutional. His nomination was secured by August Belmont, the capitalist who is American agent of the Rothschild interests. Patrick McCarren, the representative at Albany of the Sugar Trust, the Gas Trust and the Standard Oil, and David B. Hill, corporation attorney and well-tried capitalist politician. He is supported by a host of great capitalists who recognize in him a faithful servant and sure defender of their piratical enterprises.

The Republican candidate, Roosevelt, as Police Commissioner of New York, proposed a spiked club to use in "riots," that is in time of strike; as Governor of New York he sent the militia to Croton Dam to break the strike of workmen who were striking against the violation of the Eight-Hour Law which his opponent, Parker, afterwards declared unconstitutional; as President he has become the father of the "open" (anti-trade union) shop, and appointed as Secretary of the Navy Paul Morton, one of the most bitter and determined opponents that trade unionism has ever had. He looks on unconcernedly while all constitutional and human rights are outraged in Colorado by his personal friend, General Bell. He has said in his book on "American Ideals" that "Men who

supply and demand or by the right of the laborer to a decent living?" Mr. Hard and Mr. Poole do not answer their own questions. They do not attempt to suggest any principles good reason that it is impossible to do because, under the competitive system, the private ownership of the means of production, wages inevitably must be determined by the lowest cost of living, this law being tempered only by the organized resistance of the workers. The class struggle between labor and capital is inherent in the present system. Must be fought out to a finish in the victory of labor. It cannot be evaded by attempting to arbitrate opposing interests which are fundamentally hostile and becoming ever more so.

"Unionism and Socialism" by Eugene V. Debs, is about the correct thing to hand to your pure and simple thinking friend.

A "Citizens' Alliance" has been started in Germany, and so far as we have heard, it has not yet applied for any patents from Colorado.

At Carnegie Hall, Fifty-sixth street and Seventh avenue, New York, on Tuesday, Sept. 6, Eugene V. Debs, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, will answer Grover Cleveland's attack on the famous American Railway Union strike and his attempt to defend his sending Federal troops against the strikers. George D. Herron will preside. Admission, 10 cents; box seats, 25 cents; platform seats, 50 cents. Tickets are now on sale at the office of The Worker and at the following places: New York Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street; Socialist Literary Society, 233 E. Broadway; W. E. A., 206 E. Eighth street; W. E. A., 2800 Third avenue; T. J. Lewis' upholstery store, 1224 Broadway; office of "The Comrade," 11 Cooper Square; office of "The Forward," 176 E. Broadway; store, 235 E. Twenty-seventh street; Floetz's Hall, 240 E. Eighth

object to what they style 'government by injunction' are in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-and-knives who lived in caves and fought one another with stone-headed axes."

He is the author of the following endorsement of President Cleveland's action in sending the troops to break the great A. R. U. strike against the protest of Governor Altgeld, which can be found in the "Forum" of February, 1895, in his article on "True American Ideals" and which the New York "Sun" reprints with the significant headline "Doctrine of Colorado, the Stockyards and Elsewhere."

The worst foe of America are the foes to that orderly liberty without which our Republic must speedily perish. The reckless labor agitator who arouses the mob to riot and bloodshed is in the last analysis the most dangerous of the workingman's enemies. This man is a real peril; so is his sympathizer, the legislator who, to catch votes, 'denounces the judiciary and the military because they put down mobs.

The denunciation, in all its forms, is as characteristic an evil of a free society as the courtier is of a despotism; and the attitude of many of our public men at the time of the great strike last July was such as to call down the condemnation of every American who wishes well to his country.

Had it not been for the admirable action of the Federal Government, Chicago would have seen a repetition of what occurred during the Paris Commune, while Illinois would have been torn by a fierce social war. It was a most fortunate thing that the action at Washington was so quick and so unimpaired. The President and Attorney-General Olney acted with equal wisdom and courage, and the danger was averted.

The completeness of the victory of the Federal authorities, representing the cause of law and order, has been perhaps one reason why it was so soon forgotten. Governor Altgeld, though preeminent, did not stand alone in his unenviable prominence. Governor Waite of Colorado stood with him. Most of the Populist Governors of the Western States and the Republican Governor of Colorado and the Democratic Governor of North Dakota shared the shame with him, and it makes no difference whether in entering to riotous mobs they paid heed to their own timidity and weakness or to that spirit of blatant demagoguery which, more than any other, jeopardizes the existence of free institutions.

Every true American, every man who thinks and who, if the occasion comes, is ready to act, may do well to ponder upon the evil wrought by the lawlessness of the disorderly classes when once they are able to elect their own chiefs to power. If the Government generally got into the hands of such men as Altgeld and the other governors like him referred to, the Republic would go to pieces in a year; and it would be right that it should go to pieces, for the election of such men shows that the people electing them are unfit to be intrusted with self-government.

According to Roosevelt then, Cleveland's action in sending the troops without cause to lawlessly crush a great strike was admirable; all strikers are "mobs" and "disorderly classes" and all officials who show them the slightest sympathy or even respect their constitutional rights are "blatant demagogues."

So much for Terrible Teddy, the strenuous imperialist who occasionally makes a politician's pretense of friendship for labor in the hope of catching the votes of the gullible workmen whom he despises.

Roosevelt's running mate on the Republican ticket, Charles Fairbanks, is a multi-millionaire—enough said.

Henry G. Davis, Democratic candidate for Vice-President, is also a multi-millionaire, and an especially militant and vicious one, as may be judged from the account of him given by a correspondent in another column of this paper.

The vast capitalist interests of Henry G. Davis, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, are thus described by the Philadelphia "North American":

Although his great interests center in West Virginia, where, in the development of the natural resources of that state, he has amassed a large fortune, Henry G. Davis, nominee of the Democratic party for Vice-President, has close associations in Philadelphia. For years he has maintained offices here and conducted a large business.

His new railroad and coal and coke companies, created within the last two years by reinvestment of some of the millions paid by the Goulds for the West Virginia Central properties, maintain offices in the Land Title building. Here is the general sales office of the Davis Colliery Company, which controls 150,000 acres of coal land in Randolph and adjoining counties in West Virginia. About \$2,500,000 has been expended in the purchase and development of these lands, which are already producing 1,000,000 tons of coal per annum.

The remarkable vigor and enterprise of Senator Davis is demonstrated by the way he started a new campaign of development when in his eightieth year. No sooner had he and his associates, including Senator Stephen B. Elkins and R. C. Kerens, sold out the West Virginia Railway, which carried with it the Davis Coal and Coke Company, than he began anew. Twenty years had been given to creating these properties, which were sold to the Gould party for \$10,000,000.

When Senator Davis bought the coal lands he now owns, he also bought three small railroads. These he consolidated into one, the Coal & Coke Railway, capitalized at \$10,000,000, and began the construction of a connecting line from Elkins to Cassaway. That is to be completed by spring, giving a through line connecting with the Chesapeake & Ohio at Charleston, W. Va., on the southwest, and with both the Baltimore & Ohio and West Virginia Central at the other end.

Through this railroad Senator Davis aims not only to develop his new coal and coke interests, but to obtain competitive outlets. He is in position to give traffic with equal facility to both Gould and Cassaway lines. It is for this reason, and also because in the fight between these two railroad groups the new Davis properties may become an important key, that both A. J. Cassatt and the Gould interests are working to keep close to Senator Davis.

Whenever he comes to Philadelphia, which is every few weeks, he lunches with President Cassatt. In the latter's private office, as a shipper over the Pennsylvania Railroad from Cumberland, Md., and over the Baltimore & Ohio from Burlington, W. Va., there are traffic matters to be discussed. Senator Davis is a shrewd business man and understands how to play one interest against another for his own advantage, as he did when conflicting railroad groups bid up the West Virginia Central to the selling price which netted the owners big profit on their investment.

Such are the Republican and Democratic parties: "Multi-millionaires and capitalist politicians on their presidential tickets, and corporation lawyers, boodle politicians, and labor-skinning plutocrats always on their state and municipal tickets.

What choice will the workingman make between the two? Can any workman cast his ballot for either of these obscene and treacherous gangs. BETWEEN TWO EVILS—CHOOSE NEITHER. There is another party in the field, a party of the working class, composed of workmen, and on a working class platform, representing working class interests—THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

And just as the candidates of the old parties reflect the character of those parties, so do the candidates of the Socialist Party reflect its character. Its Presidential candidate, EUGENE V. DEBS, is a famous labor leader who has always valiantly fought for his class. His running mate, BENJAMIN HANFORD, a veteran member of Typographical Union No. 6, is another. Both have been through strikes and struggles with their fellows, learned the interests of their class, and devoted their lives to its emancipation.

Which will YOU vote for? Roosevelt and the capitalist class or Parker and the capitalist class, or Debs and the working class?

GREAT MASS MEETING FOR DEBS.

At Carnegie Hall, Fifty-sixth street and Seventh avenue, New York, on Tuesday, Sept. 6, Eugene V. Debs, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, will answer Grover Cleveland's attack on the famous American Railway Union strike and his attempt to defend his sending Federal troops against the strikers. George D. Herron will preside. Admission, 10 cents; box seats, 25 cents; platform seats, 50 cents. Tickets are now on sale at the office of The Worker and at the following places: New York Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street; Socialist Literary Society, 233 E. Broadway; W. E. A., 206 E. Eighth street; W. E. A., 2800 Third avenue; T. J. Lewis' upholstery store, 1224 Broadway; office of "The Comrade," 11 Cooper Square; office of "The Forward," 176 E. Broadway; store, 235 E. Twenty-seventh street; Floetz's Hall, 240 E. Eighth

street; E. Jacht's cigar store, 623 Tenth avenue.

Every Socialist and sympathizer should make every effort to advertise this meeting as widely as possible. Thirty thousand cards advertising the meeting are ready for distribution and 2,000 large posters with Debs' picture are to be placed. A supply of these cards can be obtained at the office of the Organizer, 64 E. Fourth street, at any time between 10 a. m. and 10 p. m. Comrades who are willing to volunteer to distribute the cards, act as ushers at the meeting or do any other committee work are requested to communicate with the Organizer at once.

Invitations have been sent to all labor organizations inviting them to attend the Debs meetings.

Typographical Union No. 6 of New York has voted \$400 for the Colorado miners.

(Continued on page 2)

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN NEW YORK. FOR THE CAMPAIGN

Once again the world wide, age long struggle between exploiters and exploited, for the possession of the property created by labor, becomes the center of attraction in this city. Strike and lockout combined in the building trades have for the moment temporarily paralyzed the process of production.

On one hand scores of thousands of workmen, affiliated with the numerous unions incorporated in the Building Trades Alliance, and on the other, a handful in comparison, known as the Employers' Association, stand in hostile array for a "right to a share" which, whatever the result, is certain to be again and again renewed.

Charges of bad faith, of broken agreements, and general duplicity are being constantly hurled backwards and forwards between the contending forces. Accusations of plotting to secure the "open shop" are charged by the workmen and hypocritically denied by their opponents. Union leaders assert their ability to win out, and point with confidence to the solidarity shown by the unions, in resisting the threats and cajoleries of the bosses. On their side, the Employers' Association confidently predict victory, and over and over again declare their ability to fill the place of the strikers with non-union workmen and establish the "open shop" permanently, counting on starvation and physical necessity as their allies in the conflict. The capitalist press adds to the clamor and confusion and tries by all means in its power to confuse the one real issue at stake—the one issue that always and everywhere ultimately lies at the basis of strike and lockout—the class struggle for the product of labor.

In this basic fact that in all labor troubles is carefully and studiously concealed by the capitalist press and those for whom it speaks. Upon this concealment, depends the only hope of the exploiting class for victory in their struggles with labor. Once seen and recognized in its full significance by the working class, the end of all strikes and lockouts seems in sight.

While this is not recognized by the workers, their chances of success constantly diminish. Not only have the employers still at their back and call, the entire power of the state and nation, judicial, legislative and executive, but they have reinforced this power with an economic organization specially created to deal with strikes and strikers, that is far more rapidly and thoroughly than the opposing economic organizations of the workers.

Against this tremendous odds, organized labor hereafter must find new weapons. The unions which have taken years of patient effort and sacrifice to establish, are in danger of destruction when they come in contact with this specially organized force. Unlike their opponents they have added no new weapons to their armory. Still depending upon the antiquated strike and boycott, they are unable to perceive that the new weapons their opponents are adopting and perfecting, are devised purposely to make the strike and boycott still more inadequate.

The time for labor to adopt new weapons is here. Without them, continued defeat is the certain result. And the only weapon that can be adopted and used effectively on the side of labor, is the political weapon—the ballot. Against the power of the ballot in the hands of intelligent class-conscious workmen, all the schemes of the capitalists are in vain.

The Social Democratic Party offers labor this weapon. With the Socialist ballot alone can the fortress of capitalism be stormed. Without it, all the sacrifice, all the loyalty and heroism that can be conceived of in the ranks of labor cannot avail. For the real strength of capitalism lies in its possession of the law-making power—in its political supremacy. That once taken away, its strike breaking organization, its Building Trades Alliance, its "Manufacturers' Associations", become instantly worthless.

The struggle between working class and capitalist class has now reached a point, where on the side of the former, the effort to obtain a little greater share of the product of labor, is fast becoming impossible. No new weapons can be devised to secure it. It is now either the entire product to those who create it, or complete lockout in the receipt of a bare existence. There is no alternative. And to wrest political power from the exploiters—to wield the ballot as an effective weapon—political organization is necessary.

That political organization exists only in the Socialist movement of which the Social Democratic Party of the state of New York is an integral part.

Workmen, here is the weapon to your hands. Through Socialism alone can you ever achieve the emancipation of your class, from capitalist domination and oppression. Through Socialism alone can you wrench the power from the hands of those who regard you as mere commodities—as instruments from which profits can be ground—as rubble to be shot down and exterminated like vermin, when you dare to strike for even the smallest increase of the products your labor creates.

With this power in your hands you can win the last and greatest of all strikes—the strike that shall end capitalism forever—the strike that alone can bring about the true emancipation of labor, by uniting those who labor the owners of all that their labor creates.

On the other hand, the Social Democratic Party of this city has not sufficient funds to thoroughly till this fertile soil and sow the seed of Socialism. Many of the best Socialist speakers of New York are working elsewhere and this makes it necessary to have funds to bring outside agitators into the city campaign. More literature must be published, and that takes funds. Innumerable expenses must be met if there is to be an extensive and systematic campaign for Socialism in this city.

The funds that are needed are needed AT ONCE. The appeal this year has been issued somewhat later than usual and money is needed immediately. A dollar now is worth more than five later on. Many campaign expenses must be met in advance; and our campaign has advanced more than a short time before election when the attention of the voters is distracted by the brass band, beer and boodle, burrah campaigns of the old parties.

Every Socialist and every sympathizer with the cause of emancipation should contribute all he can and should contribute it at once. All contributions should be sent to U. Solomon, Financial Secretary, 61 E. Fourth street, New York.

At the second meeting of the Central Committee of the Young People's Social Democratic Club, the constitution committee reported that it had drawn up a constitution and same was read before the committee and adopted after several changes were made. The constitution was submitted to a referendum vote and will go into effect on Aug. 20. Delegates from the three clubs reported progress and that all are doing good work. The delegates from Brooklyn suggested that a joint meeting be held some time in September. Comrade Krueger, Folger and Meyer were elected a committee to take care of the arrangements. The different committees of the Central Committee will be elected as soon as the constitution has been adopted. Meetings of the clubs are held as follows: Brooklyn, every Thursday at 800 E. Eighty-sixth street; Brooklyn, every Thursday at 940 Wiloughby avenue; Down Town, every Thursday at 64 E. Fourth street at 8 p. m. sharp. All young people are invited to attend.

The last meeting of the Down Town Young People's Social Democratic Club was well attended. The constitution submitted to referendum by the Central Committee was voted upon. Delegates were elected to the Call Committee and Second Agitation District Committee. A literary committee of four was elected and will report at the next meeting. The Entertainment Committee reported progress for the Dec. 3 concert and ball, to be held at Grand American Hall, 7 and 9 Second avenue. The New York Letter Carriers' Band of sixty pieces has been secured through the efforts of their bandmaster, Mr. Frank E. Horne.

The meeting of the 23rd A. D. was addressed by B. J. Lewis, after which he retired with the agitation committee to the street and held a meeting. Three applications for membership were received. Communications from Comrade U. Solomon laid over to next meeting. Agitation Committee reported the purchase of 1,000 copies of C. H. Kerr's "Pocket Library of Socialism", 200 10-cent pamphlets, 50 party pins, 300 Worker cards, \$121.25 received from the Workingmen's Progressive Society for agitation purposes. Subscribed for 50 copies of "The Worker" during the campaign and 400 copies of "The Worker" were ordered. Committee from the Arbeiter Ring of the Bronx proffered assistance to the Bronx Agitation Committee. They were invited to attend the meeting of the Agitation Committee and make the necessary arrangements for co-operation. Treasurer reports amount collected on half-day's pay contribution to campaign fund, Aug. 11, \$13.25, making total of \$43.42.

The 12th A. D. of Brooklyn had a well attended meeting on Aug. 5, when the following speakers were present: Comrades Chase, Solomon and Mally. The comrades are also all four new members were admitted. The 12th will have their next meeting on Saturday, Aug. 20, to Wednesday, Sept. 25, every Wednesday and Saturday. All visitors are welcome to the meetings of the 12th every first and third Friday in the month at 335 Prospect avenue.

At the last meeting of the Second Agitation District Committee, delegates from Branch 152, W. K. & D. B. and the Young People's Club were present. The delegates from Branch 152 reported that his society donated \$25, which was turned over to Comrade Weenke, who was elected treasurer of the committee. Decided that a German mass meeting be held in October, with Comrade Grenlich from Switzerland as the principal speaker; the secretary was instructed to make arrangements for the meeting. The sub-committee appointed by the state committee to straighten out

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PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from page 3.)

New York City.
Regular meeting of the General Committee was held Saturday, Aug. 13. Comrade Lichstein in the chair. Seventy-one applications for membership received and on motion applicant was admitted. Report of Credentials Committee: 13th A. D., credentials of H. Pick and B. Altermann received, but not in proper form; moved that as delegate from this district already seated, vouchers for seat be denied. That motion be amended to effect that delegate be temporarily seated, but at next meeting credentials must be handed in in proper form. Amended carried; 35th A. D., credentials for F. C. Fisher as delegate in place of Comrade Hadin, resigned; delegate seated. Resignation of Arthur Blakesley as member of party received and accepted. Communications from the State Secretary requesting arrangements for referendum to elect delegates to Local Quorum: nominations for members of Local Quorum—U. Solomon, Pauline, Neppel, May, Spindler, Bartholomew, Stahl, Olrik, Volkmer; moved that all nominations be referred to referendum, declared out of order. Letter from State Committee instructing to elect one delegate to Executive Committee; nomination—L. Hillquit, Leason, Shobdin, Van Nieu, Knevel, Elbert. Agitation: Moved that organizer be instructed not to arrange more than one meeting weekly in any assembly district, while there are any assembly districts remaining uncovered; moved that motion be amended to effect that entire matter be referred to Organizing Committee. Motion carried; Executive Committee be instructed to investigate the affairs of any district not performing active work and ascertain their plans for the campaign. Moved that Executive Committee have printed some Italian Socialist literature, for the benefit of Italian workers; that said motion be amended to effect that said literature is to be printed only if there is time at present in the market; amended carried. Instructed to investigate the alleged lack of organization in the Harlem Agitation District. Decided that individual roll call of General Committee be taken in future and that upon the absence of any delegate from three consecutive meetings, his district is to be notified to send another representative. 23d A. D. reports that inasmuch as they have no delegates to the General Committee and are only entitled to two, Comrade Klein withdrew. Action of report of Executive Committee: Motion that Organizer call upon Board of Managers of The Worker and request list of subscribers for the purpose of sending out campaign lists. Moved and seconded that editor of The Worker be requested to print notice of an anti-union meeting of meeting for Debs in October be referred to Executive Committee; moved that motion be amended to effect that if no other date than Sunday, Oct. 23, is obtainable, all arrangements for Debs meeting in October be cancelled; moved that amendment be amended to effect that National Secretary be requested to send Comrade Debs here Oct. 22 or 24, or other suitable date in October; amendments and motion carried. Moved that meeting be arranged for Comrade Hanford between Sept. 17 and 21; substitute motion made to refer entire matter to Executive Committee; substitute motion carried. Exclusive of above action, report of Executive Committee was concurred in.

Brooklyn.
Outdoor agitation meetings of the Social Democratic Party in Brooklyn have been held as follows, all to begin at 8 o'clock.
WEDNESDAY, AUG. 17.
Fourth place and Court street. Speakers: Glavin, Schaefer and Mrs. Fraser.
Monday, Aug. 22, 12th A. D. N. W. corner of Houston street and Second avenue. Speakers: Well and Dwyer.
Warren and Third streets. Speakers: Glavin and Dwyer.
THURSDAY, AUG. 18.
Fulton street and Albany avenue. Speakers: Marx and Dawson.
FRIDAY, AUG. 19.
Atlantic avenue and Nevins street. Speakers: Mr. and Mrs. Fraser and Lewis.
Nevins street and Graham avenue. Speakers: Glavin and Dwyer.
SUNDAY, AUG. 20.
Fifth avenue and Union street. Speakers: Dwyer and Well.
Grand Indulgences, Metropolitan Square, 14th and 15th streets. Speakers: John C. Chase and Lewis.
Nevins street and Jefferson avenue. Speakers: Schaefer and Glavin.
TUESDAY, AUG. 23.
Manhattan and Graham avenues. Speakers: Well and Marx.
Nevins street and Bayard street. Speakers: Marx, Mackenzie and Glavin.
WEDNESDAY, AUG. 24.
Bond and Wyckoff streets. Speakers: Glavin, Fraser and Dwyer.
Nevins street and Jefferson avenue. Speakers: Mr. and Mrs. Fraser and George Lewis.
THURSDAY, AUG. 25.
McKibbin street and Manhattan avenue. Speakers: Mackenzie, Glavin and Schaefer.
FRIDAY, AUG. 26.
Central avenue and Hiram street. Speakers: Schaefer and Fraser.
Atlantic avenue and Nevins street. Speakers: Dwyer, Glavin and Fraser.
SUNDAY, AUG. 27.
Fifth avenue and Union street. Speakers: Dwyer, Well and Mackenzie.
Nevins street and Graham avenue. Speakers: Fraser, Glavin and Dwyer.
President and Columbus streets. Speakers: Dwyer, Glavin and Schaefer.
TUESDAY, SEPT. 6.
Kaukukawee avenue and Jefferson street. Speakers: Dwyer, Glavin and Schaefer.
TUESDAY, SEPT. 12.
Hansburg avenue and North street. Speakers: Well and Fraser.

RANGE MOUNTAINS MOVE.
The Range Mounters' and Settlers' Union has moved to Captain's Hall, 37 St. Mark's place, and the meeting nights in the future will be on the first and third Saturdays of each month.

IN NEW YORK CITY.

On the other hand, the Social Democratic Party of this city has not sufficient funds to thoroughly till this fertile soil and sow the seed of Socialism. Many of the best Socialist speakers of New York are working elsewhere and this makes it necessary to have funds to bring outside agitators into the city campaign. More literature must be published, and that takes funds. Innumerable expenses must be met if there is to be an extensive and systematic campaign for Socialism in this city.

The funds that are needed are needed AT ONCE. The appeal this year has been issued somewhat later than usual and money is needed immediately. A dollar now is worth more than five later on. Many campaign expenses must be met in advance; and our campaign has advanced more than a short time before election when the attention of the voters is distracted by the brass band, beer and boodle, burrah campaigns of the old parties.

Every Socialist and every sympathizer with the cause of emancipation should contribute all he can and should contribute it at once. All contributions should be sent to U. Solomon, Financial Secretary, 61 E. Fourth street, New York.

At the second meeting of the Central Committee of the Young People's Social Democratic Club, the constitution committee reported that it had drawn up a constitution and same was read before the committee and adopted after several changes were made. The constitution was submitted to a referendum vote and will go into effect on Aug. 20. Delegates from the three clubs reported progress and that all are doing good work. The delegates from Brooklyn suggested that a joint meeting be held some time in September. Comrade Krueger, Folger and Meyer were elected a committee to take care of the arrangements. The different committees of the Central Committee will be elected as soon as the constitution has been adopted. Meetings of the clubs are held as follows: Brooklyn, every Thursday at 800 E. Eighty-sixth street; Brooklyn, every Thursday at 940 Wiloughby avenue; Down Town, every Thursday at 64 E. Fourth street at 8 p. m. sharp. All young people are invited to attend.

The last meeting of the Down Town Young People's Social Democratic Club was well attended. The constitution submitted to referendum by the Central Committee was voted upon. Delegates were elected to the Call Committee and Second Agitation District Committee. A literary committee of four was elected and will report at the next meeting. The Entertainment Committee reported progress for the Dec. 3 concert and ball, to be held at Grand American Hall, 7 and 9 Second avenue. The New York Letter Carriers' Band of sixty pieces has been secured through the efforts of their bandmaster, Mr. Frank E. Horne.

The meeting of the 23rd A. D. was addressed by B. J. Lewis, after which he retired with the agitation committee to the street and held a meeting. Three applications for membership were received. Communications from Comrade U. Solomon laid over to next meeting. Agitation Committee reported the purchase of 1,000 copies of C. H. Kerr's "Pocket Library of Socialism", 200 10-cent pamphlets, 50 party pins, 300 Worker cards, \$121.25 received from the Workingmen's Progressive Society for agitation purposes. Subscribed for 50 copies of "The Worker" during the campaign and 400 copies of "The Worker" were ordered. Committee from the Arbeiter Ring of the Bronx proffered assistance to the Bronx Agitation Committee. They were invited to attend the meeting of the Agitation Committee and make the necessary arrangements for co-operation. Treasurer reports amount collected on half-day's pay contribution to campaign fund, Aug. 11, \$13.25, making total of \$43.42.

The 12th A. D. of Brooklyn had a well attended meeting on Aug. 5, when the following speakers were present: Comrades Chase, Solomon and Mally. The comrades are also all four new members were admitted. The 12th will have their next meeting on Saturday, Aug. 20, to Wednesday, Sept. 25, every Wednesday and Saturday. All visitors are welcome to the meetings of the 12th every first and third Friday in the month at 335 Prospect avenue.

At the last meeting of the Second Agitation District Committee, delegates from Branch 152, W. K. & D. B. and the Young People's Club were present. The delegates from Branch 152 reported that his society donated \$25, which was turned over to Comrade Weenke, who was elected treasurer of the committee. Decided that a German mass meeting be held in October, with Comrade Grenlich from Switzerland as the principal speaker; the secretary was instructed to make arrangements for the meeting. The sub-committee appointed by the state committee to straighten out

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VOL. XIV.—NO. 22.

MORE OF LAWSON'S EXPOSURES.

The Methods of High Finance Laid Bare by the Big Copper Capitalist.

A Clear Account of the Intricate Methods Secretly Used in the Creation and Manipulation of Watered Stock by Which the Kings of Capitalism Fleece the Small Investors.

Thomas W. Lawson's remarkable exposure of the methods of the Standard Oil magnates continues in the September installment of his "Frenzied Finance: The Story of Amalgamation," now running in "Everybody's Magazine." Mr. Lawson was on the inside of the Standard Oil ring in the Amalgamated Copper deal and is now carrying on a campaign against his former associates, by whom he was duped and, so he claims, deceived into being used as a tool for the furtherance of their fraudulent operations.

Mr. Lawson's second article is devoted mainly to an account of the utterly unscrupulous trickery by which the big capitalists, through the use of the banks and other financial institutions which they control, create and manipulate inflated or "watered" stocks in such a way as to fleece the small investors and little capitalists whom Mr. Lawson always calls "the public."

Workingmen need waste no sympathy on the little labor skimmers who, while striving to have a share in the plundering of the working class, are themselves fleeced in turn by the greater capitalists. The "watering" of stocks does not directly increase the exploitation of labor; in itself such increased capitalization is perhaps justifiable from even a "legitimate" capitalist standpoint, on account of the prospective profits of a great consolidation, as representing the value of monopoly in addition to the ordinary value of the capital employed.

For the workingman the question of capitalization based on the actual capital invested or based on inflation and "over-capitalization" is only a question whether his labor will be exploited to pay large dividends on a small number of stock shares or small dividends on a large number of shares. But the manipulation of "watered" stocks by which the little capitalists are swindled is of significance as one of the methods by which an increasing amount of capital is concentrated in the ownership of a diminishing number of capitalists, thus hastening the number of propertyless workers and aiding the inevitable growth of monopoly which leads to the revolution and precedes the transition to Socialism. Over-capitalization or stock-watering is also highly important as one of the methods by which the tremendous size of the profits on the amount of capital really invested is concealed from the working class. And the practices, as well described by Mr. Lawson, attending the creation and manipulation of watered stock corporations are noteworthy as providing the completely dishonest and practical character of those "eminent and respectable citizens" who are the very flower of the capitalist class.

Following are extracts from the second of Mr. Lawson's articles:

The Power of Dollars.

"At no time in the history of the United States has the power of dollars been as great as now. Freedom and equity are controlled by dollars. The laws which should preserve and enforce all rights are made and enforced by dollars. It is possible to-day, with dollars, to 'steer' the selection of the candidates of both the great parties for the highest office in our Republic, that of President of the United States, so that the people, as a matter of fact, must elect one of the 'steered' candidates. It is possible to repeat the operation in the selection of candidates for the executive and legislative control and control of every state and municipality in the United States, and with a sufficient number of dollars to 'steer' the doings of the law-makers and law-enforcers, not that there are not as many of them in proportion to the whole body as there were at the creation of our Republic. I believe there is at the present time as large a percentage of honesty among Americans as ever there has been, but it is plainly evident to any student of the times that at no other period in the history of the United States has honesty been so completely 'steered' by dishonesty as at this, the beginning of the twentieth century.

"I shall go further and say that there exists to-day uncontrolled in the hands of a set of men a power to make dollars from nothing. That function of dollar-making which the people believe is vested in the government and only exercised under the law for their benefit, is actually being secretly exercised on an enormous scale by a few private individuals for their own personal benefit.

"I believe 'Standard Oil' was the first to utilize this secret device for circumventing the safeguards which the law has created to protect the savings of the people, the first to practically apprehend that a large proportion of all the money in circulation which belongs to the people or the government and is in the custody of the national and savings banks and trust and insurance companies, it would only be necessary for a set of men to obtain control of sufficient of the principal national and savings banks and trust and insurance companies to control practically unlimited amounts of such funds, and thus be able to 'make' money at will, by using the money

Intricacy of the System.

"The next move was to use Standard Oil stock as the basis for loans, that is, as collateral for money borrowed from the banks, trust and insurance companies, and treasuries of other great corporations and estates. The money thus acquired was paid out to purchase the control of banks and trust and insurance companies in all parts of the United States, the Standard Oil ownership being represented by dummy directors and officers."

"The next move represents another of the dastardly devices of finance by which 'Standard Oil' is adept, and brings the process of artificial expansion into play along with the creation of a certain number of savings and national banks and trust and insurance companies having been acquired, the funds of each were so manipulated by depositing those of one institution with another, and the latter's in turn with the first, as to swell their deposits and create in all of them an apparently legitimate basis for increases of capitalization. At the same time were shown an apparently legitimate necessity for the establishment of additional banking and trust companies, which were duly organized and their assets juggled around by the same process. The result of all this manipulation defies description. Throughout the series of correlated institutions loans and deposits are multiplied in such an intricate duplication that only a few able experts, employed by the 'system' because of their mathematical genius, are able to unravel the tangle to the degree of approximating the proportion the legitimate funds bear to those which have been created by the financial jugglery I have indicated.

"When 'Standard Oil' had gathered into its net sufficient of the national and private institutions of finance there still remained the Federal government, the largest holder of money in the country. It was not hard for 'Standard Oil' to introduce its expert votaries into the United States Treasury and thus to steer the millions of the nation into the banks subject to the 'system's' control. This accomplished, the structure was complete and the process of 'making' dollars proceeded on a magnificent scale.

"That there may be no possible doubt in the minds of those of my readers who are unacquainted with actual matters that I am citing every day, actual happenings, I will tell just how the Daily-Haggin-Tevie-Anaconda-Amalgamated transaction was worked out, showing that but for the existence of the National City Bank of New York it could not have been brought about.

"When Mr. Rogers and William Rockefeller traded with Messrs. Daly, Haggin, and Tevie for the Anaconda stock, and with others for like stock or other properties which I have already named, the price agreed upon was \$24,000,000 to Daly, Haggin, and Tevie, and \$15,000,000 to the others, or \$39,000,000 in all. This was to be paid by 'Standard Oil' and received by Daly, Haggin, and Tevie, and the others, but one of the stipulations in the 'trade' was that instead of the money's being paid to Daly, Haggin, and Tevie, and others direct, it was to be credited to them on the books of the National City Bank of New York and was to be, by the bank, not withdrawn from the bank before a given time, the bank agreeing that the new owners of this money should receive interest at a low rate upon it while it so remained deposited. At the same time the bank agreed to loan Mr. Rogers and William Rockefeller the \$30,000,000 at the same rate of interest upon the collateral which was the \$39,000,000 used in purchasing. Therefore the first part of the transaction was as follows:

"The bank, having \$39,000,000 on hand belonging to the public in the form of savings deposited, or having a fictitious \$39,000,000 in the form of bookkeeping accounts made possible by the deposits of the public and the manipulation of the funds in other banks and trust and insurance companies belonging to the public or the government, caused an entry to be made in its books showing that this \$39,000,000 was hereafter to be owned by Daly, Haggin, and Tevie, and others, and that the bank had loaned same to Mr. Rogers and William Rockefeller.

Dummy Directors.

"The second part was the summing into the City Bank of certain 'Standard Oil' lawyers, office boys, and clerks, and the organization by them of the Amalgamated Copper Company. The lawyers drew up the papers and the office boys and clerks signed them. First, the papers certified that whereas we (the office boys and clerks) are de-

DEBS' REPLY TO CLEVELAND.

A Statement Refused by "McClure's."

Summary of Our Presidential Candidate's Reply to ex-President's Recent Treason Against the American Railway Union in the Great Pullman Strike of '94.

In reply to Grover Cleveland's article in "McClure's Magazine" in defense of his action in sending federal troops against the strikers in the great American Railway Union strike of 1894, Eugene V. Debs, the leader of that strike, and the present candidate of the Socialist Party for President, wrote an article for "McClure's" which that magazine declined to publish, although it was written at their request. Debs' reply will be published in full in the "Appeal to Reason," the Socialist paper published at Girard, Pa., in a special edition on Aug. 23. Fred D. Warren, one of the editors of the "Appeal," has sent the following advance summary of Debs' article to the press, with the authorization of Comrade Debs:

In the July issue of "McClure's Magazine" ex-President Cleveland has an article on "The Government in the Chicago Strike of 1894." That there can be no mistake about the meaning of "government" in this connection it should be understood that Mr. Cleveland has reference to the federal government of which he was the executive head at the time of the strike in question, and not to the state government of Illinois, or the municipal government of Chicago, both of which were overriden and set at defiance by the executive authority enforced by the military power of the federal government under the administration of Mr. Cleveland.

It is certain that of his own knowledge ex-President Cleveland knows nothing of the strike he discusses; that the evidence upon which he acted officially and upon which he now bases his conclusions was ex parte obtained wholly from the railroad interests and those who represented or were controlled by these interests, and it is not strange, therefore, that he falls into a series of errors, as may be proved beyond doubt by reference to the "Report on the Chicago Strike" by the "United States Strike Commission" of his own appointment.

When the strike at Chicago occurred did President Cleveland make a personal investigation? No.

Did he grant both sides a hearing? He did not.

I aver that he received every particle of his information from the capitalist side, that he was prompted to act by the capitalist side, that his official course was determined wholly, absolutely by the interests of the capitalist side and that no more thought or consideration was given to the hundreds of thousands of workingmen whose lives and whose wives and babies were at stake than if they had been so many swine or sheep on the way to the shambles.

In reviewing the article by ex-President Cleveland I wish to add to the proof of my exceptions and denials as well as the evidence to support my affirmations, and if I fail to relieve the great body of railroad men who composed the American Railway Union of the criminal stigma which Mr. Cleveland has sought to fasten upon them, or if I cannot produce satisfactory evidence that the crimes charged were investigated by the other side, the side in which I believe, I will resign my federal government, it will assume publicly ask forgiveness of the railroaders, apologize to the ex-President and cease my agitation forever.

The implication that runs through Mr. Cleveland's article is that the railroad corporations were paragons of peace and patriotism, law and order, while the railway employees were a criminal, desperate and bloodthirsty mob which had to be suppressed by the strong arm of the government.

The Pullman strike began May 11, 1894, and was perfectly peaceful and orderly until the army of "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts," as Superintendent of Police Brennan called them in his official report to the Council of Chicago, were sworn in as deputies by the United States marshal at the command of Edwin Walker, attorney of the General Managers' Association and special counsel to the government.

Let us quote from the report of the strike commission, consisting of Labor Commissioner Wright, John B. Kernan of New York and N. E. Worthington of Illinois, two lawyers appointed by Cleveland:

"It is undoubtedly true that the officers and directors of the American Railway Union did not want a strike at Pullman and advised against it. Page 27. (Yet the president of the union, Mr. Debs, is a man who believes that Debs ordered the strike.) It should be noted that until the railroad set the example a general union of railway employees was never attempted. Page 28.

The refusal of the General Managers' Association to recognize and deal with such a combination of labor as the A. R. U. seems arrogant and absurd when we consider its standing before the law, its accomplishments, and its past obviously contemplated future actions. Page 31.

The strike occurred on the 11th of May and from that time until the soldiers were sent to Pullman, about July 4, 1900 strikers were played about the company's property, property to guard it from destruction or interference. This guarding of property is not a strike, as a rule, a mere pretense. You often see the real object of guards to pro-

WALTER WELLMAN ON COLORADO.

The Admissions and Falsehoods of a Capitalistic Correspondent.

Journalistic Prostitute Sent to Colorado to Vindicate Governor Peabody's Military Despotism Glorifies the Outrages of the Infamous General Bell and the Murderous "Citizens' Alliance" of Local Capitalists.

Walter Wellman, a prominent newspaper correspondent, has written a series of letters from Colorado on the struggle between the miners and the capitalists in that state, which have recently appeared in the New York "Herald," the Chicago "Record-Herald" and other papers.

After stating in his first letter that his investigation and expression of opinion would be "impartial," Wellman proceeded to express his horror at the fact that the Western Federation of Miners stands for political action with the Socialist Party and he seems to imply that this is sufficient reason why they should be wiped out of the earth.

In his final letter this capitalist-kid correspondent attempts to justify the actions of the capitalist-owned government and blames the striking miners with all the present conditions in Colorado, notwithstanding the fact that the legislature, owned by the mine owners, defied the legally expressed will of the people and refused to pass the eight-hour law demanded by an overwhelming majority at the polls on the vote for constitutional amendment.

Wellman, however, is forced to make amazing admissions regarding the lawless and despotic methods of the military and state officials. He not only admits these outrages but brazenly glorifies them and expresses his admiration for the infamous (though he, whom he usually quotes as a lawyer, says "they were not so bad") military and state officials. He not only admits these outrages but brazenly glorifies them and expresses his admiration for the infamous (though he, whom he usually quotes as a lawyer, says "they were not so bad") military and state officials.

Wellman himself says: "Applying evidence supports the charge that among the guards hired by the mine owners were at least six or eight train robbers, man killers, forger, convicts or convicts in parole. I have their names and records, but it would do no good to print them."

He tries to offset the admitted lawlessness of the constituted authorities and their capitalist bosses, by lying charges against the miners—charges the most important of which were not even plausible at first and which have been disproven.

The following extracts, culled from Wellman's seven long articles, show how much capitalist lawlessness even an agent of capitalist interests is forced to acknowledge:

"A mob, composed in part of leading merchants of Victor, raided the union store, gutted it, knocked in the heads of barrels and the sides of boxes and three thousands of dollars' worth of goods into the gutter. This outrage was largely the work of local tradesmen, who did not like the competition of the union store."

"That night there was a council of war of the mine owners and other citizens to decide what should be done next. Some favored a vigilance committee and wholesale hanging. Better counsel prevailed and deportation of the mere radical labor agitators was decided on."

"No time was lost in getting about the business. The Sheriff, Edward Bell, a man of sterling character and steel-like nerve, swore in deputies and arrested more than a hundred of the men who were declared to be dangerous characters. The majority of these were released on promise of good behavior, but forty or fifty of them were put on a train and taken to Denver, with dire warnings as to what would happen to them should they ever return."

"Then the attention turned their attention to the Victor 'Record,' the little daily newspaper which had served as the organ of the unionists. Seven unmasked men, armed, suddenly appeared in the printing office one night. Four of them held up the printers and editors with their guns, while the others smashed the machinery with two sledgehammers. After breaking a telephone and a typewriter and firing a shot through the office clock as a parting salute, the men went away. For several days the paper was unable to print its regular edition, and the financial loss was heavy."

"A good deal of sympathy has been wasted on this little daily paper and its owners. When after column of rhetoric has been written in Eastern papers and magazines on this invasion of the liberty of the press. Probably I would be as eager as any one to champion freedom of the press, but it is difficult to defend the Victor 'Record' or to get sentimental about its wrongs."

"Moreover, General Bell made no secret of his intention to destroy the influence of the Western Federation of Miners in his military district. He looked upon that organization as an 'infector of crime.' As long as it continued he believed crime would continue. He believed there could be no security and peace in the camp as long as the Federation was there, and so he used his power to 'run' them out."

"At last the mine owners and the Citizens' Alliance had the man they wanted. They had a man who would not hesitate to send political prisoners, even mere suspects, to Siberia. Thus began a series of military incursions and deportations."

"When I asked General Bell to tell me some of the troubles he had been through, how he felt about them and what I could say of it all to Eastern readers he slowly replied: 'We've simply been doing what we had to do, and having done our business I can't say that I have any particular feeling about it one way or another. And furthermore, I don't care a damn what the East or the South or the

"The judge said he was up against it and the sheriff didn't come over. Later on I had another session with this same Judge Seeger and I say to him: 'Now you just go to buttoning up around here and interfering with military operations, and I'll throw you in and keep you there.'"

"Three rich mine owners came to me with a tale of woe; their Eastern stockholders were kicking because

STRICKEN FALL RIVER.

By Franklin H. Wentworth.

Here is Fall River. There, but a few miles away, is Newport. Here are suffering, hunger, want, poverty, bitter, hopeless. The workers live here. There are great mansions, with glass-covered verandas, upon which lie, amid luxurious cushions, men and women who know no want. The idlers live there.

Last night Mrs. Herman Oelrichs gave what she called a bal blanc, a white ball, a ball of the powdered hair. Men in white satin knee breeches, with silk coats and silk stockings and diamond buckles. Women in nothing more than polite society requires, which is not much, but very costly.

A corps of detectives mingled with the guests to prevent \$200,000 thefts of gems. Thieves were feared, thieves without or within.

Last night, a few miles from here, Mrs. Oelrichs spent twenty-five thousand dollars on this ball.

Last night, here in Fall River, a woman was put into Bedford street, sick and worn, her babe in her arms; put out of her tenement. She owed rent for a week and three days. A crowd gathered in sympathy, a crowd of the workers. A policeman dispersed them. Then he took the woman and found another woman, almost as poor, who took her in. And then, oh wonderful! And yet not so wonderful, for policemen are also men; this officer produced a two dollar bill, put it in the woman's hand and went away. The woman was a weaver; she had worked from her girlhood. She was only forty, but she looked sixty. The capitalist system had done for her. It had wrung her dry and thrown her in the street. The lives of women like this strike out of the slits and stabs on the women at balls at Newport, only a few miles away. The men and women at Mrs. Oelrichs' bal blanc were dancing and flirting and lounging in clothes stained all over with the blood of workmen and women.

Yesterday, at noon, I stood in the headquarters of the Salvation Army. There were six or seven hundred little children there, waiting to be fed. They were singing one of the drivelling songs of the tambourine army, set to a rag-time tune.

They ought to have been singing the "Marseillaise."

There were great cauldrons in the alley outside, cauldrons full of meat and potato stew, with fire under them fighting the chill of the driving rain. The children were wet, and were huddled into a room to eat and to be fed. The odors were foul. It was hard to breathe in the room, but the faces of the children were happy. They were going to have something to eat. In another room were three long tables, with tin dishes set so near together that only children waist high could squeeze into them. The dishes were filled with the potato soup, and before each dish were two slices of bread. The door of the room was opened and a file of children passed through to the tables. They were so hungry that they would stop at the first table, all of them, if the attendants did not show them along. Some of them had brought pails to carry away home what they could not eat.

They were allowed to do this. One little boy, five or six years old, so little that he could reach the low table, ate nothing at all. He emptied his soup into his pail and put the bread on top of it. Then he stood silently and watched the others eat. He had a baby sister at home. Only little children cry for food. He was nearly six, quite a man, old-enough to starve without a tear.

In Mrs. Oelrichs' kennels at Newport the dogs were sleeping beside dishes of food they had not eaten. Oh, the joy of being a dog! Dogs have enough to eat. They do not have to go hungry to feed their little puppy sisters. No one lets a dog go hungry. But dogs do go on strike. Only men do that. Men who are willing to remain on the dog place and take what is given them; they will be fed.

At the city hall, in the office of the overseer of the poor, I saw a long line of men and women men I could not say in there; the faces were too hopeless. The rain outside was better. A wet skin calmed the frightful rage in my breast.

I went to the Rescue Mission. It was full, too, of humanity in damp clothing. I stood in the doorway, out of the beating rain. The old attendant asked me to come in. A woman, wet and dripping, crept in with me. She was weak from hunger. The old man asked her for her ticket. She had none. All the others in there, waiting for the soup to cook, had tickets. The old man told her if she was any left after feeding those who had tickets he would give her some. She sank down inside the door, very grateful. It was a cold-hole under the sidewalk, where a woman and woman men were tending three wash-bowls full of soup crowded onto a small stove. They gave me some of the soup to taste, to prove it wasn't bad. Everything was as clean as it was possible to have it. The quarters were too small to feed many. Two hundred a day is the limit. The Salvation Army feeds fifteen hundred children.

Thirty-two thousand on strike. Only a third of these are in unions. The non-union men and women are standing out loyalty. The unions are helping the most desperate of them. This requires a large heart. The benefit fund will hardly feed the union operatives, those who have been giving year after year to support the unions; and yet they are dividing with the non-union workers, who have never shared their burden. This is class-consciousness. They are workers. They are in

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There never was a time when the seeds of Socialism would take such quick root here as now. For it can be made clear to anyone that these men and women in Fall River cannot be set free until those baby children in the South are set free. Labor is one body, child and man alike, and no section or locality of laborers can get free without freeing every other.

Class-conscious political action by a united working class, action that shall abolish forever a hideous system under which the man and the machine engage in a death struggle with the little child; this resource alone is left. And the rank and file here are ready for it. Dan White spoke to a thousand men last Saturday night and last night fifty or sixty gathered in the rain to hear more of the gospel of Socialism. Outside speaking was impossible.

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AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run. Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them. Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

GREAT MASS-MEETING FOR DEBS.

At Carnegie Hall, Fifty-sixth street and Seventh avenue, New York, on Tuesday, Sept. 6, Eugene V. Debs, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, will answer Grover Cleveland's attack on the famous American Railway Union strike and his attempt to defend his sending Federal troops against the strikers. George D. Herron will preside. Admission, 10 cents; box seats, 25 cents; platform seats, 50 cents. Tickets are now on sale at the office of The Worker and at the following places: New York Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street; Socialist Literary Society, 233 E. Broadway; W. E. A., 206 E. Eighth street; W. E. A., 3300 Third avenue; T. J. Lewis' upholstery store, 1824 Broadway; office of "The Comrade," 11 Cooper Square; office of "The Forward," 178 E. Broad-

way; store, 255 E. Twenty-seventh street; Ploeg's Hall, 240 E. Eighth street; E. Pracht's cigar store, 625 Tenth avenue.

Every Socialist and sympathizer should make every effort to advertise this meeting as widely as possible. Thirty thousand cards advertising the meeting are being distributed and 2,000 large posters with Debs' picture are being put up. A supply of these cards can be obtained at the office of the Organizer, 64 E. Fourth street, at any time between 10 a. m. and 10 p. m. Comrades who are willing to volunteer to distribute the cards, act as ushers at the meeting or do any other committee work are requested to communicate with the Organizer at once.

Invitations have been sent to all labor organizations inviting them to attend the Debs meeting.

The wind roared like a demon. We found a little empty shop. A comrade trailed out for a kerchief and in the meanwhile we had our meeting. And small as it was, and stuffy, and dark, this last night's meeting may blossom into victory. For the men who listened were determined men, and when the lamp went out, they buttoned their coats about their throats and breathed the storm with a cheer.

Fall River, Aug. 21.

AT AMSTERDAM.

The International Socialist Congress Adopts a Resolution Condemning Revisionism and Upholding the Tactics of Uncompromising Class-Consciousness.

In the sessions of the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam last week at the discussion upon the resolution relating to the policy of the Socialist parties of the world, as adopted by the German Social Democracy at the congress at Dresden and endorsed by the Guesdists at Bielefeld and Jaures to the policy by which the revisionists, the former advocates of the revolution, the latter upholding it.

The vote resulted as follows: For the resolution: Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Spain, America, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland and Russia: Against: The British Colonies. The vote of the following countries was split: Great Britain, the Social Democratic Federation, voted for the resolution and the Independent Labor Party against; France, the Unionists in favor, Jauresists against; Norway, not voting; Argentine Republic, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland.

The resolution reads: "We decidedly condemn the attempts of the revisionists to change our heretofore victorious policy, based upon the class struggle, to a policy by which the conquest of the powers of the state would be replaced by making compromises with our enemies."

"The consequences of such a policy would be that our party, whose object it is, to as soon as possible, change the present social system to that of the Co-operative Commonwealth, a party with a thoroughly revolutionary policy, would be replaced by a party calculated with reforming the present social system."

"Therefore, we believe, contrary to the policy of the revisionists, that the class struggle will not become less intense, but constantly more aggravated and we herewith declare:

"1. That the party declines to assume the responsibility for the political and economic conditions resulting from the revisionist policy, and, therefore, refuses to support any measures calculated to assist the ruling classes in continuing them in power."

"2. That the Social Democracy, in accordance with the Kautsky resolutions adopted by the International Socialist Congress of Paris in 1900, cannot take part in bourgeois government."

"We, furthermore, condemn all attempts to cover up the existing social contrasts in order to bring about a co-operation with bourgeois parties."

A CANDIDATE AND HIS EMPLOYERS.

M. W. Wilkins, whose correspondence in the last issue of The Worker described the anti-union activity and capitalist interests of the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate, adds the following:

"The Democratic party is prating of a return to Jeffersonian simplicity. Shades of the great Thomas J. himself! You should see the home of Henry G. Davis, the party's Vice-Presidential candidate. It is a palace fit for an emperor. It surpasses in splendor every dwelling place in West Virginia save the home of 'The Republican' United States Senator, Stephen R. Elkins, who, by the way, is a son-in-law of Mr. Davis.

"While Henry G. Davis lives in a style that is truly royal, the poor miners who deliver in the bowels of the earth and bring forth the wealth that pays for all the Davis splendor, are themselves housed like cattle. No dog or horse owned by Mr. Davis would be allowed to dwell for a day in the miserable shacks where the miners of his coal camp live. The rich man's dog and horse have the comfort and convenience of life, but the poor human slaves who produce the rich man's wealth must be satisfied with a place to crawl into and sleep. Yet millions of workmen by their vote next November will declare that the continuance of this pitiful economic contrast is right and proper."

Government of, for and by the Citizens' Alliance shall not perish from Colorado until the workmen decide otherwise at the ballot box.

Government of, for and by the Citizens' Alliance shall not perish from Colorado until the workmen decide otherwise at the ballot box.

if we could not succeed in doing so.
M. TANZER

NEW YORK CALL.

A Daily Trade Union and Socialist newspaper to be published in the interests of the Working Class. Trade Unions and Labor Organizations are invited to send two delegates each to the New York Call Conference of New York every second Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York, or the New York Call Conference of Brooklyn, meeting every fourth Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 640 Wiloughby avenue, Brooklyn.

Workingsmen, this is to be your paper. Organized by workmen and controlled by the delegates to the conference and the Workingmen's Cooperative Publishing Association, which meets every first Monday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from page 3.)

follow Comrade Debs from Oct. 8 to Oct. 13. John W. Brown of Massachusetts will tour the state from Oct. 18 to Nov. 1. Dates for any and all of these speakers may be applied for now. The sooner the better.

Every local should distribute as much literature as possible. The State Committee has a good supply on hand of several kinds: "The Mission of Social Democracy," \$1 per 1,000; the state platform and state ticket at \$1 per 1,000; stickers advertising the emblem and party name at 30 cents per 1,000.

Lithographs of Debs and Hanford for New York state will be ready for distribution the present week, and all locals that have already ordered them will receive them just as soon as they arrive from the national office. These lithographs are sold at \$2 per 100.

The State Committee is having 5,000 copies of "Debs' Platform," "Unions and Socialism," "The Mission of Social Democracy," "The Labor War in Colorado," and other literature printed, with cuts of Debs and Hanford, and party designation, with other matter inserted on cover pages. These should be sold at all meetings. The price to locals will be \$4 per hundred. All locals ordering Hanford's booklet, "The Labor War in Colorado," should get the special edition for New York state with the name and emblem of the party displayed.

All locals holding the national half-day's pay list should return them at once to the State Secretary. It is desired to have this matter closed up and the lists should be forwarded whether they have any pledges or not. The locals that have the penny papers are requested to have them opened and make a report on the same to the State Secretary at once. This is asked for in order to ascertain how the matter has been progressing.

The state subscription lists for the campaign fund should not be forgotten and laid somewhere until after the campaign is over, but industriously circulated. The amounts received on lists should be sent in to the local secretaries by comrades as fast as collected, and the local secretary should forward without delay the amount that is to come to the State Committee.

The State Committee is constantly in need of money for printing bills and other expenses and all subscriptions and all payments for literature should be promptly remitted.

New York City.

Sunday evening lectures at Colonial Hall, One Hundred and First street near Columbus avenue, will commence on Sunday evening, Sept. 4, when Meyer London will discuss the question "Can We Trust the Trusts?" Other speakers for the month are John C. Chase, Peter E. Burrows, and Jos. Wanhope.

The appeal to the comrades to push the circulation of The Worker at open-air meetings, which appears on another page of this paper, comes from a very active member of the 6th and 10th A. D. which has shown in this year's campaign an enthusiasm to treat workers in both these districts will undoubtedly result. The activity which has lately distinguished these two districts is largely due to the very young members, whose presence the districts owe to the Virgin folk building which by means of its evening discussions twice a week has gained for the party a large number of young, intelligent, German workmen. This Verein für Volksbildung, which will discuss its evening discussions in a club to be established about the middle of October, will doubtless be as useful and successful in the future as in the past, working for the party and the party's most important institution, the press. It is to be remembered that the German comrades labor and agitate for our English party organ with an enthusiasm that will certainly bring good results to the movement.

At the last meeting of the Second Agitation District, held at the headquarters of the Union No. 1 turned over to the campaign fund. All other organizations should follow this example and donate as much as their treasury will allow. Letter from the First Agitation District Committee was received wherein they state that they will donate a sum of money to the city campaign fund and therefore it is felt necessary for them to turn over to the Second Agitation District sums that were collected from trade unions in Second Agitation District. A meeting for Comrade Greulich of Switzerland could not be arranged, but instead the secretary was instructed to arrange a meeting for Comrade Vanderveide of Belgium if possible. The delegates of the 9th and 10th A. D. complain about the negligence of the speakers at open-air meetings, that on several occasions only one was present out of three booked. For the benefit of the movement, the Second Agitation District Committee hopes that the speakers will be more punctual in the future and if it is impossible for them to attend the meeting to notify the Agitation District Committee in time. The speakers will kindly be in mind. Five thousand German and English leaflets, "The Mission of the S. D. P.," by Debs, were ordered. Successful open-air meetings with English and German speakers are being held twice a week in each district. The secretary will try to secure more German speakers. Many copies of The Worker and much literature are being sold at the street meetings. Arrangements to hold a ratification meeting for local candidates, and possibly the candidate for Governor, will be decided on at the next meeting. Committee will visit

all organizations that have not sent delegates, asking them at the same time for a donation to the campaign fund of the Second Agitation District Committee. Owing to Labor Day falling on the regular meeting night, the committee will hold its next meeting Monday evening, Sept. 12, at 64 E. Fourth street. Address all communications for information regarding the committee to Edward Meyer, Secretary, 64 E. Fourth street.

At a meeting of the Murray Hill Agitation Committee, held at 241 E. Forty-second street on Wednesday evening, Aug. 30, the following business was transacted. A delegate from the Jewish Workmen's Circle, Dr. 35, came and asked the co-operation of the Murray Hill Agitation Committee to arrange a meeting with a prominent Jewish speaker and try and get the Jewish workmen present to join the Workers' Circle, a sick and death benefit organization, also agitate for the party as well. Action on this was laid over till next meeting. Comrades Paulitsch and Mullen volunteered to speak three times a week in the 18th, 20th and 22d A. D. outside of the meeting arranged by the Organizer. It was decided that the Agitation Committee recommend to the various districts the kind of literature to get. Three thousand stickers were ordered to be put up by a committee from each district. It was also agreed that each district try to place The Worker on sale at the various newsstands in the districts. The delegates from the 24th A. D. were not present at the meeting.

CITY EXECUTIVE, AUG. 22. Regular meeting City Executive Committee, Aug. 22. Present: Edwards, Egerton, Fishman, Kelly, Lane, Nathan, Orlis, Solomon, Spindler, Stirling, Van Name. Absent, excused: Elbert, Liebschtein, Mittenhausen, Meyer, Orlis, Orlis. Communications: Letter from Comrade Slobodin stating that he had received word from Comrade Simons of Chicago that Comrade Vanderveide of Belgium would arrive in New York between Sept. 1 and 6.

Letter from Comrade Jas. S. Smith of Illinois stating that Comrade Collins would be in New York Sept. 23 or 24, but that it would be impossible for him to remain here later than Oct. 10. Motion carried that Comrade Collins be engaged for period in accordance with letter.

Letter from Comrade Geiger offering services as speaker. Motion carried that Organizer engage Comrade Geiger for some time during campaign, period to be left to discretion of Organizer.

Letter from R. C. P. A. consenting to supply Organizer with copy of description list, on condition that the list be employed to send out subscription campaign lists only and not to solicit party members. Motion carried that Organizer reply stating that local reserves the right to employ list to solicit party members.

Letter from R. C. P. A. replying to request for printing of advertisement of Debs meeting on first page stating that it is an invariable rule of the paper to print an advertisement on first page; motion carried that matter be referred to General Committee.

Letter from Standard Publishing Company of Terre Haute, Ind., offering literature on favorable terms. Organizer instructed to thank above company for its courtesy.

Eleven applications for membership received and referred to General Committee. Application of Meyer London received. Comrade Gillis, representing 4th A. D., appeared before committee and requested that Organizer be reinstated as member of party. Motion carried that application of Meyer London be referred to General Committee.

Report of Agitation District: First Agitation District, report of Comrade Fishman: Received delegates at last meeting from many large organizations on East Side. Delegates have been received from Cloakmakers' Union. Large notification meeting held last week at headquarters. Endeavoring to get attendance of about 3,000 and \$88 was collected. All assembly districts organized on election district basis. Large ratification meeting held at Thalia Theater, Aug. 22. First Agitation District ass had printed Jewish leaflets, which it can sell to other districts at \$1.50 per thousand.

Second Agitation District, report of Comrade Solomon: Regular street meetings held. Comrade Meyer resigned as delegate to Executive Committee. Comrade and Comrade Solomon elected in his stead.

West Side Agitation District, report of Comrade Spindler: Endeavoring to secure suitable headquarters. Instructed to request Executive Committee that advertisements of Debs' meeting be inserted in capitalist papers. The first meeting against Comrade Fieldman, selling his own literature at street meetings, inquired as to whether provisions have been made for overflow meetings at Carnegie Hall. Recommended that Socialist literature be sold at uniform price throughout the city. Recommended that Executive Committee hire four or five men to carry transparencies in Labor Day parade.

Yorkville Agitation District: No delegate present, no report.

Harlem Agitation District: Report of Comrade Van Name. Good meetings held at One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street and Seventh avenue and One Hundred and Fifteenth street and Fifth avenue. Fair meetings at One Hundred and First street and Amsterdam avenue.

Brooklyn Agitation District, report of Comrade Stirling. Two open-air meetings weekly. Committee from Arbeiter Ring appear and offer assistance. Pro-

test against Organizer's allotment of speakers to Bronx Agitation District.

Report of Organizer: Arrangements completed for Debs meeting. All box tickets sold. About 2,500 of 10 cent tickets sold. No doubt of meeting's success. Arrangements made for advertising by way of bill posters in various parts of city. Ten thousand additional throwaway cards ordered. Quantities of literature and buttons ordered for sale at hall. Has ordered from National Secretary 5,000 copies of national platform printed in Italian. Ordered from State Committee 50,000 "Mission of the S. D. P." Conventions held and nomination papers received. Conventions in 4th A. D. and 17th Congressional District irregular. County convention held. Nominations made for Justice of Supreme Court, First Judicial District, and Judge of City Court. Expected to have entire list of nominees ready in two weeks to submit to General Committee. Thirty-one open-air meetings arranged for current week. Preference given to districts in vicinity of Carnegie Hall, so that Debs meeting may be properly advertised. Extension of engagement of Comrade Fieldman. Has received word from Max Hayes stating that it would be impossible for him to speak here in October, as previously arranged.

Motion carried that Comrade Laidlaw be engaged by Organizer as speaker.

Arrangements for Debs meeting in October laid out table.

Organizer instructed to co-operate with Executive Committee in arrangements for reception and entertainment of Comrade Vanderveide.

Application of Meyer London for membership received and approved.

Report of Presidential Committee: 18th A. D. elect I. Sackin as delegate in place of S. Panzer and send H. Glassner as additional delegate. On motion Comrade Sackin was seated. The 10th A. D. not being entitled to any additional delegate Comrade Glassner was not seated.

Report of Executive Committee: Recommendation of Executive Committee that Meyer London be reinstated to party membership was not concurred in.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting General Committee of Local New York Saturday, Aug. 27, Comrade Wolf in the chair.

Thirty applicants for membership be admitted.

Application of Meyer London for membership received and approved.

Report of Presidential Committee: 18th A. D. elect I. Sackin as delegate in place of S. Panzer and send H. Glassner as additional delegate. On motion Comrade Sackin was seated. The 10th A. D. not being entitled to any additional delegate Comrade Glassner was not seated.

Report of Executive Committee: Recommendation of Executive Committee that Meyer London be reinstated to party membership was not concurred in.

Report of Delegate to State Committee: The action of the delegate to the State Committee in refusing to vote for the granting of a sum of money to the "Appeal to Reason" in return for a special edition for New York state, was approved, and motion carried that delegate to State Committee be instructed to have above matter reconsidered, if possible.

Roll call and reports of districts. Absent and excused: W. C. Jordan, D. Strohman, L. H. Harris, H. L. Slobodin, A. N. Josephson, G. Graff, F. Brunner, J. Lewis, A. Hohl, A. Bauer, M. Levy, D. Schuster, John H. Lenz, H. Engel, L. Rauch, H. Stahl, A. Bader, Otto Gank, John Paar, Geo. Blumberg, C. E. Jones, J. M. Levin, Mayer, Holman, R. Hopp.

Consideration of nomination of four members of Local Quorum. The comrades who had signified their acceptance of nomination were Paulitsch, Slobodin, Phillips, Abrahams, Mayer, Bartholomew, Chase. Moved that committee proceed to consider nominations. Point of order raised that General Committee possessed no right to consider nominations, but that entire list must be submitted to State Committee. Point of order declared not well taken. Appeal taken from decision of chair. On appeal, the point of order was sustained. On motion all nominations were referred to referendum.

Consideration of nomination of one member of State Committee. Comrades who had signified their acceptance were Van Name, Solomon. Moved and seconded that submission to referendum be deferred for one week. Motion lost.

CITY EXECUTIVE, AUG. 20. Regular meeting City Executive Committee Monday, Aug. 20. Present: Egerton, Elbert, Kelly, Liebschtein, Mittenhausen, Nathan, Orlis, Solomon, Spindler, Stirling, Van Name. Absent, excused: Edwards, Fishman, Lane, Orlis, Van Name.

Comrade Comrade Mally stating that Bohemian Organizer will be at disposal of Local New York shortly. Terms and period of stay will be communicated later. Organizer was instructed to take action thereon.

Reports of Agitation Districts: First Agitation District, no delegate present; no report.

Second Agitation District, report of Comrade Solomon: No meeting held since last report. Regular street meetings held. Reports that no arrangements have been made in district for Greulich meeting. Organizer instructed to investigate matter of arrangements for Greulich meeting.

Murray Hill Agitation District: No delegate present, no report. Organizer reported that matter of reorganization of Murray Hill Agitation District was under consideration.

West Side Agitation District: No meeting held since last report. Handicapped by lack of headquarters. Endeavoring to raise fund of \$150 for this purpose. Yorkville Agitation District: Greulich meeting great success. Comrade Jonas also spoke. Comrade Liebschtein presided. Meeting well attended. Regular street meetings held in 20th, 28th, 30th and 32d A. D.

Harlem Agitation District: Meeting held since last report, but delegates from 21st to 23d A. D. absent. Request for funding to progressive organizations in district. One thousand "Mission of the S. D. P." purchased. Three meetings held weekly in 31st A. D., one in 21st A. D.

Brooklyn Agitation District: Committees appointed by Agitation District to visit various progressive organizations in Bronx and endeavor to obtain their co-operation. Matter of Jewish meetings under consideration.

Yorkville Agitation District: Arrangements perfected for Debs meeting. Advertising posters placed in various parts of city. All box seats sold. Prospects good for large attendance. Ten thousand throwaway cards printed to be distributed on Labor Day. Banner to be placed on stage at Carnegie Hall. Subscription lists of The Worker, "Appeal to Reason" and "Wilshire's Magazine" received. All subscription lists will be sent out by end of week. All together 3,000 subscription lists to be sent out.

Motion carried that invitations to

Debs meeting be sent to the three prominent comrades from Switzerland now in this country.

All nomination papers now in. Convention in 17th Congressional District irregular. New one to be called.

Financial Report—Receipts: Balance on hand, Aug. 12, \$200.61; dues, \$37.50; new members, \$4.50; literature, \$2.50; half-day's wage, \$73.11; sundries, \$3.75; campaign food, \$73.25; total, \$480.82. Disbursements—Van Name Company, \$44; speakers, \$23; S. Fieldman, Aug. 20, \$20; S. Fieldman, Aug. 27, \$20; E. Meyer, Aug. 20, \$10; E. Meyer, Aug. 27, \$10; H. Doherty, \$1.50; Wm. Mally, literature, \$22.50; co-operative, \$10; receipt books, \$0.50; expressage, \$1; Organizer's expenses, \$6.20; J. C. Chase, two-thirds of \$73.11, \$48.74; total, \$280.74; balance on hand, \$229.08.

Decided to recommend to the 21st A. D. that they see to it that their delegates attend the meetings of the Harlem Agitation District more regularly, or that new delegates be elected.

Motion carried that referendum on the purpose of electing members of Local Quorum and State Committee be taken and that individual ballots be printed for this purpose.

Committee elected to investigate conditions in 23d A. D. reported that they had visited the 23d A. D. and that comrades in that district were endeavoring to increase the activity of the district with good prospects of success.

At the last meeting of the 16th, 17th and 18th A. D. of Kings County it was decided to purchase 10,000 copies of "The Mission of the S. D. P." and 200 copies each of The Worker and the "Social Democratic Herald," and to donate \$10 to the Kings County banner fund.

Branch Jamaica of Queens County will hold its annual outing on Sunday, Sept. 4, at Max Attenuk's Morning-side Park, Hoffman boulevard and Hillside avenue, Jamaica, assisted by Branch Jamaica (108) Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Association. Proceeds of the outing are to be used for the coming campaign, and Branch Jamaica will invite all comrades and friends of W. E. and B. B. to participate in this afternoon and evening outing, promise that there will be a good time in store for all who attend, as the committee has secured no time and labor in their efforts to please all on this occasion.

At the meeting at which the S. D. P. of Queens County was reorganized the following officers pro tem were elected: Secretary, Comrade Goeller; Financial Secretary, Comrade Heller; Organizer, Comrade Hahn; Treasurer, Comrade Goeller; Literature Agent, Comrade Nuss; Comrade Wegner was nominated for delegate to the State Committee. Comrades Brown and Goeller were nominated for members of the State Quorum. The Organizer was instructed not to send referendum ballots for the same to the branches until charter is granted. All comrades present at the meeting are entitled to act as a campaign committee and said committee will meet every Friday night throughout the campaign. The Organizer was allowed \$25 for expenses for campaign purposes. It was decided to hire a speaker for six weeks at \$20 per week and to procure Geiger of Ohio, if possible. Picnic committee reported \$75.12 on hand and the same was turned over to Treasurer Doeller. All agitation blanks and money collected on same were ordered returned to the local executive.

A half of money to subscription lists on plans for Socialist Industrial Clubs of Boston, Mass.

FOR THE DAILY.

Contributions to the Fund for the Establishment of a Socialist Daily Newspaper.

J. Gerber, Financial Secretary of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association acknowledges contributions to help establish the Daily Call as follows:

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS. A Friend, per A. Frosch, \$5; Local Davenport, collected on Punch Card, 624, 30c; A. Lénov, Westbrook, Me., 50c; Wm. Duncan, Westport, Conn., 50c; C. B. Jones, 25c; A. J. 70c; C. Abeles, Sea Cliff, L. I., 50c; Arbeiter Kranken Kasse, Branch 15, Union Hill, N. Y., \$10; Local Williamsport, Pa., \$10; Total for two weeks, \$27.80; previously acknowledged, \$2,284.30; total to date, \$3,532.10; deduct for error, 2c; correct total, \$3,532.17.

J. H. City, \$5; Potewsky, City, \$1; Ed. Scholomon, Brooklyn, \$1; Jacob Olenkytsky, 25c; A. J. Heller, City, \$5; total for two weeks, \$10.25; previously reported, \$3,703.65; total to date, \$3,713.90.

RECAPITULATION. All sources, \$19,040.63; cash contributions, \$27.80; paid on pledges, \$110.25; total to date, \$19,127.08; deduct for error, 2c; correct grand total, \$19,127.06.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR DEBS MEETING. Comrades and sympathizers holding tickets for the Debs meeting are urged to make immediate settlement with Comrade Solomon. We need \$400 to pay for hall rent and comrades should hurry with the money collected for tickets. Also all tickets not sold should be returned to Organizer U. Solomon not later than Monday, Sept. 5, otherwise the holders of the tickets will be made to pay for same.

All comrades desiring to advertise the Debs meeting at the Labor Day parade are requested to communicate with the Organizer. Ten thousand additional throwaway cards have been printed for advertisement at the Labor Day parade and two trucks with large signs will also be used to advertise the meeting. Comrades who will be at the parade should make it their business to distribute as many of the Debs cards as possible.

All those comrades desiring to act as cashiers on the literature committee or make themselves useful in any way at the meeting are urged to forward their names and addresses at once to U. Solomon, 64 E. Fourth street.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 2. 11th A. D.—N. W. corner of Fourth street and Second avenue. Speakers: J. C. Frost, L. H. Harris and J. Fox.

12th A. D.—N. W. corner of Tenth street and Second avenue. Speakers: Fred. Kniff, Chas. Debs and J. Fox.

13th A. D.—N. W. corner of Eleventh street and First avenue. Speakers: J. C. Frost and J. Fox.

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16th A. D.—N. W. corner of Fourteenth street and First avenue. Speakers: J. C. Frost and J. Fox.

17th A. D.—N. W. corner of Fifteenth street and First avenue. Speakers: J. C. Frost and J. Fox.

18th A. D.—N. W. corner of Sixteenth street and First avenue. Speakers: J. C. Frost and J. Fox.

19th A. D.—N. W. corner of Seventeenth street and First avenue. Speakers: J. C. Frost and J. Fox.

a committee card will be allowed to come in.

All labor organizations, Social Democratic Party clubs, etc., etc., participating at this meeting are requested to bring their banners with them. They do not need the poles as the banners can only be hung in front of the boxes.

Comrade H. Greulich, with the other two comrades from Switzerland, Comrades Emil Vanderveide, the Socialist senator Lafontaine, and the radical senator Housen of Belgium have all decided to remain here till Sept. 6 in order to attend the Debs meeting.

All outdoor speakers are urged upon to report at the committee room, 64 E. Fourth street, before 6 o'clock, so that an arrangement may be made for an overflow meeting, and their services may be needed.

The doors will be opened at 7:15 or earlier, if we succeed in having enough comrades to act as ushers. They must be there by 6:20.

CITY CAMPAIGN FUND.

The opportunity to secure results from Socialist agitation is greater during the present national campaign than ever before. The open and complete surrender of the Republican and Democratic parties to capitalism; the crushing of union labor by employers' associations, the lawless military outrages in Colorado; the butchers' strike and building trades lockout, all combine to furnish facts in support of the position of the Social Democratic Party.

To bring these facts to the attention of the workers and to arouse them to action, is the work of the Social Democratic Party. Its campaign, growing organization of workers, speakers and writers fits it to do this work. But MONEY is needed to pay the cost of literature and the expenses of the speakers. We are fighting the battle of the working class, and hence, our campaign funds must come from a multitude of small contributions. Will you not be one to help make up the fund? Take a subscription list and send it with as large a gift as you possibly make. Urge your friends and neighbors to give as much as each can afford. Remember that money is needed badly and needed at once.

Every Socialist and every sympathizer with our cause should contribute all he can and should contribute it at once. Send all contributions and make all money orders and checks payable to U. Solomon, Financial Secretary, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

The following additional contributions to the campaign fund have been received by Financial Secretary U. Solomon: L. Specter, List No. 58, \$2.50; C. G. Gubler, List No. 10, \$2.50; Wm. Newman, List No. 257, 65c.; J. D. Abbott, List No. 315, 65c.; Adolph Richter, List No. 488, 65c.; Rob. Homelbaker, List No. 550, \$0.75; Jacob Schneider, List No. 582, \$0.50; Jacob Schneider, List No. 617, \$4.50; C. B. and M. R. List No. 618, \$1.00; R. Kantor, List No. 774, 50c.; Arbeiter K. K., R. 24, List No. 1147, \$3.40; John Heisenberger, List No. 1108, \$1. H. Thacher, List No. 121, \$1.50; J. Keelman, List No. 1098, \$1.00; Jas. O'Neill, List No. 2121, 10c.; P. J. Conroy, cash contribution, 10c.; Chas. H. Holderlieth, cash contribution, \$3; J. Turitz, cash contribution, \$1; L. Lim, cash contribution, \$1; M. Topp, cash contribution, \$1; total, \$408.25; previously acknowledged, \$2,525.20; total to date, \$3,423.20.

KINGS COUNTY CONVENTION. Assembly District conventions to select candidates for member of Assembly, will be held in all the Assembly Districts of Kings County on Friday, Sept. 2, at 8 p. m., at the following places:

1st Assembly District, at 121 McHenry street, office of Dr. Furman.

2d Assembly District, at 228 Duffield street, residence of Williams.

3d Assembly District, at 208 Columbia street, hall.

4th Assembly District, at 64 Morton street, residence of Patterson.

5th Assembly District, at 214 Hooper street, residence of Dr. Hager.

6th Assembly District, at 30 Summer avenue, hall.

7th Assembly District, at 422 Fourth avenue.

8th Assembly District, at 536 Baltic street, residence of Kepell.

9th Assembly District, at 131 Imlay street, hall.

10th Assembly District, at 107 Vandervelde avenue, residence of Bychovan.

11th Assembly District, at 869 Union street, residence of Dr. Hager.

12th Assembly District, at 303a Sixteenth street, residence of Brach.

13th Assembly District, at 264 Calver street.

14th Assembly District, at 130 Huron street, residence of Clayton.

15th Assembly District, at 187 Montrose avenue, hall.

16th Assembly District, at 715 Lexington avenue, residence of Hopkins.

17th Assembly District, at 457 Gates avenue.

18th Assembly District, at 12 E. Seventh street, residence of Peters.

19th Assembly District, at the Labor Lyceum, 640-657 Wiloughby avenue.

20th Assembly District, at 257 Hamburg avenue, hall.

21st Assembly District, at 637 Glenmore avenue, hall.

By order of the County Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Kings County.

J. GERBER.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN NEW YORK CITY. Open-air meetings have been arranged by Local New York at the places named on the nights designated below. The assembly districts of the meetings and the time of their meetings are given in the list. It is that they have the platform on the night that audience literature is distributed.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 2. 11th A. D.—N. W. corner of Fourth street and Second avenue. Speakers: J. C. Frost, L. H. Harris and J. Fox.

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20th A. D.—N. W. corner of Eighteenth street and First avenue. Speakers: J. C. Frost and J. Fox.

21st A. D.—N. W. corner of Nineteenth street and First avenue. Speakers: J. C. Frost and J. Fox.

22nd A. D.—N. W. corner of Twentieth street and First avenue. Speakers: J. C. Frost and J. Fox.

23rd A. D.—N. W. corner of Twenty-first street and First avenue. Speakers: J. C. Frost and J. Fox.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

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The Worker

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VOL. XIV.—NO. 24.

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 11, 1904.

LABOR DAY ADDRESS AT ROCHESTER.

By Jos. Wanhope.

Mr. Chairman and Brother Unionists:—When I received the honor of an invitation to address you on this occasion, I did not anticipate such an immense audience, but on second thought I should have remembered that trade unionism is an exceedingly lively subject in this city. The long protracted struggle of the garment workers here and the unparalleled solidarity displayed therein has attracted the attention of organized labor from all over the country to this city. It was here also that reactionary employers gave to the world the silly spectacle of an attempt to resurrect the obsolete trade unionism of the past, by dealing with a "conspiracy to raise wages." But if the Rochester employers have their faces turned towards the past, the contrary the union workers of the city are looking steadily towards the future, and their policies are being guided in that direction.

And it is of the future I would speak to you to-day: that future towards which every movement that is live and progressive must turn. What shall it bring forth?

And it is as a union man also that I would address you, as one of yourselves. As one who has experienced the vicissitudes that befall every union man—the strike, the lockout and the blacklist—some of those who have stood idle in the market place, because at times no profit could be made from labor by another, though they might want to suffer while strong and willing arms were paralyzed by the conditions under which we workmen can only earn bread. It is from an experience of these conditions, an experience that most of you in common with myself have undergone, that I would address you on this occasion. Men learn from the past, but they cannot return to it. All of us, employ-ers and employees, are being pushed on-ward by relentless forces whether we will or no. Those who understand this march steadily towards the future with their eyes fixed in that direction. Those who do not are pushed towards the future though their faces may be turned towards the past. The constant law of change which we call evolution, makes no exception. Old ideas, old measures, old policies, old ideas, are outgrown and must be abandoned on the road to progress and new ones adopted.

As the poet says, "New occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth." Nor can we "attempt the future's part" with the past's bloodstained key—or if we do, we shall not succeed in opening it. Our progress teaches us that every changing condition and every new demand made in the past ever more useless for the present. We outgrow them—we leave them behind—because we must—because there is no other alternative. The child must grow into a man—must leave his childish playthings, and take up the weapons for his life as a man being. We will never return to the time when we were children, and as they once did, that the wonderful machinery by which labor is multiplied, shall be destroyed or abandoned. That time has passed forever. Experience has taught us the folly and futility of such demands. We have abandoned them for others—formulated new demands as new occasions and circumstances dictated. Nor shall we ever see the giant wheel of time, modern labor saving devices destroyed and abandoned. The organization of labor is here to stay until it has fulfilled its mission in society. And if this idea be disagreeable to some of you, please remember that it applies in exactly the same way to the organization of labor. Because the trust is indestructible the labor organization is also indestructible.

But as I said, these things are all equally subject to the law of change. They are not destroyed but transformed. So you will see from this the propriety of addressing you on the future—the future of our class—the workers of this country and the world. "This question of the organization of labor," said Carlyle, the old Scottish philosopher, "is the vital question of the world."

It may seem a truism to say that this is an age of concentration and combination—all of us have heard it so often. But it is through this tendency that the world's problems find expression. And this tendency is concentrating and combining in the two great hostile camps of labor and capital—the organization of the one is the complement of the organization of the other, and between these forces the vital problems of the age must be solved. There is no escape from it. Evolution carries nothing for our lament or regrets. Here are the conditions; they must be faced, and the struggle fought out under them.

Nor could they be ever at any time permanently checked or arrested. From the day that capitalist Smith discovered that it was better to combine with capitalist Jones than compete with him, and the firm of Smith & Jones was established, and shortly became Smith, Jones & Co. by taking in capitalists Brown and Robinson, the march of capitalism towards the trust has never been halted or turned back. And from the day that laborer Smith saw he could get better life conditions by inducing laborer Jones to join with him in demanding them, and Brown and Robinson and other laborers were brought into the combine, the organization of labor was an assured fact—a certainty of the future. But between these groups there still remains a continual struggle for the object—the possession of the product of labor. It is this object that caused the existence of those rival organizations, and in reality it is this question of the disposal of the product of labor that is THE vital question of the world.

That struggle is still raging. And as the contending forces increase and develop they bring ever new weapons into the struggle. There are exceptions now and then, of course, as when your local capitalists endeavored to dig up that ancient battle-axe labeled "conspiracy to raise wages" and sought to use it against local union men. But on the whole the modern juncture, the perfected blacklist, and the strike breaking organizations, are far better weapons to their hands and more frequently used.

And on the side of labor the weapons have also been improved though not to such an extent. Destruction of machinery, as we saw, has been abandoned. The strike is still retained, but much improved. In place of the strike in one factory, we have the strike of the same craft gradually extending over the city, the state and the nation. The strike of allied crafts. The sympathetic strike that oversteps the bounds of the laborer and compasses the growing solidarity of labor, so that the employers in alarm are forced to develop counter organization. We have added the boycott, the unfair list and the union label, and improved these weapons somewhat. And more significant than all, the most advanced of our union members, are turning towards grasping the most potent weapon of all, independent political class action through the ballot. But of this I will speak later.

But let me here point out that the introduction of these ever improving weapons on both sides is a result of intelligence developed by experience, in obedience to that great law of change of which I have spoken. And I might add that the latest weapon is always the most effective, just as the magazine rifle is superior to the flint musket and will always be so no matter how much the latter may be improved. If a new weapon does not fill these requirements it is shortly abandoned, but it is significant in this respect that political action on the part of the working class is decidedly on the increase. You can draw your own conclusions as to the reason.

As I said, I shall touch lightly on the past of the labor movement. To tell its story is to recount a tragedy, to recite tales of want and misery, of heroism and self-sacrifice, of countless thousands of obscure and nameless men fighting against overwhelming odds—in the face of scorn and contempt, ignorance and indifference—often from those who were once their allies. Victories were only to be lost again and again, and of unflinching courage, of high hopes and of sudden despair, of organizations formed to be broken and dispersed and formed again—a struggle ever continued more or less blindly or clearly, of labor betrayed by false friends, or wrecked by ignorance, or misled, or seduced by powerful and unscrupulous enemies. But still a continual struggle onward and upward evermore to the light, that light which is beginning to break upon the indomitable fighters, and illumine their path and direct their course, that light whose existence is even denied by some who slide to it as the "Emancipation of Labor."

Though some there be that would lead away from it, still it is that light becoming ever more distinct. The advance guard of labor has seen it, and the main body of the labor host will see it to-morrow. The emancipation of labor, is ceasing to be a phrase, and becoming a reality—a definite thing that men are talking soberly and seriously of as of the coming of a new day. In it is becoming embodied the hopes and aspirations of the workers of the world. In it is growing the recognition that the past has been an open slavery, the present a disguised slavery, so the future holds economic freedom for the world's toilers. And this recognition portends not only change, but the greatest change the earth has ever known.

For it means, and can mean nothing short of a complete transformation of our existing social and economic system, a change that shall render the world's complete possession of the fruits of their labor, by making the owners of the sources and means of life on which their labor is now expended. It means and can only mean the collective ownership of the land and the tools of production by the whole people. For emancipation means freedom, and no man can be free while another owns and controls the means of his livelihood. But when these means are free to all, no slave can exist on earth.

And for this emancipation the weapon lies ready to our hands—political class action, hostile to capitalist politics as it must necessarily be. We have passed through the stage of begging and petitioning. We have crawled in the dust, and eaten dirt to no purpose. Our committees have been spurned from the doors of capitalist legislatures like importunate beggars, and our enemies openly taunt us with our failure. Our fellow workers are still herded in "bull pens" in Colorado, shot down in Illinois and Pennsylvania, imprisoned and indicted in New York and Massachusetts. On every hand we feel the weight of capitalist law made, see it interpreted and enforced against our class. It is the one power we have left in the hands of our masters. Political class action, and our enemies openly taunt us with our failure. We must have it and WE WILL. It is indispensable for the emancipation of labor, indispensable to gain our freedom.

We are able to do this. Evolution never imposed upon a class a task it was unable to perform. When the workers of the world unite, resistance is vain.

capitalist country on earth, the cry of "the world for the workers" is arising. It is shaking thrones and empires, destroying national prejudices, breaking down differences of race, color and creed, and uniting in solid unbreakable phalanx the disunited toilers of the earth. It is the potent force that is making "the brotherhood of man" a reality instead of a pulpit platitude—the power that alone can make this world the common heritage of a race of free men and women, heirs to all that civilization has made possible now and in the future.

If I have said nothing so far in this address of what are called the higher enjoyments of life, and have confined myself to pointing the collective ownership of the things necessary to physical subsistence, it is not because I consider the latter an end in themselves but merely a means to an end. The intellectual development of the race is conditioned upon this. The bodily needs of mankind must first be supplied, before these achievements of the mind and brain are possible.

But it is through this struggle that mankind has reached the stage of progress. It now occupies the stage of progress. The old system of production still remains. The making of profit from the sweat and toil of others is still the ideal. Commercialism is still in the saddle and riding mankind. But its continuance is becoming more galling and intolerable as it approaches the dismounting place. And all the more so because we are approaching a period when the horrors of unemployment will be before millions; when the Masters of the Bread, unable to allow us even the miserable pittance that can be extracted from the wage system, must be and will be forced to relinquish their hold on the life of the people, must make restitution of their hold of the means of life, must surrender their private ownership of the earth and all that is in it to those who possess the only title to exist upon it—the title that labor confers.

And it is the possible terror conjured up by such a situation that makes some pessimists represent labor as a destructive force—as a blind Ransom chained between the pillars of the temple called civilization grinding profits for the Philistines of capitalism who the while make sport of his sufferings, and who will ultimately in his blindness and despair lay hold on the pillars with his gigantic strength and bring the structure down with a crash involving all to universal ruin.

They are mistaken. The power of labor has built up civilization and it will not destroy its own handiwork. It is true the labor Ransom is bound and in captivity, but his blindness is passing, his eyes are seeing the light, and with the light comes knowledge and intelligence, not the darkness and despair that lead to universal destruction. This civilization built upon centuries of woe, of the blood and sweat and toil of the workers of all ages is our heritage. That is the knowledge that will save it, and transform its wonderful power of production into the common benefactor of the race.

Nor is that light an ignis fatuus, a deceptive illumination leading the race away in the vain pursuit of unattainable desires. The day dawn that is breaking is a real thing, a portent of the coming of a new day that is certain that shall gladden the earth with its beams and shine for the first time in the history of the world on a society that knows neither master nor slave, but only free men and women.

Some of you here I know have set your faces and your feet towards that new dawn knowing that it portends the approach of a new day. And some of you do not and still have your faces turned towards the darkness of the past. But it is not the past or the future that I deal with but the future. It is not what you have been in the past or may be to-day, but what you will be in the days that are coming. Every economic force in society from the development of capitalism to that self-preservation which is the first law of nature is sending you in the direction of the new order of society that awaits beyond. Sooner or later, the power that now lies ready to your hands will be grasped and used in your own interests, first as a defense against capitalism, and finally as an instrument for its abolition, and the establishment of economic freedom for all.

On some of your banners in the street parade to-day, I noticed the inscription, "Labor Omnia Vincit." It means that labor conquers everything. And it is true. But the conqueror does not complete. Labor has conquered the earth, but not for those who labor. The last stage must be the conquest of the one thing yet lacking, the one thing, the hope of which has never died out in human hearts throughout the ages, the one thing without which all else is nothing—without which life is worthless. This one thing that shall finally free the world is freedom. Freedom based on economic opportunity.

It is to this glorious task, the highest and grandest ever given to man to perform, that labor is called to-day. And in that conquest organized labor must play a foremost part. And labor is responding to the call. Let those who will oppose. Their opposition is futile. From all lands to-day, the sound of millions of tramping feet is heard as the hosts of labor fall in line for the march towards freedom. It is reverberating around the world proclaiming to all that the future belongs to the workers, that slavery shall pass away and give place to the freedom based on economic opportunity that shall lift the race to heights of which no human mind has yet fully conceived.

—Though not usually recognized as such, a great number of "Workers' Educational Clubs" are to be found in the hands of the police, especially during strikes.

PROCEEDINGS AT AMSTERDAM.

Action of the International Congress.

War in the East and Capitalism.

Outrages in Colorado Condemned—Resolution on Socialist Colonial Policy.

AMSTERDAM, Aug. 28.—The sixth of the session of International Socialist and Trade Union Congress has come and gone. The universal judgment of those who are in a position to know is that this was far the best—a great deal of the credit for which is due to the excellent arguments made by the Dutch comrades.

The next congress, according to the decision made on Saturday, will be held in Stuttgart in 1907. After the decision had been made, August Bebel took the floor to say that the German comrades would not have suggested the choice of a city in Germany had they not felt perfectly confident that every delegate would be as safe there as in Holland or England. This statement was greeted with cheers, as a demonstration of the power which the Social Democracy has attained in the Kaiser's dominions. No doubt the Stuttgart Congress will be as well prepared for, and will, as the party in all lands grows wiser and better disciplined, by even more orderly and efficient in its work, than that of Amsterdam.

Socialism vs. War.

The Congress was called to order a little after 10 o'clock on Sunday morning, Aug. 14. Henry Van Kol, one of the eight Social Democratic members of the House of Representatives, with Ben Katsayama and George Plechanoff at his right and his left as vice-presidents. It was a dramatic moment when at the president's suggestion, the representatives of the Socialist workers of Japan and Russia clanked hands in token of the world-wide solidarity of labor, regardless of national frontiers or racial differences, which is growing daily, in spite of all the efforts of capitalist jingoism. The delegates rose to their feet and cheered heartily at this appropriate opening of the Congress. Katsayama and Plechanoff also spoke, with special reference to the war in the Far East. They agreed in treating it as a war brought about by the machinations of the ruling classes in the two countries for their own profit; they agreed also in feeling that this great national crime promises to bring untold good, through the advantage when the repeated crushing defeats of the Russian forces will give to the Russian revolutionists in their struggle with Tsarism, the greatest enemy of progress in the modern world.

On the conclusion of these addresses, the various national delegates proceeded to the verification of their credentials and the election of their presidents and secretaries, preparatory to the real work of the Congress. As representatives of the Socialist Party of America there were present Maurice Hillquit, Mrs. Vera Hillquit, Mrs. Anna Ingemann (representing also the Social Democratic Women's Society of the United States), Nicholas Klein, Algernon Lee, and Herman Nebel. Mr. Corinne S. Brown and William Johnson arrived later. Comrade Lee was elected president of the delegation, with Comrade Hillquit as secretary. Under the Russian giving each man two votes, our delegation claimed but one, entering no objection to the recognition of Daniel DeLeon as representing the Socialist Labor Party.

Sunday afternoon was devoted to a great open-air meeting in Linaeus Park, with August Bebel, Clara Zetkin, H. M. Hyndman, Peter Curran, Victor Adler, George Plechanoff, Jean Vautier, Edward Vaillant, Ben Katsayama, Edmond Anselmi, Enrico Ferri, H. Greulich, Ben Katsayama, Hyman, Branting, P. J. Troelstra, and H. Van Kol as speakers.

Fully six thousand people took part in this great international demonstration, the great majority, of course, being Dutch, but with hundreds of delegates and visitors from the various countries of the Old World and the New scattered among them. The good old red flag was hoisted on the belfry and the hosts of voices, joined in singing the "Marseillaise," the "Socialist March," and the "International." The demonstration was in every way a most impressive one, well fitted to gladden the hearts and renew the courage of those who had gathered from every quarter for this great Parliament of Labor.

On Monday the various nationalities, elected their representatives on the six commissions, to which were to be referred, for preliminary discussion and formulation, the principal subjects brought before the Congress. The delegates of the Socialist Party of the United States assigned themselves as follows: Commission on International Rules of Socialist Policy, Hillquit; on Colonial Policy, Schuster; on Emigration and Immigration, Corinne Brown; on the General Strike, Anna Ingemann; on Working-Class Insurance and the Eight-Hour Day, Klein; on Trusts, Lee.

Socialist's Stance.

Aside from various questions relating to representation or factions and mode of procedure, the most important business of Monday's session was the adoption of the following resolution, moved by the British delegation: That this International Congress expresses its sincere sympathy with the lock-out trade-unions miners of Colorado, and most emphatically condemns the brutal outrages committed on them

by the state authorities acting in the interests of the capitalist class, who have employed soldiers and police to break up the workers' organization, to arrest men and women and deport them for no cause except their membership of or sympathy with the Miners' Union, to enter and demolish homes, and generally to crush, by the use of armed force, the peaceful attempt of the workers to ameliorate their position by combination and organization.

It will be seen from this that the United States has earned an unenviable fame on this side of the water. The fact that the workmen of the boasted "land of the free" can permit such governmental outrages to take place, in any country of Western Europe such crimes, if a government dared to commit them, would provoke instant rebellion, they say.

It was decided to hold no session Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning, in order to give the commission a chance to give more to the matter. As a result, little was done in the general sessions until Thursday, half the delegates being in the commission and the latter finding it necessary to take more time for their work than was expected.

On Wednesday the Commission on Working-Class Insurance reported, through Comrade Mollenkott, one of the oldest of our German comrades, a long and able report, which was adopted with some amendment, declaring the necessity, from the point of view of the individual worker and of society as a whole, of an adequate system of public insurance for workmen and women, to keep them from want in case of old age, sickness, accident and, for women, of pregnancy and maternity; and that the organized workers in all countries unite for the establishment of such institutions; and pointing out that the workers ought to demand that they control the administration of such insurance systems, and that immigrant workers be given the same rights therein as natives.

Colonial Policy.

The next commission to report was that on Colonial Policy. I have already communicated to you the reports and proposed resolutions submitted by Van Kol on behalf of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Holland and Hyndman for the British Social Democratic Federation.

The latter, dealing especially with the conditions of British India, was supported in a remarkable speech by Dalalchand Naoroji. In spite of his nearly eighty years, Naoroji's voice is clear and strong, and his calm and lucid manner of presenting his detailed indictment of the British government and the capitalist ring behind it for their oppression and spoliation of India, drew forth a tremendous applause, and his calm and lucid manner of presenting his detailed indictment of the British government and the capitalist ring behind it for their oppression and spoliation of India, drew forth a tremendous applause, and his calm and lucid manner of presenting his detailed indictment of the British government and the capitalist ring behind it for their oppression and spoliation of India, drew forth a tremendous applause.

The Congress, while recognizing the right of the inhabitants of civilized countries to settle in regions where the people are at lower stages of development, protests against and condemns and urges all Socialists to work to overthrow the capitalist system of conquering colonization under the capitalist regime of to-day. The results of this system are seen in the universal oppression by the most civilized nations of Europe—France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, England, and the United States—their rule in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere. England is only the largest and most successful of such degrading nationalities. But the results in the case of British India are no much greater and more terrible than elsewhere, that.

This meeting of the delegates of the workers of the civilized world, having heard from the representatives both of England and of India how British rule, by underfeeding and ever increasingly plundering and draining away the resources of India, has caused extreme poverty, debilitation, and creates famines, plagues, and starvation on an ever increasing scale for upwards of two hundred millions of people in British territory in India, calls upon the workers of Great Britain to enforce upon their government the abandonment of the present policies and the establishment of self-government in the best form practicable by the Indians themselves, under British patronage.

In place of the resolution of the Dutch party elaborated by Van Kol in his report, the Commission recommended the following, which was adopted: Considering the ever more costly capitalist exploitation of an ever more extended colonial territory—exploitation not regulated and not restrained, which wastes capital and natural riches, exposes the colonial populations to the most cruel, most terrible, and often bloodiest oppression, and serves only to aggravate the misery of the proletariat; and

Mineral of the resolution of the Paris Congress of 1900 on the colonial question and the imperialist policy:

The Congress declares that it is the duty of the national Socialist parties and of the parliamentary groups—

1. To oppose without any compromise every imperialist or protectionist measure, every colonial expedition, and all military expenses for the colonies;

2. To fight every monopoly, every concentration of vast territories, every concentration of the colonial territory being appropriated by the all-powerful capitalists;

3. To denounce incessantly the deeds of oppression of which the natives and the victims, to obtain for them the most efficacious measures of protection against military acts of cruelty or capitalist exploitation, to prevent their being robbed of their possessions either by violence or by deceit;

4. To propose and to favor all that is conducive to the amelioration of the native conditions of life—public works, hygienic measures, schools, etc.; to do their utmost to withdraw them from the influence of the missionaries;

5. To claim for the natives that liberty and autonomy that is compatible with their state of development, bearing in mind that the complete emancipation of the colonies is the purpose to pursue;

6. To try to bring under parliamentary

DEBS IN NEW YORK.

A Mammoth Meeting Grooms Him.

The Burning Eloquence and Keen Wit of the Socialist Presidential Candidate Applauded by a Vast Multitude.

The great mass meeting in Carnegie Hall last Tuesday, at which Eugene V. Debs gave the Socialist view of the present economic and political situation, after having replied to Grover Cleveland's recent magazine article attacking the Pullman strike of 1894, was a most impressive revolutionary demonstration, both in numbers and in enthusiasm.

The great hall was packed from top to bottom. There was a rush as soon as the doors were opened and the police had to form a long line down the street to prevent confusion while the hall was filling. The main floor and the four galleries were filled to their utmost capacity and overflow meetings were held outside. The number of women present showed the hold the Socialist movement has upon the hearts of the women of the working class, standing as it does for the equality of the sexes.

As the band struck up and the noble strains of the "Marseillaise" filled the hall, the audience burst into wild enthusiasm, which was redoubled as the hall filled. The main floor and the four galleries were filled to their utmost capacity and overflow meetings were held outside. The number of women present showed the hold the Socialist movement has upon the hearts of the women of the working class, standing as it does for the equality of the sexes.

A Private Army.

When this deafening welcome had somewhat subsided John C. Chase stepped forward and introduced (see p. 1) Herron as chairman of the meeting. Comrade Herron, who is about to leave for Europe, also received a hearty welcome. His first mention of Cleveland's name, when he announced that Debs would reply to the President's attack, was met with a chorus of groans and hisses. Herron declared that the issue was between organized labor and the organized anarchy of the capitalist governments of the world and dealt with the strike as a phase of the struggle of the working class to own their own products and their own lives. Referring to the threatened strike on the elevated railroad, he called attention to the enormous meaning of Parley's army of professional strike-breakers, and evoked great applause by the statement that the strike-breakers constituted a private army of thugs, maintained by the capitalist syndicate in defiance of the constitution.

Distinguished Visitors.

Emil Vandervelde, the famous leader of the Belgian Socialists; Hermann Greulich of Switzerland, and several other Socialist representatives in the parliaments of Europe, were present, being on their way to the Interparliamentary Congress at the St. Louis exposition. Vandervelde and Greulich were introduced to the audience and delivered short speeches in French and German. These veteran fighters in the Socialist cause received a tremendous applause, and even those who could not understand what they said were much impressed by their earnest and forceful manner of speaking.

Reply to Cleveland.

When Debs was introduced another great ovation took place and it was some time before he could proceed to speak. He declared that Cleveland's article was a tissue of misstatements and perversion of facts, in plain contradiction of the history of the great American Railway Union strike, and then proceeded to prove it by a statement of the facts as given in his written reply, the substance of which appeared in The Worker of Aug. 28. He told how the Pullman Company had repeatedly reduced wages, how the unionists had been driven to strike, how the company discharged every member of the committee, how the strike was then declared and how the reign of capitalist lawlessness and repression then began by the wearing in of 8,000 deputy marshals who were in the pay of the company, how the badge of governmental authority, Her Majesty's police, was used to enforce the will of the company.

Debs quoted the written statement of Chief of Police Brennan that these "protectors of law and order" were "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts," and reinforced it by reading extracts from the report of the Commission which President Cleveland himself appointed to investigate the strike, giving the testimony of newspaper men, local officials and other eyewitnesses to the fact that the strike-breakers were a drunken and irrepressible set of low characters, some of whom were actually arrested for high way robbery while serving as "guards of law and order." These tools of the railroad corporations set fire to some old cars in order that the strikers might be accused of incendiarism, and the papers were then filled with sensational articles charging the strikers with all sorts of crime. Then came the injunctions and the troops, said Debs, by which we were restrained from doing what we did not intend to do and then jailed for not doing it. Edwin Walker, who was appointed special counsel for the government, was at the same time the counsel for the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad. A special grand jury was empaneled and when the

SOCIALISM FOR THE WORKING CLASS

By John C. Chase.

The Socialist Party is the political party of the working class. It calls upon the workers of the land to unite politically and take possession of the government of the country in all its branches, legislative, executive and judicial, and through the government assume the ownership and operation of the industries of the land and operate them for the comfort and happiness of those who toil.

At the present time all the means of producing those things that all mankind must have to exist are owned by a very small number of people who are known as capitalists and who working class must seek and obtain permission to labor in the industrial institutions owned by this small number of capitalists in order to live. The capitalists, therefore, have the fate of the workingmen in their hands. The very life of those who toil is disposed of by the few who own the means of wealth production. The capitalists are the absolute masters of the people, their liberties and their lives. We have seen these few capitalists grow ever more powerful, from day to day and from year to year, until one per cent. of the people of the country own almost all of the means of life, while the great masses have nothing but misery and rage.

How can freedom prevail in a country where such a condition exists? One man, at least, in this country is reputed to be the possessor of one billion dollars of wealth. A certain Boston daily capitalist newspaper, commenting on this gigantic fortune a few months ago, claimed, after a careful computation, that with the same increase in the future as in the last few years, the heir to this fortune, the grandson of the present owner—will be the possessor of the appalling total of eighty-six billion dollars. Think of this for a moment, my great, free, American citizen and see what it means. The total wealth of America is estimated at something like eighty billion dollars. This means, then, that some individual, a few years from now—an individual who may be born into the world deaf, dumb and blind, or an absolute idiot, incapable of thinking, reasoning, or feeling—will possess one hundred times more wealth than there is total wealth in the country at the present time.

Can we look complacently on and see such a condition coming upon the people of this country? What is to become of our children, and what is to be their position in life when that time shall have arrived? Our children must, necessarily, be the slaves of the individual, of few individuals, as the case may be, who will have such complete control of all the means of life. We are, as a matter of fact, in a similar, if not quite the same condition now. If there is any difference it is in degree only. We are owned, controlled and enslaved by a class and do not thoroughly realize it, while our children will be owned and controlled by a class so few in number that they will be forced to realize and acknowledge it. What are we going to do about it? What help is there for the working class? Is there any relief to be obtained through the Republican or Democratic parties? Every working man should be able to immediately answer no to this question. The Republican party, on the one hand, stands

union demanded the production of the proceedings of the General Managers Association in court and unexpectedly began a cross-examination which would have convicted the corporation officials the court adjourned, and when it reconvened it was announced that a juror had been taken ill and that the trial would have to be discontinued, notwithstanding the protests of the unionists.

I have never yet learned the price of that juror's illness, continued Debs, but ten years have elapsed and he has not yet recovered. It occurs to me that the next time ex-President Cleveland feels a fit of literary inspiration coming on he had better write a magazine article on "How To Go Into the White House Poor and Come Out Rich."

Prolonged applause again followed when Debs paused after his brief but comprehensive account of governmental and corporate infamy in the Pullman strike and said: "But this strike is ancient history and I propose to discuss a living issue. When I came out of that strike I realized that something more than a pure and simple union was necessary. I went to Woodstock Jail a union man and came out a Socialist."

Only a Splinter.

The remainder of Debs' speech, and by far the greater part, was devoted to the issue between capital and labor as presented in the present campaign, the issue between the Socialist Party and the two old parties of capital. "Or, rather," said Debs, "this composite, hyphenated party which is only the two wings of the same bird of prey. The two capitalist parties fit each other like the upper and lower jaws of a wild animal."

For the most part the speech followed in the main the lines of his opening speech at Indianapolis, where he published entirely new issues of The Worker, spontaneously varied here and there by the irrepressible eloquence of the speaker and improved by the addition of still more epigrammatic flashes of incisive wit, as when he said: "The labor plank in the Democratic platform is not really a plank, it is only a splinter; there is hardly enough of it to make a toothpick with."

Although suffering from severe hoarseness, Comrade Debs held the vast audience under the spell of his powerful oratory and less will for

squarely and unhesitatingly in favor of the present capitalist system and is the acknowledged champion of the capitalist class. The Democratic party, on the other hand, has during the past few years asked for the control of government in order to advance the interests of the small capitalist. But we see this party this year, after all its professions of love for "the common people," going over to the capitalist rulers of the land, as completely as the Republican party. There is no institution on the part of either of them to change the system so that there will be no capitalist class, small or large, to be the masters of mankind. The capitalists own and operate the machinery of both old parties so it matters not which one of them is placed in power, the courts and the militia are at the command of the capitalist class to aid them in robbing the people and enslaving the working class.

In the present campaign the Republican and Democratic parties have essentially the same platform and both have nominated "safe and sane" candidates. Conservatism is the watchword of both and capitalism is what they stand for. It can make no difference to the workers which one shall be victorious for in either case we will have exactly the same system perpetuated. We will still go on slaving for a master class and be shot down by the bullets of the militia if we dare protest. Colorado workmen are today being killed, starved and murdered by a Republican administration. To-morrow, as in the past, the workers in some other state will be as badly treated by a Democratic administration. In fact as I write these lines the striking butchers of Chicago are being clubbed by the policemen obtained from a Democratic Mayor and passing my own window in Democratic New York, I see the most wretched go by with mounted policemen to protect the interests of the business. When did we ever see policemen or the militia sent to guard the interest of the workers?

There is no difference between a Republican and a Democratic capitalist; there is no difference between a Republican and a Democratic bullet; they both kill. There should be no difference in the ballots of the working class. They should also kill; but instead of killing men, their ballots should be intelligently and class-consciously used to kill the system which breeds and will continue to breed strife and war between the capitalist and the worker. Workmen, you have nothing to lose by voting with your class, as a class, in the Socialist Party. If it is necessary to organize on the industrial field and to strike, suffer and die to protect yourselves against your masters, why will you not vote against them, by voting as you strike? Why will you divide, on election day, into Republicans and Democrats, and place your masters in control of government so that they can order you imprisoned, deported or killed? The earth belongs to you; why will you let a few keep it from you? You must have it if you are to be free. The way to get it is to vote for the party that demands it—the Socialist Party. "Not to dare and do is to be a slave."

over an hour and a half and all were enthused and inspired. This mammoth meeting was one that the Socialists of New York will long remember. The arrangements were carefully planned and well carried out and the meeting was a complete success in every respect.

THE CAUSE OF PROSTITUTION.

Only a few days ago I read in the capitalist press where one of these poor creatures called at the entrance to the House of the Good Shepherd in New York City; she asked for food and a place to sleep. "Twas a pitiful tale she told the matron in charge. She told of her parents having died and left her alone in the great dark city; she told of jobs she had secured but was discharged owing to her physical inability to keep pace with the machine and as a last resort she appealed to this institution for succor and support. The matron in attendance after having heard this terrible tale of woe and being thoroughly convinced as to the girl's honesty and integrity as well as to her virtue, informed her that she could not take her in there, as that institution was established for the redemption of fallen women only. The poor girl went away, but on the following night she returned. And now old hydro-headed hypocrite bow low! For what follows is an indictment which should arr

COLONIAL POLICY.

The Report Presented by E. M. Hyndman, member of the British Social Democratic Federation to the National Congress at Amsterdam.

[We present here the report upon colonial policy by E. M. Hyndman, one of the delegates of the Social Democratic Federation of England to the International Congress. It deals chiefly with the British colonies. Van Kol having treated the subject more generally. The accompanying resolution, supplementary to that of Van Kol, was presented on behalf of Debatist Nassau, a Hindu of world-wide reputation, resident for many years in Holland, who was also among the delegates of the S. D. F. at Amsterdam.]

The establishment or conquest of colonies and dependencies by a nation or city has almost invariably led to the acquisition of more and more colonies and dependencies. The process of expansion by settlement or war has steadily continued until, the first breakdown of the dominant power owing to external or internal causes, or a combination of both. This was as true of Egypt, Assyria, Athens, Carthage, or Rome, as it has been of Venice, Spain, Portugal, England, or Russia. Such expansion has appeared to be almost involuntary and inevitable. Even in cases where the ablest statesmen and generals have been engaged in colonial policy, they have seen that a further move forward would bring with it weakness and loss rather than strength and gain, an irresistible attraction has carried the frontier line onwards, either by land or by sea. Whether the motive in the first instance has been to obtain slaves and tribute, as with Carthage and Rome, or for trade and empire, as with Athens, Venice, and Great Britain, or for the precious metals and religious domination, as with Spain and Portugal, or, in the main, for religious reasons only, as with the Moslems in their best time, this continuous and seemingly unconscious development on the part of a power in its prime, from the Chinese or Phoenicians in the east to the Trojans in the west, admits of scarcely an exception. The annals of Rome, under its ablest emperors, form a record in regard to external politics of a constant but fruitless endeavor to keep within or to contract existing boundaries. The growth of the British empire in India was accompanied by a never-ending protest on the part of the real rulers, the East India Company, against any further adventurous policy of annexation whatever. The reasons for staying the advance of the empire in both cases, they failed to produce a permanent effect in either upon the steady onward march. When, therefore, Prince Bismarck said: "The puissance qui cesse de prendre conscience d'elle-même est un puissance finie," he put in the form of an epigram the teachings of history; though in the particular instance to which he referred the protest proved to be only a temporary insignificant break in a career of universal absorption.

That the course of colonization and conquest has been chiefly dictated by economic considerations is obvious both in ancient and modern times, and it is equally clear that when Rome, for example, ceased to be able to supply her slave markets one portion of her industrial power was immediately threatened. But in our own times the direct economic impetus has been more apparent than ever before, and the course pursued by the most successful colonizing and conquering power of all, namely, Great Britain, has been from the first due to the direct force for personal gain. The imperial sentiment came in much later, and when the period of comparative decadence had already begun, it was already too late to prevent the case that practically all the British colonies and dependencies of value, excepting those acquired as incidents of wars with foreign nations, have been founded by private enterprise; the government granting charters in some instances, but only making its appearance on the spot with its officials and soldiers at a very late period. When the position of the empire has been secured by individuals or companies. First the pioneer, then the trader, next the merchant and administrator, later the colonist and settler, after them a few policemen and a law court, last of all, and sometimes never, the military. Such has been the general development of the British empire. This, of course, is a complete reversal of the policy of the conquerors by other states. They start out with empire in view. With these, in the majority of cases, the soldiers come directly after the pioneer, the officials next, the lawyers thereafter, and the merchants and traders pay quite a minor part towards the end. Everything is regulated and ordered from the beginning. As a rule, therefore, such colonies are self-supporting, not being self-supporting or remunerative, though the inhabitants subjugated have scarcely been the better off.

The extraordinary growth of the British colonies and dependencies during the past three centuries shows, therefore, that the spread of commerce and settlement with its concomitant pecuniary gain to the capitalist class at home, is more favored by the system than the more rigid military and bureaucratic policy adopted by other nations.

Moreover, in the case of the British, the object even of the government itself from the first has been to make more differentiation of nation and the colonies and dependencies pay the mother country, indirectly, a tribute far greater than any expense likely to be incurred on their behalf. It has been throughout a thoroughly profit-mongering imperialism, even before the word "imperialism" was used. Though no direct exactions might be made, the doctrine of the "colonial system" and "continuous voyages" were upheld in order that Great Britain herself, as represented by her trading and capitalist class of that day, might derive all the benefits that could be obtained from her increasing and prosperous settlements. When the North American colonies, moved there by the new merchants and traders, revolted against this policy and the attempt at taxation without representation which followed, refusing to acknowledge all their own way in the new territories, their success gradually gave rise to fresh ideas as to the treatment of colonies properly so-called.

Such colonies, even when first set on foot as convict settlements, were by degrees accorded the right of self-government, after more or less sharp and sometimes bloody encounters with the official clique which represented the old idea of domination by the mother country. Thus it has come about that Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and the Cape are as completely free and self-governing communities as Great Britain herself. They are, indeed, the most thoroughgoing democracies existing on the planet; and the portions of the colonies, as the French in Canada, who have been brought under English control by treaty after treaty, are allowed to use their own laws and their own language as completely as if they had never been annexed. These democracies, while entitled to, or at any rate expecting, the fullest support and protection from the parent state, at least without any payment from themselves, are considered the right, which they freely exercise, of heavily taxing goods imported from the mother country to any extent they please, as well as of shutting out at their pleasure intending immigrants from other portions of the empire, whether they be white or black, brown or yellow.

Such extraordinary and undue privileges have never before in history been granted to or obtained by any other people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the eleven millions of white colonists under the British flag, who are favored with such conditions and are given complete control over vast territories which they neither discovered themselves nor have on-fitted part developed, are loyal to the empire which has granted them such advantages of independence without any of its drawbacks whatever. The return for these unprecedented concessions, on the part of the people at home who are for the most part far worse off than the colonists whom they thus pamper, is wholly indirect, benefits the capitalist class alone, and is scarcely likely to be enduring. The well-to-do sections of society in Great Britain have found it secure and profitable outlet for their capital in landable colonies, and advances to the colonies, like an organized community and an individual property owners. But the drain for interest and dividends to England on this account is heavy, and is severely felt in times of depression such as that which Australia as a whole has been suffering from during the recent few years of almost continuous drought. It is seen, therefore, that this comparative landable policy of the British Empire, of which only four millions in Australia, will in time to come, and as the Labor Party and Socialists gain strength, repudiate, or at any rate reduce, these onerous obligations. It is also probable that with regard to Australia, as the white population does not increase and England's day as a colonial power proper is practically over, having no longer any agricultural population to add out as emigrants; this huge territory will not be permanently left at the sole disposal of the manager of its present handful of inhabitants. We may expect, at least, that Australia will not be permanently able to retain its position without an infusion of entirely fresh blood, and should other powers require an outlet in that direction the present landable policy will have to be abandoned. Canada is in a different position, meaning that in her case there is already a mass of population from the United States into her territory, and she has not yet adopted, except towards the Chinese and Japanese, the wholesale restrictions, even against English trade goods, favored by the Australian Labor Party.

But England's free colonies depend today upon other nations and other races for their growth of population, and the economic decline of the empire in this respect is everywhere apparent. So long, however, as capitalist rules, the indirect tribute will, of course, be carefully exacted.

These free colonies, however, though of enormous extent, count for little in the matter of population. Their wealth is out of all proportion to their numbers, as their pretensions are out of all proportion to their power. They will play any very great part in the future of the world, either federated to the mother country or in any other way, seems exceedingly improbable. So far, they have taken from the United Kingdom a considerable part of its most vigorous and intelligent inhabitants, and have strengthened the domination of the capitalist class over their own subjects at home. But in this respect, also, they seem likely to play a different role. The total of the British colonies and dependencies, however comprises one-fifth of the entire habitable surface of the earth and fully one-fourth of its population. Nearly all these countries are governed either despotically or semi-despotically. It is true, in many cases, that the worst type of despotic rule is still, of course, economically at the mercy of the written, the presence of self-government is kept up by legislative councils under the governor, and a similar hybrid system is to be found in the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, West and East Africa, etc.; but, in reality, the populations of these districts are as much at the mercy of a solvent and solvent despotism as the people of India, or the followers of Egypt; and in all cases of course, the power of the home capitalist is both directly and indirectly exercised in his own favor. The war against the Transvaal and the Orange Free State proved, indeed, conclusively how, under the pretense of obtaining equal rights with the Boers for men of European birth, an international gang of swindlers, the worst type was able to partly bribe and partly force the British government, its aristocracy and their hangers-on, into hostilities for the advantage of the mine owners as was supposed, but certainly to the injury of the entire nation. The result has strengthened capitalism temporarily, but the ultimate outcome of this kind of policy has yet to be seen. In every direction, however, the same unscrupulous tactics are being relentlessly pursued, and it is to be feared that further outlets for English capital, shaken in its self-confidence at home by German and American competition.

Undoubtedly, this conscious expansion helps to retard the ultimate breakdown of the capitalist system and the hypocritical doctrine that we are conquering and annexing peoples for

their own good, which has been adopted from England by other nations, now likewise engaged in appropriating territory in Asia and Africa, which do not belong to them for the benefit of the dominant class, is almost abandoned by the advocate of imperialism in Great Britain itself.

The change which has taken place of late years in this respect is most marked. Nobody declares nowadays that the campaigns in the Sudan, in East Africa, on the West Coast, and Tibet are carried on for the sake of Christianity and civilization. That miserable pretense has been dropped. The British flag, as the benevolent Cecil Rhodes avowed, is "a commercial asset," to be exploited by its masters and owners, the capitalists of Great Britain, native and foreign. It is extremely doubtful, indeed, whether either slavery or the slave trade would be abandoned in the British empire if they still existed to-day, and their abolition and suppression depended upon the English House of Commons. The hideous corruption in that assembly, and the utter indifference of the majority of its plutocratic members and their retainers to the welfare of any people, at home or abroad, where money is to be made by neglecting the commonest rules of ethics, have never been so clearly manifested as they are to-day. By their treatment of Kaffirs, Chinese, and negroes, English politicians, and the great majority of the British people, have forced labor and indentured slavery now form a recognized portion of the machinery of capitalist exploitation abroad, as sweating and swindling of the proletariat wage earners are their habitual methods of industrial organization at home. No one, as yet, has been bold enough to advocate a return to chattel slavery in British possessions in so many words; but already the thing exists, and is rapidly extending almost without protest.

It is in relation to India, however, that the greatest colonizing power in the world has displayed the natural results of robbery and exploitation. For just 150 years, counting from the battle of Plassey, the luckless inhabitants of Hindostan have been brought in an increasing degree under the control of the greedy European exploiter. From the very beginning, according to the figures made into a science, the savings and the wealth of India for generations were laid hands upon by ignorant freebooters who ravaged even Alsace-Lorraine in their wholesale depredations. The vast wealth thus acquired was used as capital for the rising cotton and other machine industries in Great Britain, and helped to give us as a nation that lead in the markets of the world, and the governing classes in good stead during the contest for universal dominion against Napoleon. Millions upon millions sterling were thus robbed from India by violence and chicanery, and the rich nabob, returned from the East, was as familiar a figure in English society at the end of the eighteenth century as his congener, the American trust magnate, or the South African millionaire, is to-day. Instead of resorting to the primitive physical methods of extorting hidden riches, the new rulers of the Great Peninsula went straight to the fountain head of wealth production. They carefully appointed Englishmen at high salaries to all important posts held by natives; they put the whole cost of maintaining the army of occupation upon the shoulders of the subject people; they raised taxation in every department; they secured monopolies of the most costly luxury as well as of a prime necessity of life for men and cattle. Thus, mitigated to some extent by their success in putting down Thuggee and certain disreputable old customs, the rule of the East India Company began that systematic process of draining India of its resources for the benefit of the well-to-do English, a house which has gone on steadily and is ever increasing ratio from that time to this.

With the Indian mutiny in 1857, the century of the battle of Plassey in 1757, the rule of the great East India Company—which had developed from a clique of merchants, clerks and adventurers to a great military and commercial establishment, owning and controlling a territory more extensive and more populous than any European state—came to an end. The charter was rescinded, and India came under the direct rule of the British Crown and the British people. This was supposed at the time to be a wholly beneficial transfer. The East India Company had done its work. While constantly expressing its desire to obtain no extension of territory its frontiers had marched steadily on, and the nation at large had been obliged, on more than one occasion, to come forward in order to save the company from the consequences of the adventurous policy of its own Promethean—one of whom, Lord Dalhousie, a narrow, bitter, incompetent, and bombastic bureaucrat, undoubtedly provoked the Mutiny—and it was felt that it was high time that England should assume the full responsibility for its greatest dependency. The change was therefore welcomed on every side.

At first all went well. Queen Victoria issued a manifesto to the Prince and Peoples of India, assuring them in the name of God of her intense solicitude for their welfare, and of her determination that the Indians should have their full share in the management of their own country. The Indians were delighted. But it was soon discovered that, in spite of all pledges and promises, the British government's little finger was heavier than the East India Company's joint. So far from giving the Indians a greater control over Hindostan, the official circle was expanded more than ever, and scarcely a single post worth having was given to an Indian. The European military establishment was tripled and made far more costly. Enormous sums were borrowed and expended without the slightest reference to the wishes or the welfare of the people. Millions of endowments were seized upon and sequestered. Taxation was steadily raised in every department. All means of rebellion by parliament even were taken away. Ancient and beautiful arts and crafts, instead of being fostered and developed, were ruthlessly crushed. Home charges and pensions were increased wholesale. From the day of Hindostan to the other end of the great island of English rule, from 1858 to 1904, has been to squeeze the utmost possible out of the unfortunate Indians, without the slightest regard to the consequences. Thus the wealth of India is drained away from her without any compensating advantage, and the creation of poverty is reduced to a science; all hope of being trained for the useful service of their country is brought to naught; and the real higher education which political action and administration affords is wholly unobtainable.

The result of this truly infamous policy is now before the world. I rejoice, as an Englishman, that I have done my share for nearly thirty years to expose in Europe, America, and Asia, the systematic rascality of our aristocratic and plutocratic countrymen. India is the greatest and most populous empire that ever came under the control of any nation. Even reasonably governed, it would be one of the most powerful and influential countries in the world to-day. Its people are industrious, patient, temperate, thrifty and contented. Great arts, great literature, great buildings, great industrial works, great military prowess, great financiers, and great law-givers, illustrate its long annals side by side with legends similar to those which were frequent in Europe at the same periods. The agricultural population was well-to-do as a whole when we commenced our long reign of wrong and robbery; it is now a witness to many travellings of capacity. It has been our mission to destroy all this greatness and prosperity, and to reduce the inhabitants of British territory proper to absolute indigence.

India is the greatest and most awful instance of the cruelty, greed and rapacity of the capitalist class of which history gives any record. Even the horrors of Spanish rule in North America are dwarfed into insignificance in comparison with the cold, calculating, economic infamy which has starved, and is still deliberately starving, millions of people to death in British India.

This population of Hindostan amounts to 200,000,000 in round figures. Of these, 220,000,000 are under direct British rule, and about 70,000,000 are in the native states controlled by the British. The population under direct British rule is now universally recognized as being the poorest in the whole world, and the inhabitants of the native states, where, unfortunately, the British system is being partially adopted, are now also beginning to undergo impoverishment.

The reason for this is not far to seek. Not content with sipping every well-paid office whatever, as already said, with Englishmen; not content with keeping up a huge military and naval arm, the latter exceptionally well-paid, all at India's expense; not content with charging upon Indian revenues, wars with which India has little or nothing to do; not content with raising loans after loans to waste on costly and oft-times unnecessary expenditure and public works; these shameless injustices not being sufficient, we drain the very life-blood from the two hundred millions of starvelings we ourselves have created the sum of £30,000,000 (800,000,000 marks or 750,000,000 francs) without any commercial return. We thus deliberately manufacture famine in order to feed the greed of our prosperous classes in England. This frightful drain alone, taken from Indian industry in order to pay home charges, pensions, interest, dividends, and European remittances, is, with the cost of European officials and the army in India, the real cause of all the Indian famines. Against drought it would be easy in the present and in the future, as in the past, to make provision by storage of grain from previous harvests. Against this awful economic drain of wealth in good years and bad years alike there can be no protection. We have taken out India's life-blood for the last 150 years certainly 500,000,000, some of which we have lent back to depleted India at interest. Yet when the famine which we have thus, as I say, deliberately manufactured, come as the consequences of this terrible drain, our governing class think they have done a wonderful act of charity when they remit back to India the sum of £200,000,000 (2,000,000,000 francs) they appropriated in that very year.

In order to keep up these heavy expenditures and to cover this constant bleeding, India is taxed literally to death. A ryot to-day can afford to eat only one-third of the food his grandfather ate even in good years. He is forced to pay his land tax to the government before the crop is grown, thus being compelled to resort to the money-lenders so as to be able to sow his crop and till his land. Not long since the Indian government, which was completely despotic as that of Russia, enacted that the ryot, which is intrinsically worth about 11d. (one penny less) than a mark, two pence more than a franc should be held to be worth 1s. 4d., and that the people of India should pay their taxes on this basis. The taxation of the starving cultivators was thus increased from 40 to 50 per cent. The result was that no wonder that millions die of starvation, and that India is being completely ruined.

Previous rulers of India lived in India, and employed the Indians in the highest posts. The wealth raised by their taxation was spent in the country. The Moguls, with all their faults, were infinitely better rulers for India than the English on this account alone. Akbar, the Mohammedan, the greatest of them, never held any other office, employed the famous Hindu Rajah Todar Mull as his finance minister, and the Hindus have always been great in finance. He also had Hindoo generals at the head of his armies, and so had others of the Mogul emperors. We know better. No native of India, under British rule, is good enough to help to govern the glorious country which his ancestors made celebrated for thousands of years.

All this, I repeat, shows that capitalism in its latest manifestation is so short-sighted as it is greedy and brutal. Even from the trade point of view, a well-to-do India, with its 300,000,000 inhabitants, would afford the greatest market for goods in the world. It is a civilized, not a barbarous, population as a whole. But enlightened Christian English capitalists prefer to bleed this

enormous population to death rather than to benefit by its prosperity.

It is a sad criticism. Socialism itself for Western Europe is less important than the prevention of this wholesale atrocity. I appeal to this International Congress to denounce the statesmen and the nation guilty of this infamy before the gods civilized world, and to convey to the natives of India the heartfelt wish of the delegates of the workers of all nations assembled that they may shortly, no matter in what manner, free themselves finally from the horrors of the most criminal misrule that has ever afflicted humanity.

But India only gives the most striking instance of the infamy of modern capitalism in colonies. I do not say that the English are worse than the others. Not a bit of it. They had only the first opportunity, and carry on to develop all sorts of a greater and more refined system. The petty larceny thief differs from the monumental swindler, not in kind, but in degree. Given the same chance, he would do as big a steal. The French in Algeria and Tonquin; the Russians in Asia; the Germans in Africa and China; the Dutch in Java and Sumatra; the Americans in the Sandwich Islands, the Philippines, and Mexico; the Belgians in the Congo; each did all sorts of the same methods, and only fall short of the English in the scale of their depredations, because they have not as yet so wide a field for robbery, extortion, swindling and murder. Modern capitalism and conquest necessarily lead to all these crimes and others. Moreover, such extensions help to prolong capitalist domination, and to enrich and strengthen the exploiting classes in every country, both nationally and internationally, against the real producers of wealth.

Therefore it is the duty of the international Socialist, the only international non-capitalist party, to denounce, and wherever possible, to prevent the extension of colonization and conquest, leaving to each race, and creed, and color, the full opportunity to develop itself on a complete economic and social emancipation is secured by all.

\$32,000 WORTH OF FUN.

By E. S. Egerton.

SANATOGA, Aug. 20.—John W. Gates spent four hours with the tiger here early this morning and the tiger was on his back. Mr. Gates and his son Charley, John A. Gates, Alphonse Hedges, and two others had been dining at the clubhouse at the track.

It was agreed among them that Mr. Gates should do the playing, and the other members of the party should share in his winnings or losses. The regular limit for the bank at the United States Club is \$25. For the particular accommodation of Mr. Gates the limit was raised to \$250. Under this arrangement the play went on for about two hours, and Mr. Gates had secured a heap to the extent of something like \$10,000. That just edged his enthusiasm. He asked that the limit be raised.

Among those who had been watching the play were the bookmakers, Jay Ullman and Max Ullman. The regular limit for the bank at the United States Club is \$25. For the particular accommodation of Mr. Gates the limit was raised to \$250. Under this arrangement the play went on for about two hours, and Mr. Gates had secured a heap to the extent of something like \$10,000. That just edged his enthusiasm. He asked that the limit be raised.

The new limit was satisfactory to Gates on festive countenance to smile on the house. At one time Gates was as much to the bad as \$50,000. Between 4 and 5 o'clock this morning, according to the story, Mr. Gates concluded that he was too sleepy to play any longer and wanted to go to bed.

Mr. Gates' friends, Mr. Gates retired with the limit raised for \$25,000, which was equally divided between Ullman and Max Ullman. Then he retired to his room and went to bed. He was as chipper and spry at the race this afternoon as if he had had fourteen hours' sleep. New York Sun, Aug. 21.

Fellow wage slaves, isn't this inspiring? Just think, but \$32,000 for four hours' fun. It only takes about a year for one hundred of us to earn \$32,000, and we should be joyful to have that much money. Let us raise the limit. Double it. Make it \$100,000 an hour. That would be but \$64,000 for four hours' fun. True, we would have fewer diners, fewer shoes and less of the necessities of life if our masters had to get that much more profit out of us. More slaves would be crucified in the factories, mills, and more money would be hoarded in banks, but our dear money would be made to count. Let us raise the limit. Double it. Make it \$100,000 an hour. That would be but \$64,000 for four hours' fun. True, we would have fewer diners, fewer shoes and less of the necessities of life if our masters had to get that much more profit out of us. More slaves would be crucified in the factories, mills, and more money would be hoarded in banks, but our dear money would be made to count. 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—Outdoor agitation meetings furnish the best opportunities for increasing the circulation of this paper. Get a bunch of sub. cards, try it and see.

great tune and rhythm. And in effect is not this the purport of the world? Does not this universe, this world, in spring and in autumn, in summer and winter, perpetually make and unmake, do and undo, in man's presence and seem in ever recurring phenomena ever to be fulfilling and relativizing, tempting man to make and unmake, to do and undo, in the spirit of *Waltz*, the Supreme Artificer?—T. J. Coblenz *San Francisco*

The Worker.

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1901.

In the State of New York, on account of
certain provisions of the election laws, the
Socialist Party is officially recognized under
the name of Social Democratic Party, and
its emblem is the Star of David.

The Socialist Party for Social Democratic
Party in New York has passed through its
second general election. Its growing power
is indicated by the fact that its vote for
Governor in 1902 was 97,750.

1902 (Presidential) 97,750
1902 (State and Congressional) 220,702

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic
Party of New York) has passed through its
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PRESIDENTIAL TICKET.

FOR PRESIDENT—
EUGENE V. DEBS,
OF INDIANA.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—
BENJAMIN HANFORD,
OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK STATE TICKET.

FOR GOVERNOR—
THOS. PENDERGAST,
OF WATERLOO.

FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—
CHARLES R. BACH,
OF ROCHESTER.

For Secretary of State—
K. J. SQUIRES of Jamestown.

For State Treasurer—
EMIL NEPPLE of New York.

For Attorney-General—
LEON A. MALKIEL of New York.

For State Comptroller—
W. W. PASSAGE of Brooklyn.

For State Engineer and Surveyor—
S. B. EARLY of Buffalo.

For Associate Judge of the Court of
Appeals—
WILLIAM NUGENT of Troy.

A LOST STRIKE.

To the business man and his class,
nothing succeeds like success,
and so Michael Donnelly of Chicago,
who handed the strike that failed at
the stockyards against the Beef Trust,
has his place among those who in
the capitalist press are invariably regis-
tered as "demagogues and self-seekers."

It was an unwise strike, we are now
informed by the literary hacks who
are always wise after the event. But
it would have been wise had it ended
otherwise, of course.

Judging from the rials of capitalist
earth poured on the head of President
Donnelly, his "recklessness" consisted
in advising the continuance of the
strike until the limits of physical en-
durance were reached—which was
about eight weeks. The fact that a
strike naturally ends or may entail
this in its progress is conveniently
ignored. The "wise" labor leader, ac-
cording to these gentry, either does
not call a strike at all, or having called
it, surrenders, or advises surrender
just after the battle has opened. But
just how the stockyard operatives
could have gained their demands with-
out a strike or by yielding during its
early progress, we are never informed.

The best advice that the capitalist
press has for the laborers is to lie
down and never think of rising against
conditions unless they become "intol-
erable," the capitalist press, of course,
being the judge of when this stage
is reached; though no one can bring a
strike to a close before any capitalist
press ever declared "intolerable" conditions
to exist anywhere or advised a strike
to remove them. The stockyard

ery and wretchedness of the conditions
of the unskilled workers in the Chi-
cago stockyards might last to all eter-
nity, before the capitalist press would
give them voice. Had they done it
satisfaction that the efforts of these
unfortunates to mitigate their suffer-
ings, even in the least degree, have
been unavailing.

But Donnelly has been a particular
target for their invective for another
reason than the mere failure of the
strike. He declared during its progress
that the strikers were turning to-
wards Socialism as a relief, and that
its principles were spreading fast
among them. And the local Socialists
were quick to take advantage of and
improve the opportunity for propaga-
nda in a district and amongst a people
who had been until then impervious to
the teachings of the working class gos-
pel of emancipation.

This the capitalist press does not for-
get and cannot forgive, though Don-
nelly is in no sense responsible for it.
His making a public utterance of the
fact constitutes his real offense.

Ostensibly the strike has been lost.
The appearance of several thousand
Socialist votes, however, in districts
that heretofore gave but a few scores,
may, next November, cause both the
parkers and the press that supports
their interests to question the nature
of the victory gained in September.

If every capitalist triumph over la-
bor in the economic field, leaves an
aftermath of Socialist votes as this lost
strike promises to do, we need not
grudge the exploiters their temporary
satisfaction, knowing that against the
strike at the ballot box they are power-
less.

WILL "PUBLIC OPINION"

SEIZ?

Harring the influence on the inevit-
able passing of capitalism, the Social-
ist is usually charged with making pre-
dictions, so we merely suggest here that
the near future will very probably see
a remarkable change in "public opin-
ion" regarding the war in Asia, if Ja-
panese success continues and the domina-
tion of that country in Manchuria and
contiguous territories is secured.

Notwithstanding our "traditional
friendship" for Russia, the trend of
"public opinion" shows the commence-
ment of the war has been undoubtedly
with Japan. The capitalist press, tak-
ing its cue as usual from the business
interests of the country, very quickly
succeeded in setting the drift of pub-
lic opinion in that direction. On sev-
eral occasions, however, here and there
some multiplicity of capitalism blurted
out the truth that "our sympathy" with
Japan was mostly determined by the
commercial outlook. But in general
the war was represented that Japan
was the "under dog" in the conflict,
while Russia had forfeited the good
will of the world by Jewish masacres,
Siberian horrors, the barbarity of
official punishments, general reaction-
ism and hostility to progress.

Russian ambassadors, diplomats and
other professional liars, benefited the
and estrangement of American friend-
ship and lyingly professed their inhabi-
tation to account for it. Nor did the cap-
italist press attempt to enlighten them.
When it condemned to give a reason,
it lied just as they did. It kept
back the fact that it had molded "pub-
lic opinion" to suit the commercial in-
terests of the capitalist class of the
United States. Both led to each other
and each knew the other was lying.

At first it looked as if Russian vic-
tory would seal up Manchuria to
American trade. A measure of the
"open door" was at least expected
from Japanese success, and this ac-
counted for the shift of public opin-
ion.

But now the relative positions are
reversed. Russia is decidedly the "un-
der dog" now. And our capitalists are
beginning to get uneasy over the an-
ticipated generosity of Japan in the
matter of unrestricted trade in the
Orient.

Japan has shown that she possesses
offensive power dangerous to any na-
tion on earth. Her soldiers have out-
fought and outgeneraled those of
what was held to be the most powerful
military nation in the world. The
possibility of her establishing, in the
event of complete victory, a sort of
Monroe doctrine with "Asia for the
Asiatics" as its text, is not a pleasant
prospect for the ruling classes of this
country and Europe. They know that
in such case she would have power
enough to make it both disagreeable
and dangerous to any who might inter-
fere with such a program, especially as
the countless hordes of Chinese under
her military tutelage would ultimately
have to be reckoned with. They
know also that the growing industrial
needs of Japan require the mainland
for a market and that she cannot be
expected to willingly "divide up" what
she has conquered with rivals and
competitors in trade.

A partial victory over Russia, in
which her resources were exhausted,
might enable them to rob her as they
did in 1894, but a complete success is
a totally different matter. She might
not in that case feel inclined to submit
to the robbery.

A cartoonist in one of the daily pa-
pers hit off the expected situation ex-
actly. Japan is represented as the cook
in the Manchurian kitchen, where the
Russian bear, hung up by the heels
from a beam, is being dressed prepara-
tory to the roasting. The figure of

John Bull, Uncle Sam, the German
Kaiser and other "powers" are rep-
resented as sitting into the doorway,
watching the "cook" by way of expan-
sion and introduction: "We've come to help
celebrate, and we've all brought our
own plates."

What reception will Japan give to
these self-invited guests? That is the
question that the scope of Japanese
success makes doubtful. The hungry
mob of plate bearers surmise that if
their prospective host has confidence
in the progress of his military buldog,
they may not unlikely get the sort of
welcome that the insolent tramp some-
times receives from that animal; and
all of them have more stomach for the
dinner than for fighting to get it.

It will be interesting to watch the
attitude of Japan in the event of de-
cisive victory. No more than Russia
will she "divide up" unless she has
to. And if she decides that she is able
to keep all she has fought for undiv-
ided, the shift of "public opinion" will
at once commence. Instead of the
progress, enlightenment and enterprise
of Japan being the theme of the cap-
italist press, we may expect to see it
supplanted by diatribes on "the yellow
peril," which for the first time it may
be admitted (and hoped) will take on
an appearance of reality.

European and American capitalism,
hurled out of Asia by an Asiatic power
would mean the speedy establishment
of Socialism beyond a doubt. As an
offensive power to overrun with hordes
of Asiatics the continents of Europe
and America, the "yellow peril" is a
myth. As a dormant potentiality
awakened by Asiatic success against a
European power, it is even now taking
the form of a grave menace to the
capitalist world.

It is one of the ironies of capitalist
society that its promising pupil Japan,
into whom "civilization" and capital-
ism was literally poured with en-
thusiasm, should now be viewed with alarm
as ready to turn the lessons learned
against the teacher, and possibly in-
duce the dull and sleepy septuag-
enarian, China, to take a hand in the game also.

But so it evidently is from the present
outlook. And the first symptom of this
perception by the capitalists of the out-
side world will undoubtedly be shown
by the transference of "moral sup-
port," "sympathy" and "public opin-
ion" from Japan to Russia.

J. W.

BRYAN'S PRAYER TO CAPITAL.

O Marmon, God of the Mighty
Rulers of this Earth: To Thee I come
at this hour repenting my past sins
and disbelieving and all the transgres-
sions I have committed before Thee.

I have sinned before Thee, O ruler
of mankind, by utterances of my
mouth only! Thou, who knowest the
innermost thoughts of my heart, knowest
well that I have never forsaken
Thee. I have always believed in Thy
mighty power. I have always support-
ed the system whereby mankind is
made to worship Thee and is compell-
ed to do according to thy will.

I ask Thy forgiveness at the foot of
Thy altar, for past expressions that
sounded like blasphemy in Thy ears.
Thou knowest well that I only meant
them as cunning means of fastening
Thy might and strengthening Thy hold
over the minds of the people, by mak-
ing them believe that, if they follow
me, they will no more be compelled to
sacrifice their lives on Thine altar.

Thou knowest, O Great and
mighty Marmon, that I have in all
my past career refrained from attack-
ing the underlying secret of Thy pow-
er, "THE PROFIT SYSTEM." I
saw before Thy powerful altar that
never have I aimed to open the peo-
ple's eyes as to the workings of the
maelstrom threefold device called rent,
interest and profit whereby the product
of their labor is sacrificed to Thee.
Never have I opened the eyes of my
blind followers to the struggle that is
being waged for the control of the
capitalist class, and the common herd
by the aim of destroying Thy tem-
ple, "THE WAGE SYSTEM."

On the contrary, Thou knowest well
that I have always advised some in-
significant, minor reforms in order to
distract the eyes of the most trouble-
some from THE REAL ISSUE. I
have always faithfully preached the
gospel of competition for bread, com-
petition for the job, competition in all
that is an essential need, indispensable
to the lives of both the weak and
strong.

O Thou Great and Powerful, before
whom there are no secrets, I come to
Thee at this hour to offer my prayer
and promise to serve Thee faithfully
and humbly and follow Thee blindly!
At Thy feet I lay my banner, the hap-
piness of the toiling masses, the peace
of my blind followers, the homeless
widows, the fatherless orphans and
tolling babies, I sacrifice all, all to
Thee, God of the Mighty and Power-
ful Marmon—Next.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

Weekly Circulation Statement Show-
ing Condition of The Worker.

Printed 10,000 15,000
Single subscriptions . . . 9,988 9,910
Bundles 570 370
Sample copies 119 71
Exchanges 585 549
Sold in office and in bu-
sines and at retail . . . 4,008 3,500
15,316 14,220
Gains for week 890

As The Worker always has been and is
now published at a deficit, and as it
is imperatively necessary that the
deficit be wiped out and the paper
made self-supporting, a circulation
statement will be published from week
to week, showing the gains or losses
of the paper, so that its readers may
realize the necessity of increasing the
circulation and may see the results of
their efforts to do so. It is necessary
for the paper to have a regular paid
circulation of 25,000 in order to be self-
supporting.

"Attention"—It is true that I am
the head of the company operating
French Lick Springs, but if I am at-
tacked on that score again I would be
obliged if you would also state that
the Republican candidate for Vice-
President, the Hon. Charles Warren
Fairbanks, is the second ranked
holder in the gambler's paradise and
the Hon. Winfield Scott Durbin, Re-
publican Governor of Indiana, is also
paid from the share of the profits ac-
cruing from the nefarious enterprise."

WHY SHOULD I TAKE ANYTHING BACK?

By Horace Traubel.

Why should I take anything back? I
have made mistakes. I have said
wrong words where I should have said
right words. I have been too severe.
I have been too mild. I have hit where
I should have persuaded. I have per-
sued where I should have hit. I have
talked out loud when I should have
kept still. I have been silent when I
should have talked. I have not always
been faithful to my friends. I have not
always made it clear to my enemy
that I knew he was against me. I
have sometimes refused to sacrifice my
interests to the cause. I wear no
arrows. I have paved the corridors of
loyal belief. I have been big when I
should have been little. Little when I
have been big. I have sometimes
chosen the easy road when I should
have taken the hard road. All this is
all true. Yet I take nothing back. Why
should I take anything back? I do not
take the mistakes back. Nor the bad
words. Nor the mild words. Nor the
angry words. Nor any of the silences.
Nor any of the outbursts. Nor any
incident of treachery. Nor any
episode of loyalty. I take nothing
back. The whole of me must stand
for the whole of the world or I am
lost. What do I come to when I am
counted up? Let me be counted up
for justice. My fight totals in its own
justification. Whatever its slips and
excesses, whatever its policies and pro-
tentions: When you get it items all
together, when you get it honestly led-
gered, and I record a gain on the
side of the ideal. Why should I regret
what I have said or done? My mistakes
are lost in the major factors. I am not
sorry for all in all. I am not repented
in my fragments. But I am confirmed
as a whole. I have said hard words
to you. And I have been sorry. Sorry
for you. Honestly sorry. But I have
been sorrier for the people. I see the
hurt and harm. I apply the remedy.
Do I take the hard words back? Not
at all. But they are counted to me.
They offend society a substantially
accrued value. When I feel that my
severely is going I look the tragedy in
the face again and am promptly re-
stored to the fight.

I do not think I hate anybody at all.
But I love the people. The crowd.
The average. What I do is not done
because I hate but because I love.
Even this sort of hate amounts to this
sort of love at the last. Even the
harmers in the end go for love. Even
the humiliates and weaklings have
all gone for love. I am alone with
the passion for rescue. It gives me
my best life. I give it back my best
life. I give it back life in error as
well as in truth. But I give it back. I
give it back in curses as well as in
blessings. But I give it back. I pay
my debt. I pay it in the only coin I
have. In cowardice as well as in hero-
ism. In ugliness as well as in beauty.
In injustice as well as in justice. I
crawl as well as walk and fly. I fall
as well as succeed. I am weak as well
as strong. But you will not doubt.
You will not feel too long with the
pleases. You will add me up. You
will see that I am only recant in
angles and squares. I am not recant
in the round. I may lose all the bat-
tles. But I will win the war.

I have denounced you to cause. I
have used the strongest words I know
to portray his iniquity. I have hit two
where one would have sufficed. I have
extracted the extremest penalties. I
have not shown mercy. I have worn
you, out with persistent assaults. I
might have given you more chances.
I might have let you. I might have
permitted as well as fought for justice.
But I preferred the less gracious meth-
od. I drove you to the wall with the
challenge of my inveterate distrust. I

acknowledge it. I do not deny one
word that you say. Yet I adhere to my
principles. I declare that though my
strategy was cruel it was not as cruel
as the fate it was necessary to destroy.
The main contention has been decided.
I am only responsible to the media
contention. I would like to be perfect
even in the process. But though I
personally may not be perfect in the
process the cause I love may be per-
fect in the result.

I hear you cry out with pain. And
that might be conclusive. But I also
hear the cry of the submerged. And
this cry drowns your cry. In the im-
pulse of the historic sorrow your pri-
vate grief is lost. The cry of the
landlord is lost in the cry of the ten-
ant. The cry of the bondholder is lost
in the cry of the bondless. The cry of
the master is lost in the cry of the
slave. The cry of the boss in the cry
of the workman. The cry of profit and
interest in the cry of the robbed. The
cry of the surplus in the cry of the
starved. The cry of the conqueror
in the cry of the conquered. The cry
of the superior in the cry of the in-
ferior. The cry of the king in the
cry of the people. The cry of those
who rule in the cry of those who are
ruled. When I am in danger of hear-
ing too much of the cry of the guilty I
hear the cry of the innocent. When
you remind me that I am so hard to
a few I remind you that I am very
gentle to all. When I feel as if I might
take something back I remember that
I have something more important to
take forward. I shock you. Yes. But
see how you have shocked the dis-
possessed. It shocks you to learn that
your rents remain unpaid. But I feel
the shock of the tenants who must
pay the rent. It shocks you to be told
that in the end private property and
private profit must disappear. But I
feel the shock of the people who have
been agitated for property and profit
and have been told that they must
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The following is the resolution sub-
mitted by the Revolutionary Socialist
Labor Party of France:

Whereas, it is shown by an impartial
investigation of political and economic
facts which of late years have brought
the proletariat into conflict with the various
forms of capitalist exploitation—

That different nationalities in their
respective Socialist organizations have
been led to use the weapon of the general
strike as the most effective means for
securing the triumph of working-class
demands, and to apply the defense of public
utilities;

Whereas, these facts are evidence how
in all acute crises the instinct of the work-
ing class turns, as it were, spontane-
ously to the general strike, which regards
as one of the most powerful and accessible
methods at its disposal;

The Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party
invites the International Congress of Am-
sterdam to agree to a systematic study
of a rational and methodical organization
of the international general strike, which,
without being the only means of revolu-
tion, constitutes a weapon of emancipa-
tion that no class-conscious Socialist has
the right to misconceive or belittle.

This resolution was supported by the
following delegates, proposed by J. B.
Lavaud and Th. Cordé:

We have not, in this brief report, to dis-
cuss the general strike, which generally have
as their object the raising of wages; the
statistics published by the Minister of
Commerce of France in 1901 show that, of
325 strikes, 278 had this object; only 46
succeeded—and often we must make some
allowance for what the authorities mean
by "success." Partial strikes caused the
loss of 698,148 days' work in 1902 and of
1,260,000 in 1901. How much effort and
how much suffering in comparison with the
results obtained? We know, alas, that
strikes are often followed by a reaction,
where the shop is sympathetic with com-
rades unjustly discharged, or to compel the
removal of a brutal boss. In a week
strikes always have honorable results. Vic-
tories are the more often temporary, inas-
much as the concessions made by the em-
ployers are little by little withdrawn and
the workers slip back to their old position.

It seems to us natural to seek a remedy
for our ills outside of these partial strikes.
Much has been said in inquiring
whether the general strike is to be peace-
ful or revolutionary. We hold simply that
it ought to be a general strike. We are
not obliged to add anything to these two
words. The general strike cannot be "de-
creed," any more than can the revolution.
Perhaps to-morrow, perhaps much later, it
will be necessary for us to prepare for it.
We ought not to content ourselves with
extending our efforts in our own country;
for the emancipation of one people cannot
be complete if the producers in neighbor-
ing countries are under the yoke of cap-
italism, our common enemy.

It is, then, necessary to prepare for the
general strike without delay, and to pur-
sue the work of organizing. In each country
the party must give to the national char-
acter which interests the people of that
country; thus, while the obtaining of uni-
versal suffrage is a vital question in Bel-
gium, it is no longer a question in France;
now, certain economic questions have been
solved in some countries and not in others.
Each nation should concern itself with its
particular demands, at least until all na-
tions can make a general strike for the
suppression of slavery.

We believe that we ought to add to our
affirmation some examples which show
that, in all circumstances where it is nec-
essary for the proletariat to demonstrate
its organized power, it has recourse to the
only weapon which the law allows it, the
strike, and that, from political and eco-
nomic causes, it tends to enlarge its action
and generalize the strike.

In April, 1903, the Belgian miners, after
having tried by all the means of concilia-
tion with the mine-owners and by asking
for the intervention of the public power,
for an increase of wages only partly re-
sponding to the exorbitant profits of the
mining companies, found themselves under
the necessity of calling a general strike of
their nation.

In the same way, in 1900, sixty thousand
Austrian miners rose against the oppres-
sive rule of six or seven capitalist magnates who owned
almost all the mines. Considering the
topography of that country, we may easily
imagine the difficulty which the labor of
miners faced in the mining centers, where
the capitalists had absolutely cultivated
the mine-holders in order to neutralize
the class-hatred which their own abominable
exploitation created. In addition to this
difficulty, the strikers had to meet all the
oppressive forces of the bourgeoisie. The pe-

—Henry George, Jr., says he will
"support" the "Farmer's" Lottery taking
for Henry that his father gave him
that name, or he might be had put
in a good cause has never yet
been lost. If John Brown, Wendell
Phillips, Garrison and others of their
time had been afraid to "lose their
votes," chattel slavery would still be
a firmly established institution in the
United States. Why, we owe most of
our rights and liberties to men who
were not only not afraid to lose their
votes but not afraid to lose their heads
in the struggle for justice.

Probably the Socialist candidates for
the principal offices will not be elect-
ed this year, but the time will come,
and perhaps sooner than many expect,
when they will be elected and these
timid people who do not like to lose
their votes will wish they had not only
voted but agitated at the time when
voters faced in the mining centers, where
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the mine-holders in order to neutralize
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THE GENERAL STRIKE.

A Subject Now Commanding Much At-
tention Among European Socialists
and Considered by the Amsterdam
Congress—Resolution and Report of
its French Advocates.

"The general strike" is a phrase that
is only beginning to be heard in So-
cialist circles in the United States, but
it is a live question among our Euro-
pean comrades. Its most eager advo-
cates are the German Socialists, or Revo-
lutionary Socialist Labor Party; but the
Revolutionary Socialist Party of Ita-
ly also lays great stress upon it

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CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM?

By John C. Chese.

During the last few years we have seen grow up in America a class of people mightier and more powerful than any ruling class ever was in the history of the world. A class that dominates and controls every phase of human activity and subverts every principle of government that we have been taught to believe should exist in a free republic. We have seen this class growing in strength and power as the wealth of the country concentrated in their hands. We have looked on in amazement, believing that everything would eventually come out all right. But we are now brought to a realization of the fact, that matters will not right themselves, without the intervention of the people, in their sovereign power. On looking about us today we discover that everything mankind must have access to in order to live, has been syndicated or trustified until the people are completely at the mercy of a few trusts and trust owners.

Passing of Competition.

The few individuals at the head of these trusts, who have been gradually but surely getting into their possession all the resources of the people, are now in a position to control the government, control the courts, subvert the press and enslave the people.

Competition has disappeared in the business world and monopoly reigns. Thousands of men with small capital are crushed down and out every day in the deadly struggle for supremacy in the mad race for wealth and power. Thousands are turned out of college with diplomas, only to become common laborers in a factory, because of the lack of opportunity to apply their talents. They are forced into the ranks of the working class to compete in the only place where competition still exists—in the struggle for a job. Our women are forced to labor at occupations detrimental to their mental, moral and physical welfare. Our children are driven to a life of cheerless and profitless labor without scarcely able to realize that they are human beings. Thousands are driven mad and incarcerated in asylums, while others seek relief in crime.

Every man's hand is raised against every other man and even the puny little fist of the child is raised in feeble struggle against the mighty hand of his own father. And all this for the purpose of gaining an existence in a country teeming with plenty for all if properly managed. We have allowed a few individuals to take possession of the earth and then can do, compete us to fight each other in order to live. We labor and create everything of value and must go to the capitalist for it after we have created it, and then he can change anything they please for what we must have to live upon.

A Universal Hold Up.

Do we want a pound of beef, we must pay tribute to the Beef Trust. Do we want a pound of coal, we must obtain it from the Coal Trust. If we ride a mile on the railroad, we must submit to the exactions of the Railroad Trust. If we would rock the cradle baby to sleep in the cradle, we must contribute to the Cradle Trust. When we are sick and in need of medicine we must get our medicine from the Drug Trust. Do we need ice to stay the ravages of disease, we must contribute to the Ice Trust. We cannot live a human life without paying tribute to a few, who have us in their power from the cradle to the grave. Every one knows this. Every one admits this to be the truth but few know what to do about it. Few know how to find relief from this intolerable condition. But slowly and surely there is coming into the minds of mankind the knowledge that there is relief to be found.

Light is Dawning.

We are beginning to understand that the hope of the future for the race lies in another great onward stride in the progress of civilization by changing from the system of individual or private ownership in the means of life to the collective ownership of them by those who toil. We are beginning to realize that we cannot have a free people and a true republic where the means of life are owned by a few. We are beginning to feel as well that this is a political question and while we do not fully realize it yet we are demanding more and more of what is ours and seeking to obtain it through political action.

No Relief in Old Parties.

The great mass of the people are becoming more and more radical in their thinking and are getting ready to demand their freedom from the tyranny of capitalist rule. They are beginning to understand just how to make their demand. Some are of the opinion that the Republican party will finally purge itself of the capitalist influence that now controls it and lead the people out of the wilderness, while others think that the Democratic party is to be the instrument of their freedom. Such people overlook a very important fact in history, for history does not record a single instance where any oppressive class or system was overthrown by a political party that had been in existence and had enjoyed control of government, while that class or system was in operation. Such political parties have always been owned body and soul by the class to be overthrown. The slave power of the South owned the Democratic party, and the plantation and the prayers to that party by those who thought it could be prevailed upon to do something toward the restriction or abolition of chattel slavery were in vain and the people were obliged to create a new political party. The Republican party came into power and accomplished the mission it had

to fulfill. Years have passed and we find today a new power—capitalism and the capitalist class—owning the Republican and the Democratic parties as well. If the people are to find relief they must organize a new political party, untried and uncorrupted by the hand of capitalism, with the uncompromising demand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system. There is no relief to be found in trying to patch up or remodel the present system. It must be abolished absolutely. The political machinery of the Republican and Democratic parties is manipulated by the capitalists or their tools, and their platforms and their candidates are such as will further perpetuate the existence of the present system.

False Pretenses.

It is true that both parties will denounce each other, but it is the denunciation of the man who starts the cry of "stop thief" to divert suspicion from himself, or the denunciation of the man who is jealous of those that are in and want to get in themselves, so that they may get a slice of the corruption fund of those willing to pay for protection. The Republican party is the avowed champion of the capitalist class and those who live on the sweat and life blood of the toilers of the land feel no uneasiness whatever when they are in power. And when the Democratic party gave a trifling evidence of getting away from the control of the Wall Street manipulators and capitalists, we saw the tools of the capitalist class rallying to the support of each other and taking complete possession of the party and making of it a twin to the Republican party.

What Will They Do?

What will the voters do when they cast their votes next November? Are we to be forever fooled by this mock battle of the Republican and Democratic parties? Or will we say "a plague on both your houses" and forever cut loose from them? So long as we allow ourselves to be humbugged or cajoled, through our prejudices or patriotism, into supporting either of them just so long will we continue to be enslaved by this capitalist system. We have a way to enter our protest and register our demand for the overthrow of the tyranny of our oppressors. If we wish to do so. We have a political party already organized and established in every state in the Union; a political party that is no longer a small aggregation of people, vainly trying to arouse the people to a sense of their appalling condition, but a live, powerful and fast growing party, that will cast a vote large enough this year to send the chills to the marrow-bones of the capitalist class. This is the party that stands for Socialism—the Socialist Party. It is the party that polled almost a quarter of a million votes in the last elections.

This party is before you and you can support it, and only by supporting it, can you vote against that system that is degrading mankind and driving the working class into a slavery more intolerable than any that has ever disgraced the world.

Capitalism Dominates.

If you would register your demand for the overthrow of the rule and reign of capitalism, you must vote for a political party that stands unequivocally in favor of the abolition of the system of private ownership of the means of life. There is no relief offered you by either the Republican or Democratic parties. Let your minds rest for a moment upon the actions of the Democratic party in convention assembled. What do you find? You find an assembly of men dominated completely by those who believe in capitalism in all its hideousness. A convention controlled from start to finish by those who unhesitatingly affirm that they are sick and tired of being defeated and want a platform and a candidate that they can win with. Here we have the hypocrisy of the present-day Democratic party. They turn their backs upon those who would make a free declaration, no matter how weak and puny, in favor of the mass and openly say that the platform must not be objectionable to the money men of the country. These men triumph; a conservative platform is adopted; the radical element is either overwhelmed by force of numbers or willingly accepts a conservative policy in order to win.

Silent and Treacherous.

The convention nominates a man whose views upon public and vital important questions no one knows except his capitalist backers who forced him upon the country as a candidate for President. After every obstacle had been cleared away and the so-called radical element in the party was allowed to understand just how to make their demand. Some are of the opinion that the Republican party will finally purge itself of the capitalist influence that now controls it and lead the people out of the wilderness, while others think that the Democratic party is to be the instrument of their freedom. Such people overlook a very important fact in history, for history does not record a single instance where any oppressive class or system was overthrown by a political party that had been in existence and had enjoyed control of government, while that class or system was in operation. Such political parties have always been owned body and soul by the class to be overthrown. The slave power of the South owned the Democratic party, and the plantation and the prayers to that party by those who thought it could be prevailed upon to do something toward the restriction or abolition of chattel slavery were in vain and the people were obliged to create a new political party. The Republican party came into power and accomplished the mission it had

Both Old Parties Alike.

The Democratic party stands today in exactly the same light before the people of the country as the Republican party. Both of them are bidding for the support of the class that has millions to contribute to their campaign fund. Neither the Republican or Democratic party endeavors to show that they represent the great suffering,

toiling mass. They both are bent upon being triumphant in the coming election by deserting the people and trucking to the desires and the demands of the trust magnates of the country. It will make no difference, therefore, to the financial rulers of the land which one of the parties the great voting public elects to power, they will have protection in their robbery of the people. What will the self-respecting, liberty loving citizens of the country do, on the eighth of next November? Will the great working class that has seen two great political parties meet in convention and give themselves over body and soul to the money power of the country be cajoled into supporting either of them? Alas, many of them will be fooled, but there will be many who will not be tricked into supporting by their votes either wing of the capitalist oligarchy that rules the land.

Freedom or Slavery, Which?

On which side will you stand? Will you vote for Roosevelt and Capitalism, or for Parker and Capitalism? Or will you refuse to have anything to do with either of them and vote for Debs and Socialism? Upon the great working class of the country rests the responsibility of deciding the destiny of this republic. If the working class continues to divide its strength on election day and allows the capitalist class to continue in power, they must expect to continue as they are, creatures of a government and an industrial system run for the sole purpose of further enriching a class already more powerful than any despotic class that ever ruled the world. We cannot tolerate, we cannot compromise, in dealing with the great question of human freedom. "They can't" their children's children who compromise with sin." If we would be free, we ourselves must strike the blow. We have it in our power to remedy any evil, right any wrong, change any system and abolish any class that may be oppressing the people. But we can only do this by acting together. Let us unite then and in the majesty of our sovereign power take the government of this country out of the hands of the class that has made it a machine of oppression and make of it an instrument for the deliverance of the toilers from capitalism and wage slavery.

A vote for the Republican or Democratic party is a vote for the continuation of industrial servitude. A vote for the Socialist Party is a vote for the emancipation of the working class. We may not succeed to-day, we may not succeed to-morrow, but sooner or later the working class will govern the world. Then the goddess of Freedom will lift up her drooping head and glance with tender and loving eyes over a happy and contented people at ease and free in the possession of a universal harbor no master and holds no slave.

ROOSEVELT'S ACTION

IN THE COAL STRIKE

The other feature in Roosevelt's letter of acceptance, which causes one to forget that he is reading a lot of capitalist cant in his confession as to why he interfered in the great anthracite struggle. Many have given him credit for interfering because of his sympathy with the unfortunate miners. Some have attributed the action to the influence of John Mitchell with the Republican politicians. Now we are told on no less authority than that of Mr. Roosevelt himself that he acted not at the dictate of human sympathy for his suffering fellows, but because the exigencies of the politicians urged him on, but because capitalism in the coal mines hung in the balance. Here are his own words on the subject: "They must know that it was only the action of the President which prevented the movement for national ownership of the coal mines from gaining momentum. They will have been an irretrievable mistake." If this be not an open avowal that the settlement of the anthracite strike was due to the agitation of the Socialists for the public ownership of the coal mines, what is it?—Wilkes Barre Courier-Herald.

SPECIAL FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

From now till Election Day, for campaign purposes, The Worker will be sold at THE OFFICE, in bundles of NOT LESS THAN 100, for 50 cents a hundred; by MAIL, 60 cents a hundred, except in bundles of 300 or more, then 50 cents.

As these are "rock-bottom" prices, we must have the CASH WITH ACCOUNT, ALL ORDERS. This office has to pay cash for white paper, employees' wages, postage, and other expenses.

The comrades in the city and state of New York especially should use The Worker for propaganda purposes, because every number contains the name and emblem of the party in this state, the names of our state, candidates and the news of the movement in this city and state. A wide circulation of The Worker will save thousands of new Socialist votes in this state from going to the wrong party.

Experience shows that if an earnest effort is made, from 20 to 100 copies of The Worker can be sold at every meeting. On an average, at least, enough can be sold to pay for the whole hundred and the unsold copies can be given away in other places.

At every meeting you should have a supply of yearly and half-yearly paid-subscription cards and try to get steady readers for your party papers. You can get five yearly, OR ten half-yearly for \$2 and sell them for 50 cents and 25 cents respectively.

As the Board of Steamship Inspectors has formally exonerated its membership from all complicity in the Slocum disaster, "public opinion" will please retire to the extreme rear, assume a seated posture and wait patiently for the next grand display of

THE WORK THAT ALL CAN DO.

By Ben Hanford.

The best work and the most important work in the Socialist movement is a kind of work that all can do. No matter what the things a comrade may be unable to do, each and every one of us can DISTRIBUTE LITERATURE.

And that is the most important thing in our movement. Every Socialist in the United States should distribute a book, a pamphlet, or a few leaflets and papers every single day between this day and election day. The people are more ready to read our literature than ever before. It will be a crime of omission on the part of our comrades if all those outside the Socialist movement are not supplied with means of enlightenment.

Let each comrade see that his nearest neighbor has some Socialist pamphlet, paper or leaflet. See that all the people in your tenement, all the people

in your block, all the people in your city, all the people in your township, have something to read on the subject of Socialism between today and election day.

If you work in a factory, see that every person in that factory has a Socialist leaflet at least once each week between now and Nov. 8. If you belong to a trade union, see that every member has some Socialist literature before election day. See to it that at every meeting of your union every man is given a Socialist paper or leaflet.

Do not leave this work for some one else to do. DO IT YOURSELF. DO IT NOW.

Put your faith in print. Distribute Socialist literature, and you will get Socialist results. Distribute Socialist literature, and we shall have Socialism in our time.

SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

The national secretary of the Socialist Party recently issued a statement of the total Socialist vote of the world by countries and years, taken from the June number of the "International Socialist Review." These figures have been reproduced in almost every Socialist paper in the United States, showing that they "filled a long felt want." Although they were compiled with the greatest possible care, including a consideration of the files of hundreds of Socialist papers and official party documents, and considerable correspondence with the European comrades, several errors were still unavoidable. It so happens that Dr. Robert Michels, of Germany, was engaged upon a similar compilation at the same time and the results of his work appeared in the "Neue Zeit" for July 16, 1904. A comparison of his results with those obtained by me in the article published in the June "Review" (which was originally prepared for the "Encyclopaedia Americana") shows several errors in both articles.

Further information having also been obtained from some other sources, I have now corrected the entire table in the light of all information now at hand and give herewith what is certainly the most complete compilation of the Socialist vote of the world ever brought together. There are doubts as to the accuracy of some of the figures in some cases, the figures are only approximately correct, and some of these have been indicated by a question mark. Furthermore, it must always be remembered that statistics of votes, and especially Socialist votes, may mean a wholly different thing in different countries. The right of suffrage, the method of party alignment and organization, the character of the government, all have great influence on the number of votes cast, and in almost every instance these restrictions contribute to lower the Socialist vote as recorded. So diverse are the requirements for suffrage in the various countries that these figures are of very little value for comparison between countries. However they are the most prominent standard of the steady growth of the total vote these same statistics have been rearranged to show the total Socialist vote of the world for each year during which there has been an election in any country, in which the Socialists participated.

GERMANY.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1867	39,000	8
1871	101,000	2
1874	351,952	9
1877	493,238	12
1878	437,138	9
1881	311,901	32
1884	548,900	34
1887	795,128	11
1890	1,427,208	35
1893	1,570,788	34
1896	2,112,073	57
1903	3,008,000	81

FRANCE.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1887	47,000	10
1890	120,000	9
1893	440,000	40
1896	700,000	50
1900	880,000	48

UNITED STATES.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1888	2,008	—
1892	21,512	—
1896	34,800	—
1900	34,275	—
1904	55,530	—
1908	82,204	—
1900	98,424	—
1902	225,903	—

GREAT BRITAIN.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1895	65,000	—
1900	100,000	—

HOLLAND.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1880	17	—
1885	1,404	—
1897	13,500	—
1901	30,000	—

SWITZERLAND.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1884	2,501	—
1887	2,100	—
1890	14,431	—
1893	30,000	—
1896	50,000	—
1902	100,000	—

AUSTRIA.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1897	750,000	—
1901	780,000	—

SWEDEN.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1900	488	—
1902	723	—
1903	1,381	—
1902	48,000	—

SPAIN.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1891	5,000	—
1903	7,000	—

GREAT GAINS FOR SOCIALISM.

Big Increase in Our Vote at State Elections.

Enormous Gain in Arkansas—Vote More Than Doubled in Maine—Official Standing and Place on the Ballot Gained in Vermont.

The National Secretary of the Socialist Party reports that incomplete returns from the Arkansas state election held Sept. 6 show the Socialist vote to be over 1,000 as against only 27 in 1900.

The "Maine Socialist" gives the Socialist vote in the recent election in that state, as far as reported, as 1,258 as against 694 in 1900 and says: "There are over 200 towns to be heard from which will probably bring the total vote up to 1,300, making a gain of 120 per cent. over the vote of 1900." The vote of a few of the larger towns as compared with the vote of 1900 is as follows, the vote at the present election being given first and that of 1900 second: Portland, 1904, 182; 1900, 73; South Portland, 23, 5; Westbrook, 33, 4; Gorham, 5, 1; Bridgton, 9, 6; Freeport, 8, 2; Gardiner, 7, 1; Augusta, 14, 8; Rockland, 40, 9; Warren, 8, 1; Camden, 30, 14; Thomaston, 27, 11; Wiscasset, 10, 1; Dresden, 16, 2; Norway, 10, 3; Dexter, 6, 2; Hampden, 5, 1; Bath, 11, 8; Richmond, 24, 7; Phillipsburg, 4, 1; Madison, 150, 53; Anson, 46, 29; Brewer, 6, 12; Pittsfield, 11, 1; Saco, 112, 110; Moncton, 6, 0; Auburn, 80, 4; Lewiston, 65, 4; Lisbon, 16, 0; Mechanic Falls, 11, 0; Saco, 13, 3; Sanford, 17, 1; Berwick, 10, 0.

The "Daily Times" states that the Socialist vote in Vermont gives our party official standing in that state and a place on the ballot in November. In giving the vote of the state by counties it reports the Socialist vote at 757, as reported in the last issue of The Worker, but a later dispatch states that the vote for Clarence E. Morse, the Socialist candidate for governor, is officially given as 764, with one town to hear from. This is out of a total vote of 99,588; in 1900 the head of the Socialist ticket received 307 out of a total vote of 67,400.

BELGIUM.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1904	32,000	—
1900	31,914	—
1902	47,000	—
1904	30,771	—

DENMARK.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1872	2,38	—
1878	1,076	—
1884	1,080	—
1887	6,868	—
1890	17,251	—
1892	20,004	—
1895	31,872	—
1901	42,072	—
1903	55,470	—

IRELAND.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1900	7,440	—
1903	24,750	—

SELTIA.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1895	50,000	—
1903	40,000	—

CANALIA.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1903	8,025	—

ARGENTINA.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1903	5,000	—

IRELAND.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1902	1,088	—

BULGARIA.

Year	Vote	Repr.
1900	10,000	—

In order to give a better idea of the steady growth of the total vote these same statistics have been rearranged to show the total Socialist vote of the world for each year during which there has been an election in any country, in which the Socialists participated.

"A" Changes in Instruction.

"1. Sufficient kindergartens for all children under age.
"2. Manual training in all grades (not trade schools).
"3. General introduction of the idea of development and freedom in education in close connection with things, according to the principles of modern pedagogy.
"4. Teaching of economics and history with evolution of industry as basis.
"5. Establishment of vacation schools.
"6. Adequate night schools for adults.
"7. Instruction of children as to child labor legislation and rights of children before the law.
"8. Changes Affecting Teaching Force.
"1. Adequate teachers (small classes).
"2. Pedagogical or Normal School training required as a qualification for teaching.
"3. Right of trial for teachers when dismissed.
"4. Penalties for teachers when superannuated or disabled.
"5. Teachers to elect principals of schools.
"6. Female teachers to be paid the same salary as male teachers, for the same class of work.
"7. Care of Children.
"1. Free text books.
"2. Free meals and clothing, when needed.
"3. Free medical service, inspection of eyes, ears, mental faculties (for educational purposes) and contagion.
"4. Equipment.
"1. Adequate buildings, numerous, not large.
"2. Ample playgrounds, with physical instruction in charge.
"3. Museums, art galleries, libraries, etc., enlarged and accessible to all children through frequent visits, accompanied by teachers.
"4. Baths and gymnastics in each school.
"5. All school buildings open evenings, Sundays and holidays, for public assemblies.
"6. The state to print all school books.
"7. Maintenance of orphan asylums and other public institutions for children at state public schools.
"8. Urging of an investigation of the profits of corporations depending on public franchises for extension, especially those profits which are concealed by watering of stock, for the purpose of raising these concealed profits to raise funds to meet expenses of above recommendations."

The Cincinnati "Post" gives this platform a prominent place and has a large picture of one of our candidates on the front page.

Amongst the property items recorded in the capitalist press it may be noticed that the list of out of work suicides shows a decided tendency to increase.

—The "World" reproaches the Republican party with the assertion that neither their platform nor Roosevelt's speech of acceptance contains the word "economy." But as the workingman who votes the Republican ticket will have to practice it, the charge doesn't amount to much anyhow. While capitalism skins the workers, it doesn't matter much to the latter how the plunder is disposed of. Whether it is squandered or hoarded, the victim will have to practice economy, which means living on as little as possible. In that sense its mention of either of the platforms is superfluous.

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—The "World

NEW YORK "CALL."

A DAILY TRADE UNION AND SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER to be published in the interests of the working class. TRADE UNIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS are invited to send two delegates each to the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of New York, meeting every second Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York, or the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of Brooklyn, meeting every fourth Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 910 Wiloughby avenue, Brooklyn.

WORKINGMEN, THIS IS TO BE YOUR PAPER. Organized by workmen and controlled by the delegates to the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE, the WORKINGMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, which meets every first Monday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

NATIONAL QUORUM.

Business Transacted at the Recent Meeting of the Quorum of the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

The Quorum of the National Committee of the Socialist Party met at national headquarters, Chicago, Ill., Sept. 18, with B. Bergey, Victor L. Berger, S. M. Reynolds and Chas. T. Towne present; Comrade Work being absent in the lecture field. Reynolds was made chairman and W. E. Clark appointed secretary.

The National Secretary presented Comrade Joseph Barons of New York, who made the following statement:

"I appear before you in the name of the First Agitation District of the city of New York. Comrade Bergey has a letter from the National Committee of the Socialist Party, dated Sept. 18, 1904, which gives me official authorization to appear before your committee."

"New York, Sept. 18, 1904."

"This is to certify that Comrade Joseph Barons has been duly authorized by the First Agitation District, Socialist Democratic Party, to appear in person before your body, for the purpose of petitioning you to nominate to membership Comrade Meyer London, the candidate for Assembly in the Fourth District of the city of New York, on the Social Democratic Party's ticket and thereby enable us to carry on our propaganda for the cause which is so enthusiastically and earnestly started. We bespeak your favorable consideration of our earnest appeal."

"Signed, R. Feigenbaum, in behalf of the First Agitation District, New York City."

"I ask you to place a construction upon Article 12, Section 8 of the national constitution of the Socialist Party, in order to settle a dispute now existing in the City of New York as to the nomination for Assembly in the Fourth District of Comrade Meyer London."

"Comrade Meyer London has been for eighteen years and will be active in the Socialist movement. He is still a member of the Socialist Party, but in arrears. He has never been notified of any suspension or expulsion, by virtue of this fact, he is still a member of the party. Someone in the City of New York protested against his nomination. Comrade London requested reinstatement before the City Executive Committee of the City of New York, which request was granted; then the matter was submitted to the General Committee of the City of New York, where Comrade Alex. Jones and myself appeared in behalf of the First Agitation District. The General Committee decided to refer the matter to the State Committee of New York, with request that they ratify the nomination of Comrade London. The State Committee of New York of last year provided that candidates who are not members of the Socialist Party for a full year may be permitted by the state committee to accept a nomination of the Socialist Party. It is for this reason that Comrade Jones and myself requested the General Committee to act favorably upon the nomination of London and also requested the State Committee for a similar action. When the matter came before the State Committee, we were informed that, in view of Section 8, Article XII of the National Constitution, the State Committee could not act in the matter."

"We find ourselves in this position. We have nominated our candidates, printed our literature, called meetings, hung our banners as announced in the notice of our candidates and the withdrawal of London for a technical reason would simply paralyze our campaign and tend to help the enemy."

"Comrade London has been in the Socialist movement for over eighteen years and is well known throughout the country as an able agitator. For this reason, I respectfully request you, comrades to place a construction on Section 8, Article XII, so as to permit Comrade London to pay up his dues and allow his nomination to stand."

"After consideration, Bergey moved: 'That it be the sense of the Quorum that the state committee of every district state and territory has full control over its membership, and can recognize anybody to membership if it sees fit, in accordance with Article 2, and Section 1, Article XII, of the National Constitution.'

"Furthermore, that as far as the construction of Section 8, Article XII, is concerned, in the opinion of the Quorum, anybody who is a member should be recognized as such until he has been dropped or expelled or expelled from membership by his respective organization." The motion was carried unanimously.

A delegate committee from the Bohemian Central Committee appeared and entered a verbal protest against Charles Fergie acting as national or general. The National Secretary submitted communications from the Illinois state committee, Cleveland Bohemian branches and others upon the subject. After consideration, Bergey moved:

"That Fergie be requested to appear at the next meeting of the Quorum (Oct. 17) to answer the accusations of the Bohemian Central Committee." Carried.

Upon inquiry, the committee stated it was agreeable to have the four of Fergie continue to act as a member of the next Quorum meeting. W. E. Clark, National Secretary suggested

BROOKLYN'S DEBS DEMONSTRATION.

For the first time in the history of Kings County an opportunity presents itself to hear one of the ablest and most eloquent exponents of Socialism, Eugene V. Debs, who will speak at the new and beautiful playhouse, the Majestic Theatre, Fulton street and Stockwell place, on Sunday evening, Oct. 23. Comrade Pendergast, Social Democratic candidate for Governor, will make the opening address at this meeting. Music will be furnished by an orchestra composed of union musicians, belonging to Local 310, A. F. of M., under the direction of Comrade W. R. Schaefer.

That the comrades of Kings County are taking an active interest in the affair is seen by the advance sale of reserved seats, which has already out-numbered first expectations. There are only four more private boxes left, each box containing eight seats and can be had on application to the Campaign Secretary, at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. General admission tickets are going lively. Reserved seats will be exchanged for the regular seats as soon as convenient in order to avoid the rush at the ticket box. These tickets will be exchanged by the Campaign Secretary for the regular seats at any time between now and Oct. 19. All reserved seats occupied by 5:30 p. m. on the night of this meeting will be disposed of. Tickets can be had at the headquarters of every assembly district, at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, New York Labor Lyceum and at the office of The Worker in Brownsville at the headquarters of the William Morris Educational Club in Queens County from Comrade Geolier, Geolier's Hotel, Fulton street, Jamaica or the Organizer, Comrade Hahn.

Large advertising window cards bearing the picture of Comrade Debs can be had at headquarters. Five thousand monster posters will be posted all over the city by the bill-posters union. Arrangements are also being made to have the same posters on the "L" station bill-boards. Twenty-five thousand throwaway cards are now being distributed. One hundred thousand leaflets, "The Mission of the S. D. P." with advertisements for the Debs meeting are also ready and this leaflet will be used exclusively between now and the Debs meeting at all street meetings. All similar leaflets not bearing this advertisement should be held "in reserve" by the assembly districts until after the Debs meeting. Assembly districts are requested to send in their orders for the full amount of leaflets required, and the same will be shipped to their headquarters.

All arrangements are far complete for a successful demonstration. It is the duty of each and every comrade to dispose of as many tickets as possible in order to make this affair the crowning feature of the campaign of 1904 in Kings County.

Comrade Debs will be accompanied by the charter dues be remitted." Carried.

The National Secretary read a letter from National Lecturer Harry M. McKee, relative to a bill for cards which had been printed on his own account, but had used in advertising his meetings. Towne moved: "That the national committee cannot assume responsibility for private advertising, gotten out by organizers on their own account." Carried.

The National Secretary brought up the matter of admitting foreign speaking people into the party. Towne moved:

"That Socialists speaking a foreign tongue and forming a national organization of their own may affiliate with the Socialist Party by paying local and state dues and affiliating with the respective local and state organizations and conforming with their rules. But such members having a national organization of their own shall not be permitted to have a vote in the national affairs of the Socialist Party through their pay national dues through the respective state organizations and become full members of the party." Carried.

Bergey explained that this system had been in vogue in Wisconsin for several years, and that finally the Polish organizations were now paying national dues.

The Quorum adjourned to meet Oct. 17, 1904.

Comrade Harkness of Camden, N. J. wrote: "Ben Hanford's meeting here was a great success. It was without doubt the best meeting we have had yet. He spoke for an hour and three-quarters to an audience that listened attentively throughout the meeting. When the votes are counted on Nov. 8 we think Camden will line up with an encouraging increase over last year."

It is definitely decided that after the Chicago meeting on October 17 Hanford will go through to the Pacific coast by way of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Montana, closing the last eight days of the campaign in California.

Social Democratic Women's Society.

The Sixth Annual Conference of the Social Democratic Women's Society will be held Oct. 9 in St. Paul's Aurora Hall, 48 William street, Newark, N. J. The conference to be opened promptly at 1 p. m. The order of business will be as follows: Temporary election of officers; address of welcome by Mrs. Bukofsky; reading of the secretary's report of previous conference; reports of the officers of the central committee; reports from the twenty-five branches; reports of the committees of the previous conference; reading of reports from the International Congress at Amsterdam; agitation; reading of the report of Comrade Johannes Graef-Cramer; press; reading of the report of Comrade Ch. Schuppert; motions and resolutions; election of English and German corresponding secretaries; good and welfare; and adjournment. Friends and sympathizers are cordially invited to attend the conference. The central committee will hold a special meeting Oct. 6. Delegates from all the branches are earnestly requested to attend with their business arranged for a prompt dispatch of the same.

New York City.

General Committee.

Regular meeting of General Committee held Sept. 24. Chairman, Comrade Wolf. Vice-chairman, Comrade Lane. Resignation of Comrade Stahl as a member of Credentials Committee accepted and Comrade Sarkis elected to fill vacancy.

Report of Credentials Committee: 324 and 33d A. D. tender credentials for Comrade Silber and Wingerath. 4th A. D. tenders credentials for W. E. Clark. 4th A. D. tenders credentials for

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GREAT RATIFICATION MEETING IN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, OCT. 23.

The Social Democratic Party of New York City, in conjunction with the Demonstration Conference, have made arrangements for a monster ratification meeting to be held on Sunday afternoon, Oct. 23, at 2 p. m., at the Academy of Music, Fourteenth street and Irving place.

The speakers on this occasion will be Eugene V. Debs, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party; Thomas Pendergast, candidate for Governor of New York; Chas. R. Bach, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor; Peter Curran and Herbert Barrows, two prominent British Socialists, who will be in New York on their return from the Peace Conference to be held at Boston. Peter Curran is well known in this country; he is a member of the Glass Workers, and was the fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. convention. Comrade Barrows is one of the leading orators in England and is one of the foremost of the Social Democratic Federation.

Arrangements are being made to secure the Brooklyn Letter Carriers' Band to entertain the audience an hour before the opening of the meeting and also play between the speeches. This will contribute to make this meeting one of the most glorious demonstrations ever held in this city.

Admission prices have been fixed as follows: General admission, 10 cents; orchestra, each seat reserved and numbered, 25 cents; small box with six seats, \$3. Large box with 8 seats, \$4; platform seat, 25 cents. To be sold only to party members or above named sympathizers. The orchestra seats will only be reserved till 2:30, after that time all reserved seats not occupied will be disposed of.

Arrangements are well planned, and it is now up to the comrades to carry them out. It is hoped that the meeting will be a great success and that one that will never be forgotten in the history of the New York Socialist movement.

International Union No. 90, District 2, 2 delegates; Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Br. 25, 2 delegates; 6th and 10th A. D. S. D. P. 2 delegates; 4th A. D. S. D. P. 2 delegates; 30th A. D. S. D. P. 2 delegates; 16 A. D. S. D. P. 3 delegates; Carl Schum Club, 1 delegate; Socialist League, 2 delegates. Fifty organizations are thus far represented in the conference.

The following organizations contributed towards the fund to arrange a parade: Cigar Makers' International Union No. 141, 10; Brewery Workers' International Union No. 1, 1; 35th A. D. S. D. P. Br. 1, 2; Wood Carvers' and Modelers' Association, 3; 28th A. D. S. D. P. 3; Hebrew Actors' Protective Union, 3; Butchers' Union, No. 14, 3; United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners' Local No. 513, 2; Bakers' and Confectionery Workers' International Union, No. 50, 3; French 25, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, 5; Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville, 3; Young People's Social Democratic Club of Downtown, 3; Carl Schum Club, 2; New York Socialist Literary Society, 3; Untermyer Verein der Deutschen Maschinenisten, 3; A. M. Machinists Lodge No. 335, 3.

Elsa Barker will speak at the Liberal Clubs Club, 170 W. Fifty-fourth street, on Thursday evening, Oct. 4, on "Individual and Collective Ideals."

W. W. Passage will speak at 315 Washington street, Sunday evening, Oct. 2, on "How All May Be Rich."

"Why Socialists Advocate Political Action" is the subject of the next free lecture at Buffalo Hall, corner of Buffalo avenue and Fulton street, on Sunday, Oct. 2, J. W. Washburn, the lecturer, was until recently the editor of the Erie "People." A musical entertainment is being arranged in connection with each of these lectures, and no charge is made for admission to either the lecture or the entertainment.

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The Worker.

VOL. XIV.—NO. 28.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 9, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER.

By George Roemer, Jr.

MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION

**John Quincy Adams of
Amesbury for Governor.**

OLD PARTIES CONSIDER FUSION.

Governor Odell Proposes That Republicans Endorse Goldfogle in the Ninth Congressional District.

day for about four days per week to about twenty-six of the weeks in the year. We have been at the store ten hours or more per day for the six working days in each of the fifty-two weeks in the year.

We are the boss.

Great is the boss—the important factor. We're glad he is, back.

Here the letter is from someone one who fears that many men who have previously voted for other parties will support the Socialist ticket.—New York Herald.

ADMONITION.

Proud and haughty is the men of some
Who make an average of Two Pounds a week;
The chilly gentleman and dissension snub,
The man whose wages is an average come
To Thirty Shillings, who he dare to
cast

CAMPAIGN ISSUE OF THE WORKER

The Worker for Oct. 21 will be a special campaign number, designed especially for propaganda. It will be full of short articles setting forth various phases of the class struggle and of Socialist principle so that "he who runs may read." It will be distinctly a paper for the outsider—for the man who knows that Socialism is right, but is willing to learn—and not a paper for party members. This special issue should be distributed in tens of thousands of copies, especially in New York and the neighboring states.

So far as possible, bundles should be ordered in advance, so as to insure promptness of delivery.

Prices: At the office—50 cents a hundred; by mail—60 cents a hundred; by express—70 cents a hundred; by air—80 cents a hundred; larger orders at 50 cents a hundred; smaller orders at 60 cents a hundred.

COMMUNIST ORDER: If possible,

THE BOSS IS BACK

By E. S. Egerton

The summer has punned and the bows is back. He has been to the Thousand Islands; made a trip through Canada; stopped a few days in the White Mountains; and ran over to Marble Harbor. He says he "feels like a three-year-old." The junket has done him good. He looks the picture of rugged health, and we boys at the store are glad.

While he was seated, the heads of the departments stood, reported, and were rewarded with words of commendation for their fidelity. His praises made them feel good, and they will renew their efforts for the boss' prosperity.

He got down town to-day at 11 a.m.; we got there at 7 a.m. After a hard day's work he left at 3 p.m. We stayed until 6 p.m.

Yes, we are glad the boss is back. What would we do without him? He is such a good boss. He gives us work and lots of it.

Indeed we're glad the boss is back. Of course, we did our duty while he was gone. We bought goods; sold

VIOLENCE THREATENED.

Socialist Candidate in Wilkes-Barre
 Receives an Anonymous Letter from
 "Whitecaps."

WILKES-BARRE, Pa., Sunday.—Joe Baranovsky, Socialist candidate for Sheriff, though not frightened, is naturally anxious to know who sent to him this letter:

"You are marked. Beware! Pretty soon you will stand before the tribunal of your God. For your independent work among your people you will be blown up and you will suffer death. Beware! Beware!"

"AMERICAN WHITECAP COMMITTEE."

Baranovsky and his adherents have

goods; shipped goods; and kept the accounts. His absence made no difference; the business went on just the same. What an important factor is the boss.

In a month or so when the snow flies the boss will need another little vacation. He tells us he is "going down to Maine to shoot moose." Last March he went to "Florida to catch tarpon." He must have his vacation. The occasional days he takes off to attend the horse races, yacht races, golf tournaments, tennis rackets, afternoon teas, etc., etc., ad infinitum don't count.

There are fifty-two weeks in the year. The boss has been at the store in the past year about four hours per day for about four days per week for about twenty-six of the weeks in the year. We have been at the store ten hours or more per day for the six working days in each of the fifty-two weeks in the year.

Great is the home—the important factor. We're glad he is back.

Here the letter is from some one who fears that many men who have previously voted for other parties will support the Socialist ticket.—New York Herald.

ADMONITION.
Proud and haughty is the mien of some
Who make an average of Two Pounds a
Their chilly gestures and demeanor numb,
The man whose wages on an average come
To Thirty shillings, who he dares to
Speak
A friendly greeting to their lordly cheek.
But they should list that other men as high
Have topped in past years and will
again;
There's no security beneath the sky.
For earthly greatness, whatso' buttressed by
E'en Two Pounds Ten has fall'n beneath
the strain
Of Adverse Fortune, when her tantrums
swing.

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 speak
 A friendly greeting to their lordly cheek.
 But they should list that other men as high
 Have toppled in past years and will
 again.
 There's no security beneath the sky -
 For earthly greatness, what's o'er buttressed
 by,
 Ere Two Pounds Ten has fall'n beneath
 The winds
 Of Adverse Fortune, when her tantrums
 reign,

The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY
(Known in New York State as the Social
Democratic Party.)
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
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Words should not be abbreviated; every let-
ter should be spelled out. Names and ad-
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Entered as second-class matter at the
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1901.

In the State of New York, on account of
the certain provisions of the election laws,
the Socialist Party is officially recognized
under the name of Social Democratic Party,
and its members to the State and County
elections.

The Socialist Party for Social Democratic
Party in New York should not be confused
with the so-called Socialist Labor Party.
The latter is a separate, distinct, and
independent organization which bitterly
opposes the trade unions and carries on a
policy of sabotage against the real
Socialist movement, which supports the
trade unions.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.
The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic
Party of New York) is officially recognized
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elections.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

PRESIDENTIAL TICKET.

FOR PRESIDENT—
EUGENE V. DEBS,
OF INDIANA.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—
BENJAMIN HANFORD,
OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK STATE TICKET.

FOR GOVERNOR—
THOS. PENDERGAST,
OF WATKINTON.

FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—
CHARLES R. BACH,
OF ROCHESTER.

For Secretary of State—
K. J. SQUIRES of Jamestown.

For State Treasurer—
EMIL NEFFEL of New York.

For Attorney-General—
LEON A. MALKIN of New York.

For State Comptroller—
W. W. PASSAGE of Buffalo.

For State Engineer and Surveyor—
B. B. BAILEY of Buffalo.

For Associate Judge of the Court
of Appeals—
WILLIAM NUGENT of Troy.

The issue of The Worker for October
25 will be especially designed for cam-
paign purposes. Routine party news
and long theoretical articles will be
eliminated so far as possible, and the
space filled with matter particularly
fitted for propaganda among work-
men who are still strangers to the
movement. This campaign issue should
be widely circulated.

JUST A REMINDER.

The National Secretary reports that
while contributions to the national
campaign fund this year have been
larger than ever before, yet the de-
mands upon his office have been so
immense that the work is seriously hampered for lack of
funds. One reason for this is that
many comrades, engrossed in cam-
paign work in their districts, have
neglected for the last month or two to pay
their dues. This is a state of affairs
that should not be allowed to continue.
Important as is the work of state com-
mittees, local, and district branches,
the work of the national office is vast-
ly more important. This is, above all,
a national campaign. We should not
for a single day allow our national
office to be short of money. With our
membership of 23,000, we should be
able to make a matter of a few hun-
dred dollars should stand in the way
of our National Secretary availing
himself of any of the thousands and
one opportunities offering themselves
to bring our party principles and the
identity of our candidates before the
American people. The old parties are
not sparing their millions; we cannot
afford to be behind-hand with our
hired. Time is passing all too rapidly.
Election Day will soon be at hand.
Now is the time to keep pouring in the

ammunition as fast as it can be used.
Let every comrade who is in arrears
pay up his dues at once, and let each
of us send in one last donation to the
national campaign fund—even though
it be but a mite. We shall not regret
it on the evening of November 8.

ANOTHER PRESS CANARD.

The New York papers have again
shown their utter lack of common
sense by grossly misquoting our com-
rade, Emile Vanderelde of Belgium,
when he spoke at the banquet of the
Civic Federation in this city. Vander-
elde spoke, of course, in French, and
we might attribute the false reports to
the ignorance of the reporters, if they
did not fit so nicely in the whole sys-
tem of misrepresentation of the Social-
ist position adopted by our capitalist
press.

Thus the "Times" reports:
"Emile Vanderelde, a Deputy of
Belgium, who is said to be the most
eloquent public speaker of his country,
said that as he was a Socialist he was
inclined to think that many present
would be inclined to regard him as a
black sheep. He said he wished to ex-
press his great gratitude to President
Roosevelt for what he had done in the
cause of international peace by his
promise to call a new conference at
The Hague."

"Our difference," said Mr. Vander-
elde, "is not in principle, but in the
application of principle. You are pro-
ceeding in such a commendable way to
bring about both industrial and inter-
national peace, that the noble state
which adorns the beautiful harbor of
New York may be said to be really
typical of your country's purpose and
of its accomplishment. If you remain
true to your ideals and show the same
zeal in perpetuating and extending
them which you have convinced us is
your honest purpose, then may it not
be that some day we will have a
United States of Europe and at a more
distant day a United States of the
world."

As a matter of fact, Comrade Van-
derelde made not the slightest refer-
ence to President Roosevelt; nor did
he speak of the Civic Federation's
work at all in the tone indicated by
the "Times."

In effect, Vanderelde said that he
felt himself somewhat out of place in
this meeting. Not that he was not a
friend of peace. Socialists were em-
phatically the friends of peace. But
as a Socialist he held that true and
lasting industrial peace could be at-
tained only on a basis of justice. There
was no middle road; either living labor
must possess and control dead capital,
or else labor would be bound and
gagged by capital. We Socialists de-
clare the class struggle to be unavoi-
dable. We hold, though, that it is not
necessary that this struggle should be
a bloody or violent one. If it is pos-
sible through mediation and arbitration
to prevent the outbreak of bloody con-
flict, so much the better. But this will
be possible only if the working class
is well organized. If the capitalists
were wise, they would, in their own
interest, welcome the organization of
labor. Before such an organization of
the workers existed in Belgium, we
had bloodshed in the labor movement.
Now, being well organized, we can
successfully follow the peaceful method
of political action. In concluding,
it is true that Vanderelde spoke of
the Liberty Statue, declaring that it
truly typifies the United States, which
holds up a high ideal of liberty and
peace for all the world. We hope and
work for the United States of the
World.

Such was the purport of Comrade
Vanderelde's address, and the con-
trast between this and the capitalist
papers' reports is a sufficient indict-
ment of their mendacity.

We may add that, in our opinion, it
was unwise of Comrade Vanderelde
to attend the Civic Federation's ban-
quet. A European may be excused,
certainly, for failing to realize the cer-
tainty of misrepresentation in the
American press and the consequent in-
jury done to the party here. But a
Socialist should always bear in mind
that it is not enough that he be con-
scious of rectitude, that he must also
scrupulously avoid any "avoidable
cause of misunderstanding, consider-
ing that his action involves, not his
own standing alone, but the reputation
of all his comrades.

THE POLLY OF PASSIVE
PROTECTOR.

A correspondent of one of the city
dailies, who seems to be disheartened
with the candidates of the two great
political parties, suggests that as there
are hundreds of thousands of voters
whose views are similar to his own,
they should all vote a blank ballot.
In this manner he says they will "give
proof of their existence," and he
"knows no better way" of doing it.
"Certainly," he continues, "they won't
be listened to if they vote one of the
machine tickets."

Silly as this may seem it has some
significance as representing the polit-
ical ignorance generated by a per-
sistent fastening of attention on the
personalities of candidates, and an almost
complete ignoring of the general prin-
ciples they represent. Roosevelt, this
writer admits, has some admirable
qualities, but in his position decision
he "has assumed the master." This
he declares is sufficient to bar him.
Parker is also admirable in some re-
spects, but he voted twice for the free
silver candidate—a grave objection
which impugns either his judgment
or his patriotism and should rule him
out of the presidential race. There-

fore vote a blank ballot. "Why not?"
he asks.

One is irresistibly reminded of the
story of the donkey who stood unde-
cided between two heaps of fodder,
and remained hungry because he could
not make a choice between them.

So far as the donkey with the cap-
italist mind is concerned, there is in-
deed little to choose between the fod-
der heaps respectively labeled Roose-
velt and Parker. A few indigestible
sticks or weeds may be contained in
each, but nevertheless both contain
nourishment sufficient for the wise
capitalist man who "knoweth his mas-
ter's crib," and cares little which hired
groom filch it.

It is a strange idea indeed that this
writer possesses that the way to se-
cure a hearing is to say nothing
through the medium of a blank ballot.
He is evidently ignorant of the fact
that the politician is prone to take
silence of this sort for consent.

Yet it is this type of man who is
generally paraded as the "good citizen."
The upright man who regards
politics as a matter of conscience in-
stead of interest, and to whom appeal
is earnestly made in the capitalist
press to "do his duty as a citizen,"
when a closely contested election
leaves the result (and the offices) a
matter of doubt. Abstention from po-
litical action he regards as a sort of
virtue. His highest development cul-
minates in voting a blank ballot. But
like most negative virtues it is based
on ignorance—the failure to see
that political action is possible outside
the two old political parties. While
the vision of the "good man" who ab-
stains from voting is limited to these
two which are almost identical in their
support of the present system, it is
not wonderful that he remains indif-
ferent to both. It is only when a new
party enters the field, with principles
directly opposed to those of the old
parties, and attracts notice by its
growth, that our "good man" will be
forced to recognize the folly of his
suggestion. It is the Socialist move-
ment that will dispel that delusion from
his mind—that will educate him to see
the folly of supposing that results can
be obtained through mere inaction ex-
pressed in voting blank ballots.

The time is coming when every
"good man" of this type "must come
to the aid of the party," to use a well-
known political phrase. Capitalism
when its existence is threatened, must
rally to its support those who are yet
blind to the danger with which it is
confronted, and who would in their
ignorance neglect its defence because
of their squeamishness regarding the
fitness of candidates. A million So-
cialist votes will supply sufficient in-
centive for this purpose, and forever
put an end to the folly of advocating
the use of blank ballots as a protest
against the personal views of cap-
italist candidates on minor matters.

NOTE, COMMENT, AND ANSWER.

A dispatch from Holyoke, Mass.,
printed in the Boston "Globe" states
that Edward A. Buckland has received
the Democratic legislative nomination
in that district, being already the can-
didate of the Socialist Party. The
Worker has applied to comrades in
Massachusetts for definite information
on the matter. Knowing how untrust-
worthy are the news reports in the
capitalist press when touching upon
the affairs of the Socialist Party, we
ask our readers to withhold judgment.
If Comrade Buckland has accepted a
Democratic endorsement he has been
guilty of a very grave offense against
Socialist principles and should be re-
ported by the party. If he has not
done so, he should be vindicated by a
public denial of the report.

The New York "Herald" had an ar-
ticle the other day reviewing the cam-
paign in the West, to which were pre-
fixed these two headlines:
"Primitives of Rural Districts Are
Better Informed and Cannot be Led
Away by Political Bluster."
"Growth of Socialism a Notable
Feature."
Perhaps the juxtaposition of these
statements was accidental. Any-
body who congratulates the "Herald"
on its sagacity, conscious or uncon-
scious. Undoubtedly, Socialism gains ground
in proportion as the people become
better informed and as brag and blus-
ter lose their influence.

Referring to an extract from "The
Carpenter," which appeared in the
issue of July 31 of The Worker, a cor-
respondent inquires what the "writer
meant by describing profit as 'some-
thing for nothing.'"
A little thought on the subject must
lead to the conclusion that the defini-
tion is quite correct. The capitalist
profit takes gives nothing in return for
the profit he takes—that is, he pro-
duces nothing as an equivalent to his
value.

It is true in many cases that he la-
bors to secure profit, but this is a very
different thing to laboring to create
values. The pirate may perhaps labor
hard and strenuously to overtake, at-
tack, and capture the richly laden mar-
chantman, the burglar may drill assid-
uously all night to open the safe and
secure its contents, but this labor has
nothing whatever to do in producing
either the cargo of the ship or the con-
tents of the safe. The plan of the co-
operator or the burglar that he had labor
hard to secure what they were after,
has about the same ethical warrant
as that of the profit-monger. The
latter, however, has behind it the sanc-
tion of legality, and it is this fact alone
that hinders it from being regarded as
of essentially the same nature as
piracy or burglary. To the vast major-
ity of mankind that is legal is right.
The cooperator of robbery is the taking
of something by force, fraud, and
repudiation—equivalent. The laborer
engaged in conducting a forcible or
fraudulent operation cannot be placed

as justification for acts that are classed
as illegal. With profit, however, it is
different. And the capitalist political
economy invariably justifies profit by
disguising it under such terms as the
"reward of abstinence" or "wages of
superintendence."

Space forbids us entering into a
lengthy explanation of the process by
which the capitalist secures profit. We
recommend our correspondent there-
fore to secure a copy of Marx' "Cap-
ital" and read carefully the chapter en-
titled "The Labor Process," paying spe-
cial attention to the illustration given
therein of the cotton spinner who con-
verts ten pounds of cotton into yarn.
This covers the entire ground, and
shows by a logical analysis that has
never been refuted, that the profit of
the employer comes from the unpaid
labor of the worker beyond the time
that the laborer produces his own
wages and replaces the wear and tear
of the machinery he uses. In other
words, profit is the result of the unpaid
labor of the working class. Marx, in
his analysis, calls it "surplus value."

This "something for nothing" is what
the laborer gives the capitalist. Wheth-
er it be called "surplus value," "profit,"
or "capital" makes little difference. It
still remains unpaid labor—"something
for nothing," as our correspondent
characterized it.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

This Week's Circulation Statement.
With Some Remarks on Nine Weeks'
Progress.

It is now nine weeks since we laid
before our readers a full and frank
statement of the financial condition and
the needs of The Worker and appeal-
ed to them to bestir themselves to put
the paper on a solid basis by increasing its
circulation. The response to this ap-
pel, so far, has been very encouraging.
There has been an almost un-
interrupted growth, from week to week,
both in the total paid circulation and
in the number of individual subscrib-
ers—the former being increased by
nearly one-third and the latter by
about one-half. An increase in the
circulation of this paper, of course, to be
expected in campaign time; and we do
not shut our eyes to the fact that a
falling off in this respect is to be look-
ed for after election. It is upon the
individual subscriptions that the paper
must chiefly depend, and it is for
this reason, although slower, increase of
this list during these nine weeks that
we especially encourage us. At the present
rate of progress, it will still take
a year or more of steady work to put
the paper on a self-supporting basis. We
hope and believe that the work will be
kept up.

In urging the friends of The Worker
to try especially to add to its list of in-
dividual subscribers, we have in mind,
not only the maintenance of the paper,
but the service which it can do to the
cause. During this campaign we are
doing a vast deal of merely preparatory
work, giving to large numbers of men
some elementary instruction in So-
cialism, but nothing more. After
election we can no longer hold our
hundreds of thousands of new dis-
tributed copies of the paper, and we
lose our hundreds of thousands of new
disciples. Our big Socialist primary school
will have to be closed for some
months. The time will then have come
for us to turn the same energy to an-
other kind of work—to completing the
Socialist education of as many of these
kindergarten pupils as we can reach.
Of the laymen who will cast their first
Socialist votes next month, very few
yet be class-conscious Socialists, well
enough grounded in the principles
of our philosophy to realize the need of
continued activity on their part or to
resist the wiles of the political mis-
leaders who will at once set to work to
undo what we in our campaign have
done. If the Socialist Party polls even
as many as five or six hundred thou-
sand votes this fall, we may be sure
that a great effort will be made by
capitalist agencies to draw our re-
cruits away from the straight road of
Socialism into the by-paths of a re-
vamped Populism, or into the Social-
ist party, a confused and un-
disciplined party, or some other aim-
less and futile diversion. The only way
for us to counteract these efforts, dur-
ing the months when open-air meet-
ings and other campaign activities are
impracticable, is to do much more
thorough and systematic educational
work among the smaller number of
people whom we shall then be able to
reach. For this purpose the wide cir-
culation of our weekly press is abso-
lutely necessary. If one-tenth of our
new voters subscribe for party papers,
so that, between now and next cam-
paign, they will get every week the
news of the party's work at home and
abroad, Socialist comment upon cur-
rent events, and discussions of econ-
omic and political principles, we may
be confident that through them we
shall be able to checkmate the at-
tempts of capitalist misleaders and
strengthen our party organization and
increase the number of class-conscious
Socialists proportionately with the in-
crease of the Socialist vote. In a word,
nothing serves so well to keep a close
connection and a good understanding
between the party organization and the
mass of unorganized Socialist
voters as the wide circulation of the
party press. It is for this reason,
above all, that we urge upon our com-
rades to lose no opportunity during the
three remaining weeks of the cam-
paign, at public meetings, in house-
house canvassing or in personal con-
versation, to get new individual sub-
scribers for The Worker. You can
reach more than whom you might not
have another chance to meet for six
months; and by getting them to sub-
scribe now, you can keep in touch with
them through the whole winter season.
Let us, by all means, have two or three
thousand new names on our subscrip-
tion list for The Worker before the
campaign closes.

The report of circulation for the last
week is as follows:

Week ending	Oct. 2, Sept. 26.
Bundles	10,000 17,000
Single subscriptions	10,382 10,228
Bundles	905 1,745
Sample copies	95 119
Exchanges	500 500
Gifts in return	1,450 1,850
At retail	1,450 1,850
Total for week	12,577 14,513

Let me say, on this point, not theory,
but fact—each week the number of
parties, since we reported here 23,000 So-
cialists enrolled in the party and paying
regular dues, and one of us, Comrade
Cahill, here present, represents 200,000 or-
ganized workmen who endorse our party,
among them more than 100,000 peasants
whose phenomena unique in the whole
world in its grand proportions have organ-
ized themselves and given their adhesion
to the party from which the light of the
Socialist ideal has reached them in the
shadows of their age-long material and
moral slavery.

Our party was united and harmonious for
a long time. It came out only stronger and
more compact from the general dissolution
of 1894. From the exception laws, the mar-
tial rule, the military tribunals which had
twice undertaken to destroy it.
But after the conclusion of the abstrac-
tion fight in defense of the elementary
interests menaced by the military, one
faction broke out to continue the monetary
alliance which on that occasion the party
had made with the Radicals, the Republi-
cans, and even the Liberals. The others
held that the time had come to detach our
views definitely, in order to continue our
autonomous and fruitful work of exclu-
sive Socialist action. Such action could not
go on in the midst of confusion and sys-
tematic opposition. The very liberties which
had been in question are respected by the
government only where the proletariat is
in political and economic organization, and
strong and bold. So, while a faction took
the other road, we remained faithful to the
old tactics.

Thus we gave battle to the government
in the matter of the navy—a foolish which
no one else had dared to touch—and we
have forced the government to grant an in-
vestigation, which will certainly be without
conclusion, but which, before our campaign,
had been definitely refused.
That is not all. It was the Socialists who,
by another and not less fruitful campaign
for solidarity with the oppressed of Rus-
sia, prevented the Tsar from putting his
foot on Italian soil.

We have likewise carried out our work
in the municipalities. There, aside from
ordinary administrative action, we do also
Socialist and revolutionary work when the
authorities assent our propositions and de-
cisions, either by means of general resolu-
tions, or by means of resolutions expressed
through proletarian bodies, in direct op-
position to governmental authority, we de-
velop popular education and independent ac-
tion, and we very often compel the authorities
to submit to the popular will.

Only a few months ago, at Mantua, the
Socialist Party won a complete majority.
It triumphed in a fight, not against this or
that fraction of the bourgeoisie, but against
the whole bourgeoisie "black," from the most
reactionary to the most radical. And now,
in that council, all our representatives, re-

It may be explained that in Italy, as in
most Continental countries, the central
government has the power to veto the acts
of municipal officers and councils. The
policy of our Italian comrades is to make
use of the veto for the whole body of Social-
ist officers and councils in the city council
of Mantua, and then, when the veto is
declared, to pass the measure again. Some-
times the veto has to be repeated two or
three times before the government is
forced to yield. The result is almost always
in favor of the party.

WE WANT TO SETTLE
THE QUESTION FOR GOOD.

By Horace Traubel.

We want to settle the question for
good. We are tired of putting on a
patch here and there. Tired of mend-
ing the leaks. Tired of going forward
and being driven back. Tired of being
rich and poor. Tired of having a mil-
lion and having nothing. Tired of being
superior and being inferior. Tired of
facing surfeit with starvation. Tired
of bosses and hired men. Tired of all
the contrasts. Tired of social an-
tagonisms. Tired of war. Yes, very
tired of war. Tired of authorities and
serfs. Tired of too much ease and too
much work. Tired of luxury and anti-
luxury. Tired of having property one
thing and labor another thing. Tired
of the class that consumes and the
class that produces. Tired of life with
comedy all in one place and tragedy all
in one place. Tired of the man who
has money and thinks he is a better
man for his money and of the man
who has no money and thinks he is a
worse man for his lack of money. Tired
of proud professions and humble
trades. Tired of people who fence in
all the vista of the world and of the
people whose latitude and longitude is
the alley of the tenement. Tired of
the aristocracy and the proletariat. Tired
of very tired. Now we want to do
something for good. Something that will
last. Something that will not return
each day for revision. Something that
will be in spirit with the natural
laws. Something that will have the
inevitability of the natural laws. Some-
thing that will not provide for a few
and neglect the rest. Something that
will not provide for to-day and neglect
tomorrow. Something that will not
be put off by the hands of others.
Only afraid of what may happen by
our own hands. By the policy or the
perjury of our own hands. Going glad-
ly on. Going sorrowfully on. Going
lovely on. Going fearfully on. The man
is unafraid. Tired of expellents. Tired
of apologies. Tired of stops. Tired of
retreats. Tired of wages. Tired of
fortunes. Tired of masters and men-
dants. Going gladly on. Going sor-
rowfully on. Not taking account of
the reason for delay. Not taking ac-
count of the reason for hurry. Just
going steadily on. Not taking account
of faith. Not taking account of in-
fidelity. Just going steadily on. Do-
ing what we can to make the process
easy. Yes, what we can to make it
hard. But keeping the end always in
view. Seeing the light beyond. Be-
yond all the profits and perquisites,
seeing the light. Beyond all the man-
agers of men and the men managed,
seeing the light. Beyond all the gov-
ernors and all the governed, seeing the
light. Beyond all treason, the treason of men
who rob and the treason of the robbed
to themselves, seeing the light. Be-
yond all the art of the canster, beyond
all the beauty of the elect, beyond all
the glare of privilege and favor, seeing
the light. Beyond all the starvation
of the poor, beyond all the squalor of
the cities, beyond all the monotony of
the farms, beyond all the hypocrisy
and all pieties, seeing the light. See-
ing the light. Going forever forward,
seeing the light. Some of us, seeing
the light. Some of us, seeing the light,
who want to settle the question for
good.

ECHOES OF AMSTERDAM.

Some quotations, bearing especially
on Conditions in France and Italy, il-
lustrating the Principle and Applica-
tion of the Dradsen Resolution.

Those who are interested—and what
Socialist is not?—in the principle at the
bottom of the question of tactics dealt
with by the Dradsen Resolution, will be
glad to read the following extract from
a letter, recently published in the
"Nieuw Zeit," which Frederick Engels
wrote in January, 1894, to Philip Tu-
ling, who had written him as to the
attitude which the Italian Socialist
Party ought to take with regard to the
progressive bourgeois parties in the
political crisis then existing:

"The victory of the petty bourgeoisie and
the peasants could not fail to give you
a minority of 'converted' Republicans. [It
must be understood, of course, that in Italy
and Spain the party name 'Republican'
signifies advocacy of the republicanism
against the monarchical form of govern-
ment.—Ed.] This minority would procure
you universal suffrage and give you pre-
sumably the liberality of the press, the
freedom of organization, etc. etc. Our
situation, then, could not but be improved.
It would be a great mistake for us to hold
a purely critical and negative attitude
toward the parties which are in touch with
us to this extent. The hour must come
when it will be our duty to collaborate with
them. . . .

But in that hour it must be well under-
stood that we act as an autonomous party,
momentarily allied with the Republicans
and the Radicals, but altogether distinct
from them; that in case of triumph we
should not deceive ourselves as to the pos-
sible results; and that these results, far
from satisfying us, can be for us nothing
more than a step, a new base of operations
for future conquests.

After the common victory, it may be that
a place in the new ministry will be offered
us, leaving us, however, in the min-
istry. There is the great danger. After
February, 1894, the Social Democrats
of France (the men of the "Ré-
formes," Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Péc-
queur, and others) made the mistake of accepting
positions of this sort. A minority in the
midst of the government, they assumed par-
tial responsibility for all the failures and
travesties which the Republican majority
committed against the working class, while
their presence in the government paralyzed
the revolutionary action of the proletariat,
of whom they were associated the respon-
sibility.

To this may appropriately be added
an extract from Enrico Ferri's speech
at Amsterdam in support of the Dradsen
Resolution:

Jaurès has spoken of Italy, of the collab-
oration of classes which has been pursued
there, and of the formation of a strong
Social party.

To prove to rulers and parlia-
mentarians that the country, that man, that
the heart, is worth while. This is
what we want to do. What we have
resolved to do. This is what we will
hunger and thirst to do. This is what
we will sleep and wake to do. This is
what we will dream and work to do.
This is what we will write and talk to
do. Never conceding anything to ridi-
cule. To hate. To bribe. To dissuade.
To big incomes or high wages. To social
position or professional prestige. To the
exhalation of success or the de-
spair of failure. To armies or navies.
To love or good will. To love or good
will, I say, precious, indispensable,
as they are. To fashion. To custom.
To tradition. To the false cry of reli-
gion for help through the church. To
the false cry of politics for help
through the state. To fathers and
mothers who live in the past. To
brothers and sisters who live in the
present. To children unborn who are
to live in the future. To no call of
ethics or pleasure. Never conceding
anything. Willing to be accused. Willing
to be charged with a desire to dis-
organize the social laws. Willing
to be kept out of good society. To be
refused professorships in colleges. To
find all the preferences of the world
given away to others. To discover all
doors to distinction and power closed
and barred. Willing to take the cross.
Willing to bleed. Willing to travel the
road alone. In the daylight, in the
full glare of ridicule, alone. In the
darkness, in the full per of invisibil-
ity, alone. Not afraid of anything at
all. Not afraid of the hands of others.
Only afraid of what may happen by
our own hands. By the policy or the
perjury of our own hands. Going glad-
ly on. Going sorrowfully on. Going
lovely on. Going fearfully on. The man
is unafraid. Tired of expellents. Tired
of apologies. Tired of stops. Tired of
retreats. Tired of wages. Tired of
fortunes. Tired of masters and men-
dants. Going gladly on. Going sor-
rowfully on. Not taking account of
the reason for delay. Not taking ac-
count of the reason for hurry. Just
going steadily on. Not taking account
of faith. Not taking account of in-
fidelity. Just going steadily on. Do-
ing what we can to make the process
easy. Yes, what we can to make it
hard. But keeping the end always in
view. Seeing the light beyond. Be-
yond all the profits and perquisites,
seeing the light. Beyond all the man-
agers of men and the men managed,
seeing the light. Beyond all the gov-
ernors and all the governed, seeing the
light. Beyond all treason, the treason of men
who rob and the treason of the robbed
to themselves, seeing the light. Be-
yond all

NEW YORK "CALL."

A DAILY TRADE UNION AND SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER to be published in the interests of the WORKING CLASS. TRADE UNIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS are invited to send two delegates each to the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of New York, meeting every second Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York, or the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of Brooklyn, meeting every fourth Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 940 Wiloughby avenue, Brooklyn.

WORKINGMEN, THIS IS TO BE YOUR PAPER. Organized by workingmen and controlled by the delegates to the conference and the WORKINGMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, which meets every first Monday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

THE BEST OF CAMPAIGN PAMPHLETS.

Undoubtedly the most valuable campaign document that the Socialist Party has at its disposal this year is the plain story of capitalist tyranny,

"THE LABOR-WAR IN COLORADO"

BY BEN HANFORD.

our candidate for Vice-President. It is of the utmost importance—not only for the vote on Nov. 8, but for its permanent effect—that the facts of the Colorado affair and their lesson be brought before the people. The capitalist press certainly will not do this work. WE MUST DO IT. Hanford's pamphlet should be circulated everywhere.

Wherever the comrades have tried it, they have found it easy to sell "The Labor War in Colorado" by scores or hundreds of copies. Have YOU tried? If not, get a hundred at once, and push the sale. It will make you.

Published and sold AT COST PRICE—5 cents a copy, or \$2.50 a HUNDRED, by the

SOCIALIST LITERATURE COMPANY,

184 William Street, New York City.

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from page 3.)

get along without a special appeal to the comrades for aid in carrying on our fight for existence as a political party.

The State Secretary acknowledges the following contributions to the campaign fund: Local Peckskill, \$5.20; Watertown, \$13.80; Kings Co., \$10.40; D. 1; Brooklyn Young People's Club, \$3.20; E. Folger, \$1; Local No. 1, New York, \$10.00; Kings, \$30; Jamaica, \$1.00; L. Mayor, \$2.50; Max Lund, \$5.00; Herman Cohn, \$10; A. L. 1; Local Johnston, \$2.50; J. J. 1; "Manhattan," \$1; Wm. Schmidt, \$2; previously acknowledged, \$2.50; total, \$488.70.

Secretary Bennetts of Local Yonkers has sent the following challenge to Rev. F. W. Cutler of the First Reformed Church of Yonkers: "I have been instructed by Local Yonkers, Social Democratic Party, to call attention to your statement in your address on Sunday, Oct. 2, in which the 'Statesman' quotes you as saying that 'the interests of Capital and Labor are identical'; neither can exist without the other." If the quotation is correct we feel bound to challenge you to an open debate on the subject, we to take the side that the interests of the wage worker are absolutely and diametrically antagonistic to the capitalist. We will pay the expenses of the hall and leave it to a ballot of the entire audience as to which is right."

For the Daily.

The financial secretary of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association acknowledges the receipt of the following sums for the fund for the establishment of the "Daily Call": Cash contributions—Eugene V. Debs, \$5; J. K. Willett, \$4; W. R. Singer, \$1; C. W. C. 25c; Young People's Social Democratic Club, Brooklyn, \$10; D. W. Stokes, Dover, N. J., \$1; Wm. Schmidt, Brooklyn, \$1; collected by J. Wilson, Yonkers, \$7.50; previously acknowledged, \$4,022.25; total contributions, \$4,043.25. Paid on pledges—A. Lee, \$2; previously acknowledged, \$3,716.65; total, \$7,759.90. This brings the total collected from all sources to \$10,522.80.

Here and There.

Local-Full River asks publication for the following resolution, adopted at the regular meeting of Oct. 5:

"Whereas, The great obstacle to the progress of the Socialist movement is the fact that many of its members and sympathizers are not sufficiently grounded in the science and philosophy of its principles to answer intelligently the questions asked daily by thousands of knowledge-seeking workers all over the country, therefore be it

"Resolved, That we heartily endorse the ideas suggested in a letter which appeared in The Worker of Sept. 18, signed by Carl Graeb, of New York, and call on locals all over the country to pass similar resolutions, requesting our National Committee to put the idea of Comrade Graeb's letter into practice as soon after the presidential election as possible."

Local Covington, Ky., comes in for 500 copies of next week's campaign issue of The Worker.

Debs is speaking this week at Toledo, Chicago, Cleveland, New Castle, Pittsburgh, Reading, and Wilmington. Hanford speaks at Chicago, Beloit, Superior, Minneapolis, and Helena. Wentworth, Spargo, Gertrude B. Hunt, Ray, Ida Crouch Harriet, Rigelow, Goebel, Petrella, Penger, and Carroll are all speaking this week under the direction of the National Secretary.

The National Secretary's financial report for September shows receipts of \$5,115.20 of which \$264.65 was for dues, \$1,353.21 for literature, and \$1,007.38 contributions to the campaign fund. The expenses were \$5,077.48 and the balance on hand on Oct. 1, \$445.31. Of the expenses, the largest item was \$1,265.75 for printing.

New York City.

At last Saturday's meeting of the General Committee, Lichtheim and Mayes presiding, thirty-eight applicants were admitted to party membership. The City Executive's action in expelling J. W. Brown, Dan A. White, Joe Wanhope, and E. E. Nelson as speakers was approved, as also its instruction to districts that no collections be taken at street meetings. The delegates to the State Committee made an extended report, the financial portion of which was referred to the Auditors. It was voted to give \$250 to the State Committee on account of

GREAT MEETINGS FOR DEBS.

All residents of Greater New York and the vicinity who are interested in Socialism and the movement of the working class should attend one of the other of the two great Debs meetings on Sunday, Oct. 22—at 2 p. m. in the Academy of Music, Fourteenth street, New York, and at 8 p. m. in the Majestic Theatre, Fulton street and Rockwell place, Brooklyn.

Eugene V. Debs, our candidate for President of the United States, is being listened to by enormous crowds wherever he speaks. So great is the demand for his services, that it will be impossible for him to spend more than one day in New York, and no one should miss this opportunity to hear the eloquent spokesman and tried and true leader of the progressive labor movement of the United States.

Other well known Socialist speakers will accompany Comrade Debs at both meetings.

In order to cover expenses—our party being composed of workmen, not backed by millionaires—it has been found necessary to charge a small entrance fee. Admission tickets cost 10 cents. These tickets can be had at all party headquarters in New York and Brooklyn—especially at 184 William street, 64 E. Fourth street, and 236 E. Eighth street, New York, and at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 940 Wiloughby avenue.

Comrades are urged especially to make these meetings known among the workmen in the shops, in the unions, and elsewhere. The meetings should be not only a great opportunity for Socialist education, but a monster demonstration of the growth of the Socialist spirit and the revolution of New York's workmen to think and vote for themselves. Let us compel attention by the size and enthusiasm of the meetings.

PARTY NAME QUESTION.

Secretary of State's Decision Not Yet Given—S. L. P. Second's Bill's Attack.

Nelle Townner appeared before the Secretary of State on Wednesday as counsel for Col. McEwan in his protest against the nominations of the Social Democratic Party, and Morris Hillquit appeared for our party. A day's time was given for the submission of briefs, after which the Secretary of State will render his decision.

The De Leonties are joining in Hill's attack. They have filed objections on the ground that the use of the name "Social Democratic Party" is an infringement upon their name, "Socialist Labor Party." The case will be heard on Tuesday.

LYING ABOUT DEBS.

Capitalist Papers Alleged That Socialist Candidate is Being Paid Big Fees for Campaign Speeches—An Absolute Falseness.

National Secretary Mally writes: "The Los Angeles Times," the notorious scab sheet of the Pacific Coast, published a statement that Eugene V. Debs received \$100 for the speech delivered in the city named on Sept. 23, and it is being copied by other capitalist papers in the West. In justice to Comrade Debs it may be stated that he is receiving only sufficient from the different places where he speaks to cover the actual expenses of his tour. In some places the charge is higher than in others, the figure being based upon an estimate of distances to be traveled, advertising matter furnished, and other essentials. Comrade Debs reports all expenses and collections to the National Secretary, as do all the other national speakers. After paying all his expenses Comrade Debs remits the balance to the national office and what ever may remain after advertising matter is paid for will go into the national campaign fund. The trip is quite an expensive one because of the territory covered, and the printing bill alone runs close to one thousand dollars. Nearly every one of Comrade Debs' meetings has netted handsome sums for the local campaign funds, the proceeds reaching over \$300 at some points. It is in this fact that probably the only alarm among the supporters of Roosevelt and Parker. The Socialist Party will be the sole gainer in every way from its Presidential candidate's campaign tour.

The 28th A. D. has held 140 tickets for the Debs meeting on Oct. 23. The Bronx Agitation Committee has ordered 55,000 pieces of literature. Four street meetings are held each week. Branch 6 of the W. R. & D. B. F. has given \$50 to the Bronx Agitation Committee, \$25 to Local New York, and \$50 to the "People's University" fund. Thirty-seven copies of The Worker were sold at one street meeting in the 28th A. D. last week.

Comrade Krueger presided at the last meeting of the Young People's Social Democratic Club of Brooklyn. It was decided that the members should attend the Debs meeting at Buffalo Hall on Oct. 10, and that the club should have a full force as possible. It was decided also that one member of the club be present every evening at the street meetings at Fulton street and DeKalb avenue. The twenty-five tickets for the Labor Lyceum affair of Sept. 18 which remained unsold were paid for from the treasury. Arrangements are nearly completed for the club's package party at the Labor Lyceum on Oct. 10. All organizations meeting there have been invited to attend. The club accepted the box tickets for the Debs meeting in the Majestic Theatre on Oct. 23 and will attend in a body.

Dan A. White of Massachusetts will be the speaker in the Silver Bldg., 315 Washington street, Sunday evening. All comrades are welcome.

The Central Labor Union by a unanimous vote decided to go hear Debs in a body and ordered tickets for all its members.

Campaign Secretary Schaefer reminds the comrades that it is time to begin getting watchers for Election Day. Every polling place should be manned.

There are still 25,000 copies of "The Mission of the Socialist Party" at headquarters, which ought to be distributed within the next week, as they bear the announcement of the Debs meeting. There are also other leaflets such as the "Appeal to Reason."

Every comrade should have the Debs and Hanford lithograph displayed in his window.

A public rehearsal and entertainment will be held by the Progressive Stage Society at the hall of the New York College of Music, 128-130 E. Fifth street, on Sunday evening, Oct. 10, 8 p. m. The program will include rehearsals of scenes from Shakespeare's "Henry VI" and "Richard III." This affair is held for the purpose of increasing the membership, giving the members an opportunity to become acquainted, and creating a fund for the society, and the admission fee will be fifty cents.

As soon as the case was stated, the sergeant in charge had to admit that the police were in the wrong, excusing the officers on the ground that the notice of the meeting, though regularly posted, had been overlooked at the station. By the time Meyer had returned to the corner the officers on the beat had been instructed by telephone to leave the meeting to continue, and Wanhope spoke for nearly an hour to a most attentive audience. The attempt to suppress and the firm resistance offered to it had the effect of making the meeting much larger than it would have been had the police not been called out. It is very important that while the comrades should give the police no good ground for interference, they should absolutely refuse to let their rights be denied.

The officer went away, but in a few minutes several others appeared and again ordered the meeting stopped. Meanwhile Comrade Wanhope began to speak and a very large crowd was listening with the closest attention. Finally a mounted policeman rode through the crowd, ordered the platform and ordered Wanhope to get down, roughly attempting to push him off the platform. To avoid needless trouble the meeting was suspended for a few minutes, but on Comrade Meyer insisting on the right to continue it was put under arrest and taken to the station.

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IN COLORADO.

A Comrade Writes of Conditions in Cripple Creek—Wages Cut Right and Left and Workmen Intimidated.

A comrade in Cripple Creek, Col., writes the National Secretary that conditions in that region are terrible, and no workman dare complain. He says: "You may say you like it or not out. The wages of the stone masons have been cut a dollar a day, some of the help in the cheap boarding houses \$2 a week. The wages of help in the hotels have been reduced from \$30 to \$15, waitresses from \$30 to \$25, the bread cook from \$100 to \$70, and two cooks from \$40 to \$30 a month. How long we can hold out at this rate is a question. You can hardly get a thing with a union label on it any more. I wish some one could be here and write up all the facts for the Socialist press. I can't do it, as I have to work twelve hours a day, and I don't feel like writing when I get through. Please do not give out my name."

The comrade further states that exactly 751 men were in line in the much-advertised Labor Day parade of non-union men at Cripple Creek, and that the Citizens' Alliance had hard work to get out that number. He sends paper badges marked "Law and Order," which were worn in the parade.

PARADE CONFERENCE.

At the meeting of the Conference, held on Oct. 12, it was finally decided that the demonstration this year should be in the nature of a parade. The reports of the various organizations represented at this meeting were almost unanimously in favor of a parade. Brewery Workers No. 1 reported through Delegate Huber that their organization will turn out about 600 men and will bring their own band. Brotherhood of Painters No. 400 will also parade, with at least 100 men in line. The United Hebrew Brotherhood will have at least 3,000 men in line and one or two bands of music. The prospects are very bright for a successful parade and it is to be hoped that all the progressive labor organizations and sympathizers will join in this demonstration and endeavor to make it one of the largest ever held by our party.

The parade will take place on Saturday, Oct. 22, and the route was fixed as follows: From Labor Lyceum, 940 E. Fourth street, to Second avenue, to Seventh street, to Avenue A, to Fifteenth street, to Second avenue, to Nineteenth street, to Fifth avenue, to Twenty-seventh street, to Eighth avenue, to Twentieth street, to Seventh avenue, to Fourteenth street, to Union Square. The organizations will all come together at 7 p. m. and the march will begin not later than 8 p. m.

The question of banners and signs to be carried was left in the hands of the arrangements committee. All the other details necessary to assure the success of the parade, as engagement of music, lanterns, torches, trucks, and so forth, were also left to this committee. Various organizations reported donations to defray the expenses of the parade. So far \$10 has been collected for this purpose. The expenses will be not less than \$400.

The Conference has decided to meet weekly from now on. The next meeting will take place on Wednesday, Oct. 19, when the attendance of all the delegates is requested.

CITY CAMPAIGN FUND.

There is still a great deal of work for our party organization to do in this city before Election Day, and money is needed to make it possible. This year's campaign fund, so far, is very good, indicating a lively and widespread interest in Socialism. Let the good work go on.

All contributions should be sent, and checks and money orders made payable to U. Solomon, Financial Secretary, 64 East Fourth street, New York.

The following amounts have been received during the last two weeks:

On Lists—Gottlieb Lillick, List 108, \$1; Anton Ehrlich, List 200, \$1.00; M. J. Kramer, List 238, \$1; John Bear, List 301, \$1; J. G. Kasey, on account, List 306, \$1; Henry Marx, List 200, \$1; J. Hanger, List 402, \$1; William Meyer, List 453, \$1; John H. Lewis, List 405, \$1; Herman Mulheith, List 148, \$1; Theo Stewart, List 620, \$1; Morris Hillquit, List 607, \$1; Samuel Benoit, List 602, \$1; George W. R. List 700, \$1.00; Christopher Hickey, List 704, \$1.00; John H. Lewis, List 705, \$1.00; Christian Argenson, List 700, \$1.00; Arbeiter Manoeuvres, Lists 800 and 822, \$7.50; W. R. and D. B. F., List 1103, \$7.50; A. A. Heller, on account, List 1212, \$3; Emil Berger, List 1203, \$3; William Bettelhoff, List 1201, \$3; A. E. List 2433, \$1.75; U. Foley, List 2460, \$4; Miss A. Jaffe, List 2378, \$3.50; Fred Meyer, Typo, No. 7, Label office B. List, 2001, \$4; Phil Babcock, List 2171, \$2.50; Cass Redding, 2778, \$3.50; R. Bugh, List 2001, \$1.00; J. H. Meyer, List 2001, \$1.00; Zanzara, List 2001, \$1.00; Cash contributions—Fred Hoff, \$1; Fritzberger, \$5; Martin Dean, \$3; Louis Kahra, \$3; John Wilgus, \$3; a letter carrier, \$5; a Catholic, \$5; Carl Mahlmann, \$5; Kinder Sterbe Kasse, No. 23, \$10; Bricklayers Union No. 11, \$50; collected by J. F. Benington, \$2.50; L. Steiner, \$1.50; German School, Manhattan, \$1, collected at picnic, \$7.50.

Additional surplus from Carnegie Hall meeting, \$20.

Collected by Brewery Workers' Union No. 1 among employees in breweries, as follows: Christ Hupfel Brewing Co., List 1448, \$2.00; J. and M. Hoffmann, List 1445, \$1; M. Grob's Sons, List 1440, \$1.40; A. Piek and Sons, List 1447, \$2.75; John Schuler, List 1440, \$2.10; Baker Bros., List 1450, \$2.00; Bismarck Brewing Co., List 1450, \$2.00; Peter Decker Brewing Co., List 1454, \$2; Clausen & Price, List 1454, \$2.75; Central Brewing Co., List 1457, \$9; Bernheimer & Schwartz, List 1450, \$2.35; Bechtelstein & Weitz, List 1460, \$4.25; Bachman Brewing Co., List 1461, \$1.75; H. Kettner Brewing Co., List 1460, \$2.75; Jacob Huppert's Brewing Co., List 1460, \$4.50; Mahman & Hermann, List 1460, \$4.50; Hager Brewing Co., List 1460, \$4.50; North Side Brewing Co., List 1462, \$1.25; J. Holmann Brewing Co., List 1464, \$2; Val. Lowenstein, List 1464, \$2.50; John Kram, List 1464, \$1.50; Anton Meigel, List 1460, \$1.50; Lion Brewery,

On Lists—R. M. Brown, List 10, \$5; C. K. Harkaway, List 2001, \$1.50; C. Klingenberg, List 2001, \$1.50; J. H. Meyer, List 2001, \$1.50; J. G. Kasey, List 306, \$1; J. Hanger, List 402, \$1; William Meyer, List 453, \$1; John H. Lewis, List 405, \$1; Herman Mulheith, List 148, \$1; Theo Stewart, List 620, \$1; Morris Hillquit, List 607, \$1; Samuel Benoit, List 602, \$1; George W. R. List 700, \$1.00; Christopher Hickey, List 704, \$1.00; John H. Lewis, List 705, \$1.00; Christian Argenson, List 700, \$1.00; Arbeiter Manoeuvres, Lists 800 and 822, \$7.50; W. R. and D. B. F., List 1103, \$7.50; A. A. Heller, on account, List 1212, \$3; Emil Berger, List 1203, \$3; William Bettelhoff, List 1201, \$3; A. E. List 2433, \$1.75; U. Foley, List 2460, \$4; Miss A. Jaffe, List 2378, \$3.50; Fred Meyer, Typo, No. 7, Label office B. List, 2001, \$4; Phil Babcock, List 2171, \$2.50; Cass Redding, 2778, \$3.50; R. Bugh, List 2001, \$1.00; J. H. Meyer, List 2001, \$1.00; Zanzara, List 2001, \$1.00; Cash contributions—Fred Hoff, \$1; Fritzberger, \$5; Martin Dean, \$3; Louis Kahra, \$3; John Wilgus, \$3; a letter carrier, \$5; a Catholic, \$5; Carl Mahlmann, \$5; Kinder Sterbe Kasse, No. 23, \$10; Bricklayers Union No. 11, \$50; collected by J. F. Benington, \$2.50; L. Steiner, \$1.50; German School, Manhattan, \$1, collected at picnic, \$7.50.

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Additional surplus from Carnegie Hall meeting, \$20.

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NEW YORK, OCTOBER 23, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

BRILLIANT SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN.

Thousands of Workingmen Applaud Debs at Each Meeting.

From Every Quarter of the Land Comes Word that Socialist Party's Speakers Are Listened to with Greater Attention Than Ever Before—Some Incidents of Debs' Tour.

From all parts of the country come reports of Socialist meetings of an unparalleled size and enthusiasm. Men who never before would have given a woman's thought to the subject of Socialism, but who are now listening with respectful attention or even with earnest applause to our speakers.

Especially brilliant, the success of Eugene V. Debs' campaign tour. Night after night he speaks to crowded houses, and so great is the interest shown that the old-party papers are often compelled to abandon their old practice of ignoring or misrepresenting the Socialist movement and to give full and comparatively fair reports of Debs' meetings.

The comrades, wherever he goes, are inspired to new activity, both by the splendid eloquence and by the assurance which the meetings give them of the rapid progress of our cause.

Big Success at Portland.
Thus Comrade Folen of Portland, Ore., writes: "The meeting was a big success. We had an audience of about 4,500, and there would have been more had it not been for the 25 cent charge that scared a good many. But for all that the meeting was a bowling success and enthusiasm ran high. Cheers and applause as never before greeted our friend and comrade after he had spoken for two hours and twenty minutes."

The "Oregonian" gave an extended account of the meeting, in the course of which it said: "The audience was large, official and by the fact that each and every head passing through the big door was taxed at the rate of 25 cents. Ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls and little children, had all come to hear the man who represents the Socialist Party of the nation."

"Tremendous Ovation."
The Tacoma, Wash., "Ledger" says: "The reception accorded Eugene V. Debs, the candidate of the Socialist Party for President of the United States, at the Lyceum Theater last night was in the nature of a tremendous ovation. From gallery to parquet the theater was packed, the aisles were crowded, the foyer sheltered a small audience, and outside the theater congregated men who were unable to crowd into the house. His address was received with vociferous applause. It fairly teemed with brilliant epigrams."

At Seattle, the "Post-Intelligencer" found itself forced to devote three columns to a report of our candidate's meeting, from which we quote: "Eugene V. Debs of Indiana, candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist ticket, received an enthusiastic welcome when he entered the new auditorium at 8 o'clock last night to deliver his campaign address to the Socialists of Seattle. The big hall was packed to the doors by people anxious to hear the labor leader speak. For five minutes he stood on the rostrum bowing to the cheering crowds and unable to make himself heard through the din."

A Striking Contrast.
Our party paper, "Next," puts it this way: "Three thousand people, twenty-eight hundred of them men, a thousand of them standing up for two hours in an ill-ventilated hall, far from the center of the city, no music, no hurra-boys, and all paid admission—that is the Socialist record, as against eight hundred for the Republican spellbinders in the Grand Opera House, with music and advertisements in the daily papers and nothing to pay and 'prosperity' to boot! The biggest rally of the campaign by far! Cheers and thunderous applause greeted him and punctuated his speech throughout."

Fairbanks "Not in It."
An equal success, proportionately to the size of the city, was the meeting at Spokane. The "Spokane-Review" reports: "Eugene V. Debs, Socialist nominee for the Presidency, spoke last night at the Auditorium to 1,500 people, who paid from 10 to 50 cents each for admission. The big theater was almost packed from pit to gallery. In spite of the counter-attraction presented by the Republicans at the Spokane theater, where Senator Fairbanks, Republican nominee for the Vice Presidency, was speaking without money and without price. Following his speech, an informal reception was held on the stage, where many of the admirers of Mr. Debs gathered to express their approval of his address and their pleasure at meeting him."

Ten Thousand at Butte.
At Wallace, Ida., and Missoula and Livingston, Mont., very large meetings were held. Comrade Graham of the Butte "Review" writes: "By the time Comrade Debs reached the 'all last evening standing-room was at a premium. The stage as well as the wings were crowded and hundreds were turned away. Comrade Debs held the audience for two hours and made what is considered by all to be the greatest political speech ever delivered in Livingston. To-day, Socialism is the only topic heard on the streets."

From the next point Comrade Debs himself reports, saying: "At Butte last night was the record-breaker. Ten thousand people tried to jam into the Auditorium. The house and galleries were packed, all the aisles and stage were jammed, men and women sat on the edge of the stage, and thousands had to be turned away unable to get in. It beat the Fairbanks meeting in

HE SPEAKS FOR THE CHILDREN.

Dr. Maxwell Tells Important Truths.

New York School Superintendent Says City Should Provide Meals for School Children—Will Fed Politicians Snare—A Socialist Demand.

We quote the following from an address delivered by Dr. Wm. H. Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools of New York City, before the Educational Conference of St. Louis:

"The tenement house destroys the home, and without the well-ordered home and its influences the school can accomplish comparatively little. Nothing short of a revolution in the existing tenement house system will restore the life of the poor in the City of New York to something like moral conditions."

"And how is this to be accomplished? The answer is not that the tenement house, as it has been known in New York City, must be eradicated. The municipality should employ its credit to purchase tracts of unoccupied land upon which to erect model homes for workingmen, pleasant and sanitary surroundings, and rent or sell them at a moderate profit."

For Free Maintenance.
"But there is still another aspect of physical education. Education, whether physical or mental, is seriously retarded if not practically impossible, when the body is improperly or imperfectly nourished. What a farce it is to talk of schools providing equal opportunities for all when there are hundreds of thousands of children in our city schools who cannot learn because they are always hungry!"

"The schools of Paris provide a simple, wholesome midday meal for their hungry children. In many places in the British Islands the same thing is being done. Should we do less in the cities of democratic America? In no other way can we be sure that the schools will, as far as education may, provide equal opportunities for all."

Politicians Joke Over It.
Dr. Maxwell did not, of course, try to get this free-meal proposition embodied in the school budget presented to the Board of Estimate a few days ago. It is a serious enough matter, under the prevailing capitalist rule, to try to get even enough school buildings and enough badly paid teachers. But when that budget was presented, the Democratic and Republican politicians on the Board—whose children never go to school hungry, of course, because the fathers are not workingmen—were very hilarious over Dr. Maxwell's utopian dreams.

In Milwaukee the suggestion has been taken up in a half-hearted sort of way, as a matter of private philanthropy—which is just what it ought not to be, because the most needy and deserving of the working class are often also the most sensitive, and would rather suffer than bear the stigma of capitalist charity. Some of the newspapers are doing a great deal of space in the Milwaukee "Express" and are giving all the credit for its origin to certain prominent Democrats of that city.

From Socialist City Platforms.
It might be wondered whether these editors know, or whether even Dr. Maxwell knows, that the free maintenance of school children—not as charity, but as a part of the regular school system—is a proposition that originated with the Socialists and is urged by them in all municipal campaigns. It was the Socialist members of the municipal council of Paris that secured the adoption of the plan there, and thus made health and education possible for thousands of children who would otherwise have had neither. It was the Socialist Democratic Federation in Great Britain that began the campaign for free maintenance there, and is still pushing it vigorously and forcing the authorities to consider it. The Socialists of the United States also include this among the immediate demands in their municipal programs, and it is safe to say that the rapid growth of Socialism in Milwaukee and the election of several Social Democrats to the City Council last spring are the direct occasion of the sudden outbreak of local philanthropy in this direction.

Another Socialist Plan.
Dr. Maxwell's other proposition, that the municipality should fight the degradation and disease-breeding tenement system by building sanitary dwellings at public expense and letting them at cost to workingmen, is also a leaf taken from the Socialist municipal program, and Dr. Maxwell will certainly not find any support for it in the class that owns the tenements and grows rich from them and that controls both the old parties, in this city, as elsewhere.

We have every reason to credit Dr. Maxwell with sincerity. But it is evident that he is in the wrong company. Let him come to the Socialist movement and he will find a growing force to support his excellent ideas.

MACHINISTS' MEETINGS.
Two important mass meetings will be held next week under the auspices of the Political Education Committee of the International Association of Machinists, District 12. The first will be on Tuesday evening, Oct. 25, in Macnab Hall, Fifty-sixth street, between Second and Third avenues; the other on Sunday, Oct. 30, at 2 p. m., in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. John C. Chase and others will speak. All comrades are welcome at both meetings.

SOCIALISTS OF NEW YORK, LOOK FOR THE EMBLEM OF THE ARM AND TORCH.

An Attempt Is Being Made by David B. Hill, Seconded by DeLeonite "Union-Smashers," to Keep the Name of the Social Democratic Party Off the Ballot—Foiled in First Attack, the Tricksters May Yet Succeed—If, on Election Day, You Find Some Other Name Instead of "Social Democratic" in the Third Column, Look for the Names of Our Candidates, DEBS and HANFORD, and Our Emblem, the ARM AND TORCH, and Make a Cross Within the Circle Thereunder.—Comrades, Spread the News.

ROCHESTER STRIKES.

Capitalists Making Socialists Thorough.

Defeat of Strikes by Capitalist Control of Law and Courts Helps to Open the Eyes of the Workers.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Strikes, in this city, seem to have been the order of the day. During the past year the machinists, bakers, carpenters, clothing cutters, and book-makers have struck for better conditions and in some cases more pay; the lithographers were locked out.

In the carpenters' union strike, four of the most prominent members, McFarlan, Challice, Guerra, and O'Brien, were indicted for "conspiracy to raise wages," and the chairman of the grand jury, Rev. Stedding, formerly pastor of the Central Presbyterian church here, with the other jurymen, found them guilty; the indictment is still hanging over the heads of the above mentioned men but through the trial of these men, the employers have accomplished their purpose; namely, they have crippled the finances of the organization and depleted their treasury. While the law in the Police Court is usually \$10 or \$15; but in the case of these strikers was demanded at \$100 each and in order to intimidate the strikers bail was refused when offered and the strikers dragged out of their beds at 2 a. m. This is a sample of capitalist outrage on workers.

It is a matter to be noted that in all the above cases, the firm of Wile & Orville were the counsel and attorneys. When pressed upon one occasion for an explanation they said that they represented the Clothing Exchange and other branches of the Manufacturers' Association.

Clothing Cutters' Fight.
The attitude of the daily press and the courts in the clothing cutters' strike, which began Oct. 12, 1903, was biased without exception and when articles by the cutters were offered to refute the falsehoods of the employers they were refused or twisted in such a manner that the writers did not even recognize their own articles. Men were arrested, particularly the president of the union, Mr. Chambers, and others upon the least provocation. Some of them were fined and instead of getting an ordinary police court fine of \$10 or \$15, they were fined \$250 each in two instances and in a third instance a cutter was fined \$250 and given three months' imprisonment in the penitentiary. In order to break this strike, the capitalists suddenly became very philanthropic; they became interested in the strikers' families and in case of sickness, offered to send trained nurses, doctors, etc.; in fact they did everything possible to influence the women to get their husbands back to work, playing upon the very heart strings of the strikers' wives. This strike is still on. The result thus far has been that much of the trade from this city has vanished and is being picked up by Syracuse, New York, Chicago, and other cities. This strike has caused many former Republicans and Democrats among the cutters to see the injustice of capitalist law and hence there are to-day more Socialists among the cutters than formerly.

Machinists' Experience.
The Machinists' Union, No. 63, has also had a taste of capitalist law. In the Davis Machine Co.'s shop the employers introduced the premium system, to which the machinists objected, and struck about a year ago, and the strike is still in effect. Business agent Mount and all of the executive officers were arrested on account of violation of the injunctions granted by judges elected by some of the men arrested. The business agent has been fighting the case and thus far it has been an extremely costly undertaking to match the lawyers with the employers. The injunction was issued enjoining the Machinists' Union from boycotting the Davis shop. Mr. Mount was found guilty and fined \$110. A Mr. Cooper, was also arrested for violating the injunction and fined \$10 for one offense, carrying a banner advertising a picnic of the strikers, construed as a violation of the injunction, and is now on trial for the second offense. The result has been that there are to-day more machinists in the Social Democratic Party.

The bakers were on strike last year and were defeated in their demands. Result, they are getting their eyes opened and will soon join the working class party.

The lithographers were locked out last year but on account of the scarcity of artists in their line the bosses were only too glad to take them all back. The meaning of their lockout was fully explained to them at the time by Socialists and to-day some of the most ardent workers in the more and contribute liberally. They do not, as a rule, attend the meetings, but they contribute their money cheerfully and often.

Shoe Workers, Too.
The Rollins shoe makers struck last year and put up a good fight. The conditions were something terrible and yet they could not get their employer to grant them better conditions and the strike is still on, many of the employees leaving the business altogether to find other employment. Some of the strikers were subpoenaed and dragged out of bed at 2 o'clock in the morning even when men were there to furnish bail in the amount of \$100 each. Result, many converts to the Socialist movement. This is the same in almost

WARNING! LOOK OUT FOR LIES!

From Our Presidential Candidate.

As the campaign draws to a close and the enemy observes that the Socialist Party is forging to the front and that they cannot stay its march, their perverted ingenuity will be taxed to accomplish by a sudden coup what bribery, corruption, falsehood, and intimidation have failed to do.

Four years ago, on the eve of the election, they sprung the report that our presidential candidates had resigned in favor of the Democratic candidates.

Be on your guard! Allow no such report or any report in the capitalist press to deceive you. Do not be caught unawares. If you see any such report, promptly deny it.

In case of emergency wire national headquarters, and accept no startling report about the national candidates as true unless it is confirmed by and from the national office.

We do not know what the enemy may spring, what trickery they may resort to in the last hour; but we know the enemy, and this is sufficient to warrant this warning to our comrades.

The sweep of the Socialist movement is the marvel and dismay of the old politicians, and as they are as wholly lacking in scruples as they are adepts in treachery it behooves us to be on our guard and prepare to meet any emergency, especially in the closing hours of the campaign, when it is deemed too late for successful denial.

A word to Socialists is sufficient.

Comrade Silverman made such a eloquent plea before Police Judge Chadsey. While the bail in the Police Court is usually \$10 or \$15; but in the case of these strikers was demanded at \$100 each and in order to intimidate the strikers bail was refused when offered and the strikers dragged out of their beds at 2 a. m. This is a sample of capitalist outrage on workers.

It is a matter to be noted that in all the above cases, the firm of Wile & Orville were the counsel and attorneys. When pressed upon one occasion for an explanation they said that they represented the Clothing Exchange and other branches of the Manufacturers' Association.

Our Strong Point.
The above cases ought certainly to open the eyes of the voters to their interests as represented in the Social Democratic Party, which stands uncompromisingly for the interests of the workers. The experience of all during the past year has been that the fight must be carried to the political field where we are strongest in numbers.

On Oct. 25, Comrade Spargo, of New York, will speak here; and on Nov. 2, at Pittsburgh Hall, our nominee for president, Eugene V. Debs, a staunch advocate of the workers' interests, will address a great meeting in the same hall.

The voters of this city are beginning to see that both old parties are against them, as evidenced as well by the Democratic Governor of Idaho who put the miners in a "Bull Pen" three years ago, as the same was done to the miners of Colorado recently by Republican Governor Peabody.

We predict a very large increase this fall. The meetings are being largely attended and much enthusiasm is being shown by the old and new comrades. Literature is distributed systematically and crowds frequent the headquarters at 40 State street. A pool and billiard table will soon be put in the back room for the entertainment of the visitors and members.

\$1,000,000 FUND TO FIGHT STRIKES.
Steel Trust Heads Meet to Plan Campaign Against the Unions.
PITTSBURGH, Oct. 14.—A meeting, seemingly of great importance to iron and steel interests, was held here today when the heads of the subsidiary departments of the United States Steel Corporation met. Among those present were: President Corey, head of the whole Trust; Vice-President John W. Bray of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company; C. A. Dinkley, Carnegie Steel Company; W. P. Palmer, American Steel and Wire Company; W. B. Schiller, National Tube Company; A. J. Buffington, Illinois Steel Company; and Thomas Lynch, H. C. Frick Coke Company.

For two hours the steel heads discussed business, and from one of the conferences it was learned that the strikers at Youngstown, Ohio, and Girard, Ohio, were the principal topics discussed. Nothing definite was given out, but it is reported here that the United States Steel Corporation has voted \$1,000,000 toward defeating the Amalgamated Association—New York "Times" special.

CLEVELAND'S CHOICE.
Cleveland, who sent Federal troops to Chicago, in violation of law, to break the American Railway Union strike, is supporting Parlor. Gley, Cleveland's Attorney-General, who sent Eugene V. Debs to jail for expressing his contempt for a contemptible court, is supporting Parlor. That is a good reason why workingmen, who oppose government by injunction, should vote against these lawbreakers' candidates and for Debs.

Secretary of State Decides That Col. McEwan's Objection to Our Use of Name "Social Democratic" Is Not Well Founded—Democrats May Still Appeal to Supreme Court—S. L. P. Protest Heard, but Not Yet Decided.

In pursuance of the hearing given on Wednesday, Oct. 12, on the objection entered by Col. John R. McEwan, a benchman of David B. Hill, against the appearance of the name "Social Democratic" on the official ballot, the Secretary of State last Tuesday rendered a decision, holding that the protest was not well founded.

The fact that the ticket of our party—known as the Socialist Party in most other states—has in this state appeared upon the official ballot under the name "Social Democratic" in four successive annual elections without protest from the Democratic State Committee or anybody else, no doubt decided the Secretary's rendering of the law. It was also shown by our counsel that the name "Social Democratic" is well understood to designate, not a branch of the Democratic party, but a party representing the principles of Socialism.

The objectors have still time to appeal to the Supreme Court and may yet get a decision in their favor. It is of course among the possibilities that in spite of the plain justice of the case as set forth in these columns last week, he will render a decision compelling our party to adopt some other name for this election in this state.

The E. L. P., with its customary malice and readiness to use capitalist methods in the name of Socialism, followed Mr. Hill's example and protested, alleging that the name "Social Democratic" if not an infringement on the Democratic name, was an infringement on that of the Socialist Labor Party. Benjamin Patterson appeared as counsel. Our representatives answered by setting forth the facts as to the relations of the two Socialist parties and especially the well-known fact that both of these parties, through all the four years past, have spared no pains to make clear to the voters the difference between them; pointing out also that the verbal difference between the names was sufficient to prevent confusion.

The DeLeonite protest was heard on Tuesday and decision reserved. We shall not know the final result until next Monday or Tuesday. Meanwhile, comrades and sympathizers should do everything in their power to make the fact known that such an attack is being made and instruct the voters that, even if we have to change our party name temporarily, they can identify our ticket by the emblem of the Arm and Torch and the names of our national candidates, Debs and Hanford, and our state candidates, Peabody and Bach.

THE TWIN PARTIES OF CAPITALISM.
Let us briefly present some of the leading facts in evidence that the Republican and Democratic parties are alike capitalist parties, that workingmen have no reason for supporting either, that workingmen have abundant reason for opposing both.

Under a Republican state administration in Colorado this year martial law has been declared in the districts affected by the strikes of the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers of America. A personal friend and protégé of President Roosevelt, Adjutant-General Sherman M. Bell, was made military autocrat in those districts. Strikers and strike sympathizers were arrested by hundreds for no crime and under no accusation but that of being members or friends of the union. Prisoners were held without trial for weeks or months. Writs of habeas corpus issued by district judges were defied. "To hell with habeas corpus," said General Bell. Some hundreds of workingmen were forcibly deported from the state without form or process of law. The offices and co-operative stores of the unions were broken into and looted. The unions were not allowed to distribute provisions to members on strike nor even to the wives and children of deported men. Under the protection of this lawless military despotism, "Citizens' Alliance" mobs were allowed to force elected local officers to resign under threat of hanging and Pinkerton thugs were allowed to commit assault and murder at the mine-owners' command with impunity. (You may read the story in detail in Ben Hanford's little book, "The Labor War in Colorado," which you can get at any Socialist headquarters.)

But this career of capitalist crime was only a slight advance upon what had been done five years earlier in Idaho under the administration of Democratic Governor Steunenberg. This Democrat said, as reported at the time in all the New York papers: "Yes, WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A STATE BLACKLIST against the Miners' Union, and will enforce it by martial law as long as we have a soldier left." (The details of that history were told in Job Harriman's pamphlet, "The Class War in Idaho.")

Moreover, at the Democratic national convention in St. Louis last July, when a strong resolution in condemnation of these injustices committed by the Republican governor of Colorado was presented, it was defeated. The reorganized Democracy DID NOT WISH TO GO ON RECORD AGAINST CAPITALIST ANARCHY.

Everyone remembers President Roosevelt's declaration in favor of the "open shop"—that is to say, the non-union shop—which won him the praise of Mr. Parry's National Association of Manufacturers, the great blacklist and spy agency of the capitalist class.

But does everyone remember how at the Democratic national convention Richard P. Hobson was applauded when he praised Grover Cleveland for having sent the troops to Chicago in 1904 to break the A. R. U. strike?

On the one hand, we have Theodore Roosevelt's declaration (see his book, "American Ideals") that men who oppose government by injunction are on a par with savages, are dangerous men and enemies of civic morality.

On the other hand, we have the fact that Judge Parker, the presidential candidate of the Democratic party, was one of the judges of the New York Court of Appeals who, only last year, unanimously declared the Eight-Hour Law of the state unconstitutional.

On the one hand, we have the fact that the majority of the Republican representatives in Congress have always opposed the graduated income tax and that the majority of the United States Court held it unconstitutional.

On the other hand, we have the facts: First, that David B. Hill, now boss of the Democratic party, led the fight against the income tax in the Senate and appeared as counsel for the millionaires before the Supreme Court to overthrow it; second, that enough Democratic judges joined the Republicans to declare it unconstitutional; and, third, that the last national convention of the Democratic party at St. Louis, rejected an income-tax plank which was proposed. "Oh, that's foolish," said Hill; and "what Hill said went."

Just one more point: Last year the Republican and Democratic parties united in New York to re-elect Denis O'Brien to the Court of Appeals of this state; O'Brien, who had helped to declare the Prevailing Rate of Wages Law unconstitutional, was renominated by the Democrats and endorsed by the Republicans.

This year, two seats in the Court of Appeals being vacated, the Republican and Democratic parties have again fused; Edgar M. Cullen, Democrat, and William E. Warner, Republican, are the candidates of both the old parties that pretend to be opposed to each other.

Compare the platforms, compare the candidates, compare the records—in everything, so far as Labor's interests are concerned, the two old parties are identical.

There may be some differences between them on questions that concern only capitalists, big or little.

But if a workingman thinks he must choose between them, his best way would be to flip a penny. And whichever way it comes out, the capitalist can say to him, "Heads, I win; tails, you lose."

We Socialists have no choice between the old parties. We find one as bad as the other. We would not lift a finger to decide between them. We stand AGAINST BOTH. We stand UNCOMPROMISINGLY against both.

And sooner or later, THE WORKING CLASS AS A WHOLE WILL SEE THAT WE ARE RIGHT IN SO DOING.

Governor Peabody now declares himself a "friend" of organized labor, and he has about as good a claim to that title as other capitalist politicians that make the same profession.

The "labor leader" should be given plainly to understand that in holding up the little business man, he is infringing the most sacred right of the trusts.

The Worker.

OR ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY
(Known in New York State as the Social
Democratic Party.)

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Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 3, 1891.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.
The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic Party of New York) has passed through its second general election. Its growing power is indicated by the great increase of its vote as shown in these figures:

1900 (Presidential)..... 97,730
1902 (State and Congressional)..... 229,703

UNION PRINTER

PRESIDENTIAL TICKET.
FOR PRESIDENT—
EUGENE V. DEBS,
OF INDIANA.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—
BENJAMIN HANFORD,
OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK STATE TICKET.
FOR GOVERNOR—
THOS. PENDERGAST,
OF WATERTOWN.

FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—
CHARLES R. BACH,
OF ROCHESTER.

For Secretary of State—
E. J. SQUIRES of Jamestown.

For State Treasurer—
EMIL NEPPLE of New York.

For Attorney-General—
LEON A. MALKIN of New York.

For State Comptroller—
W. V. PARRAGE of Brooklyn.

For State Engineer and Surveyor—
S. B. EARLY of Buffalo.

For Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals—
CHAS. H. MATCHETT of Brooklyn.

For Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals—
WILLIAM NUGENT of Troy.

STEADY, COMRADES!
By Eugene V. Debs.

The greatest working-class campaign in American politics is drawing to a close. All our forces are in the field and the battle line stretches across the continent from sea to sea.

Steady, Comrades!
The enemy have done their best and worst to divide us, but have failed, and all along the revolutionary line there flashes from the eyes of the advancing proletarian columns the light of defiance and the fire of victory.

Steady, Comrades!
At your post in the strongest or the weakest point, just as you will, and the Socialist Party has the right to expect that you will make it the strongest point and that no sabre thrust of the enemy will penetrate the armor of the movement where you stand.

Steady, Comrades!
We are closing in for the final charge and each comrade must now feel that the outcome depends on him or her, and summon all their latent force and put forth their supreme power to win this day for the working class.

Steady, Comrades!
The fatal hour is drawing near and all we have and all we hope for, all that we hold dear and sacred and are pledged to with our very lives, is in the balance. Not a day, an hour, nor even a minute must go by unutilized.

Steady, Comrades!
Every comrade at his post, every comrade doing duty, every comrade true and loyal, every comrade resolute, unconquerable!

Steady, Comrades!
Together we are in the trenches, comrades, and together will we scale the heights, triumphant in the cause of Labor and Humanity. Forward, all, with heads erect and hearts attuned!

FORWARD ALL TO VICTORY!

The Los Angeles "Times" managed to tell the truth in this editorial paragraph:

"There's one thing the Socialists may claim credit for, at any rate—they are not charging their Presidential candidates with trying to be bigger than his party."

"We certainly are not. Our candidate is just what we wish to be—our comrade, doing well the work he has been chosen to do; not expecting nor aspiring to be independent or superior to his party, but proving himself in every word and deed worthy of the fraternal confidence that put him at the head of

the ticket. That is the kind of man the Socialist Party values. That is the kind of man it produces or accepts. None others need apply. But the old-party politicians cannot understand it.

We do not know whether or not the New York "Herald" is right in predicting that two Socialists—Victor Berger and W. R. Gaylord—are likely to be elected to Congress from two Milwaukee districts. But we know this—that if they are elected, the tolling majority of the people of that city will for the first time be represented at Washington.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT.
This issue will introduce The Worker to tens of thousands who have never seen it before. We may be pardoned for taking the occasion, therefore, to say a few words about ourselves.

The Worker is a paper owned and controlled by a co-operative association of members of the Socialist Party and published for the sole purpose of spreading a knowledge of the principles of Socialism, reporting the activity of the party and of progressive labor organizations, and of commenting upon the news of the day in such a way as to show its true significance for the working class. The charter of this publishing association does not allow it to take any profit from The Worker; any surplus that may be made must be spent in improving the paper and extending its circulation or in other Socialist propaganda.

The Worker is recognized as one of the best Socialist weeklies in the world and as an authoritative exponent of Socialist theory and policy. Its guiding rule is, always to value quality more than quantity, and to strive for the thorough education of the working class, rather than to try to catch readers for the paper or voters for the party by sensational methods.

In the present campaign the Socialist Party is gaining hundreds of thousands of new adherents. All of these need to study carefully the theories of Socialism and the development of our economic and political system, in order to be able to guide themselves safely in the still greater conflicts that are to come. The Worker plans to do all it can to help them.

Shortly after election we shall begin a somewhat extended series of articles in which we shall try to give a systematic explanation of Socialism—beginning with the A B C, so to speak—for the benefit of new readers. This is undertaken in response to many requests and suggestions which have come to us, and its beginning is postponed till after election because many of our subscribers are now too busy in party work to spare much time for reading. The course will probably extend through some three months; during its continuance, we shall be glad to have our readers ask questions about points which the writer does not succeed in making clear, and shall answer them to the best of our ability.

We believe that this series of articles will be welcomed by many who are just beginning to turn their attention to Socialism, and we make the announcement now so that they may subscribe for the paper and not miss any of the earlier numbers.

This is only one feature by which The Worker will try to help in the important task of educating and organizing the army of new recruits and so securing and using to the best advantage for our great cause the gains which we shall make at the polls this year. We solicit the aid of all comrades and sympathizers in making our work the more effective by extending the circulation of The Worker.

ADULTERATION.
A short time ago it was discovered that the Noparrell Life Preserver Company, of Camden, N. J., was putting bars of lead in life preservers in order to bring them up to the required weight, thus making them in reality life destroyers. This was so sensational a case of profit-making adulteration that even our "big stick," "blond beast" president, who hates the "weakling" and likes to see the "unfit" weeded out, has given it indignant attention in his memorandum and order to the federal steamboat inspectors in the matter of the investigation of the terrible "General Slocum" disaster caused by neglect of safety and risk of life in order to save expense and increase profit.

Last week all New York was talking of the deaths caused by the adulteration of whisky with wood alcohol, and the disclosures of the widespread sale of adulterated drugs.

In the mad struggle for profit which is the law of our competitive industrial system, even the very drugs which the invalid, tossing on his bed of pain, looks to for restored health are adulterated and bring him death instead of cure.

There is shoddy in our clothes, there is water in our milk, there is wood alcohol and fusel oil in our whisky, there is artificial coloring matter in our cigars, there is chisery in our coffee and marble dust in our pepper, there is tartaric acid in our lemon pie and salicylic acid in our beer, there is gelatine and cornstarch in our low "cream," and be one would attempt to say what there is in our mudiest breakfast foods and our what-is-it restaurant desserts.

Constitutions are gradually undermined and lives thus shortened by this adulteration of food, drink, and medicine.

All this is, of course, done to increase the profit of the capitalist, just as preventable accidents resulting in the loss of so many lives are caused by the capitalist saving expense to increase profit.

As long as the means of production are privately owned and industry is carried on for capitalist profit instead of for human welfare this will continue. And as long as the capitalist class controls government it will be permitted to continue, and the inadequate laws against adulteration, like the few inadequate laws for the safety of workmen and passengers, will not be enforced.

DEPARTING POPULISTS REMOBT TO CHEAP LYING.
We are informed that that extraordinary galvanised corpse, the Populist party, is circulating in certain quarters a statement that the expenses of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party are paid by the Republicans. Carl Browne, of "Commonwealth" fame, is one of the disseminators of this lie.

We do not know whether Mr. Tom Watson's party is supported by the Republicans. We do not allege it nor lend our sanction to the accusation which is commonly made to that effect, because we have no direct information in the matter.

We do know this, that the Socialist Party makes account to its members and sympathizers of all its financial affairs, showing every cent comes and where every cent goes; and that the Populist party makes no such frank statement. When we find the Watson-Tibbles benches circulating such baseless attacks on our party, we would be justified, perhaps, in surmising that they draw from their own guilty consciences the material for their fabrications.

Wherever the Populists stand—and Mr. Watson and his friends have so far carefully refrained from attacking Roosevelt or his party, so we do not know where they stand—it is a fact evident to all who have eyes to see and brains to think that the Socialist Party, with Debs and Hanford as its candidates, stands squarely and openly against both the old parties, against as much as the other, against capitalism in all its disguises.

Grover Cleveland's conscience must be troubling him. Ten years after the fact he publishes a book to excuse—or is it to glory in—the two most disgraceful acts of his second administration—the military invasion of Illinois to help the railways crush the A. R. U. strike, and the bond-issue manipulation by which he enriched Wall Street and pretty certainly did not impoverish himself. "Oh, that mine enemy would write a book," said Job, very wisely. The perversity of the man who will not let his own misdeeds be forgotten is very curious.

GOMPERTS AND GOLDSTEIN.
Mr. Samuel Gomper, President of the American Federation of Labor, stands for all that is most conservative and therefore most helpless and futile in the labor movement. For years his cry has been "No politics in the union," while he has at the same time been strenuously advising the practice of that sort of cringing politics which consists in maintaining a lobby at Washington to beg for legislative favors from capitalist politicians, demanding pre-election pledges from capitalist candidates, and endorsing this or that capitalist demagogue who poses as a "friend of labor."

The Socialist movement, standing for working class political action, has never dreamed of demanding a political qualification for membership in trade unions, but it does demand free discussion of the political interests of the workers in their union meetings. Mr. Gomper, while opposing this as something leading directly to Socialism, has stood for that sort of small and timid "non-partisan" politics which inevitably leads to corruption and the trickery and betrayal of the working class by the old-party demagogues between whom their votes are tossed about.

But if Mr. Gomper has followed his "no politics in the union" policy cleanly and honestly, willing to meet discussion, and consistently holding to the principle which he so loudly professes, Socialists would not have such great complaint against him on that point. He has not done that. On the contrary, he has gone out of his way to attack and slander the political party of Socialism in which thousands of active trade unionists affiliated with the A. F. of L. are earnest workers. Mr. Gomper would not dare or care to attack the Republicans or the Democratic party as a whole, yet, while still protesting "no politics in the union," he deliberately and officially denounces the whole Socialist Party to which so many members of the A. F. of L. belong.

Mr. David Goldstein of Boston, a Socialist renegade and working class Judas, now jangling his thirty pieces of silver, has written, under the alias of one Martin Moore Avery of the same ill fame, a scurrilous denunciation of Socialism and Socialists in the

form of a bulky and illiterate volume entitled "Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children."

As said, in the statement dealing with Mr. Gomper in the last issue of The Worker, the President of the A. F. of L. has given this piece of dirty work his official endorsement. That endorsement appears in a pamphlet advertising the Goldstein-Avery production, in the form of a fac simile of a letter on the stationery of the A. F. of L., with Mr. Gomper's official title after his signature, and reading as follows:

"American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., May 21, 1904.
"Mr. David Goldstein,
"31 Maywood St., Boston, Mass.
"Dear Sir and Brother:
"Your favor of the 10th to hand and contents noted.

"I beg to say that I have read with keenest interest your book on 'Socialism, The Nation of Fatherless Children,' and have no hesitancy in saying that the book is not only timely, but an excellent contribution to the literature of the labor question and the labor movement. It tears the mask of hypocrisy from the face of those who have long pretended to be friends of the trade union movement, and yet seek its destruction or diversion to an improper purpose. I have found your book a ready reference to many hostile utterances and action of pretended friends.

"With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,
"Fraternally yours,
"SAMUEL GOMPERTS,
"President, American Federation of Labor."

This letter is a direct and vicious insult to every one of the many thousands of Socialists belonging to the A. F. of L. It is on a par with the distribution from A. F. of L. headquarters of Herbert N. Casson's "Common Sense" and "Organized Self-Help," both stirring, ridiculing and libelling the Socialist movement; on a par with Gomper's engagement of notorious anti-Socialist mercenaries such as P. G. R. Gordon as organizers; on a par with his editorial in the last issue of the "American Federationist" advising the workmen of Colorado to vote the Democratic ticket and advising them not to vote the Socialist ticket.

These methods are characteristic of the man who so enjoys the fattest and the winning and dining of the great capitalists who organized the Civic Federation hounding for the purpose of emasculating the trade union movement; they are typical of that pompous personage who "is a sort of Grover Cleveland of the labor movement."

In his open participation in the capitalist political campaign against the Socialist Party, Mr. Gomper, with his usual inconsistency, has forgotten that "No politics in the union" is a motto which can be worked both ways until the time when it is changed to "No capitalist politics in the union." His insults to all trade unionists of Socialist political faith should call forth strong resolutions of rebuke from unions in every quarter. His propaganda against the working class political movement, now become foolishly open, positive and aggressive, should be put a stop to in short order, and a halt called on this flagrant abuse of official position and power.

NOTE, COMMENT AND ANSWER.
"It is a pleasant war," says Kuro-patkin. A pleasant war! Tens of thousands on either side killed or crippled or made invalids for life; tens of thousands of helpless widows and orphans; dire want in Japan, absolute famine in Russia, wholesale slaughter in Manchuria; this makes a pleasant war! This is such a thing to say to the laborer and ruler in all lands! Feel or care for the masses whose sweat and blood and tears pay for all their glory. But when the workers learn to think—oh, then it will not be so pleasant as those high places.

It is beautiful to see how "the logic of events" forces the powers of oppression always to cut the ground from under their own feet. The Russian government has always depended upon the Russian state church as its most valuable ally in keeping the people ignorant and submissive. And now the government's financial embarrassment, resulting from its iniquitous war in Manchuria, is forcing it to think of drawing on church property for war funds. Let us hope the plan will be carried out. The effect in alienating the priesthood from Tsarism would be a great force for progress.

So at last the President has removed those three inspectors whose negligence—we would probably be safe in saying, "whose wilful and corrupt connivance"—helped to make possible the Slocum crime. That he has done it in an irregular way that may give them a chance to fight their removal in the courts—perhaps this was due to his headlong strenuousness, perhaps to his being too busy with campaign matters to attend to little details of executive duty. But, however that turns out, we still ask, when are the indicted criminals to be brought to trial? We have seen the authors of so many capitalist crimes go free—the Pacific Sky Building murder, the Ireland Building murder, the Windsor Hotel murder, the Tarrant Building murder, the New York Central Tunnel murder, the Darlingford Hotel murder. We know the motive to all these crimes—capitalist profit. We know why Democratic and Republican and Reform District Attorneys alike have failed to prosecute them—because the class to which these criminals belong, the class which lives by profit and considers such crimes as its "legitimate business" is the class that controls both the old parties as well as the Reform agitation. We understand this official connivance at crime—such crime, that is,

as brings profit to capitalists and takes working people's lives. What we do not understand is the apathy of the working class, even the organized workers, who can forget or forgive these crimes and this official complicity and not even take so much action as would compel the punishment of the most notorious criminals. That is the terrible thing.

A local trade unionist writes us: For a long time I, as corresponding secretary of my union, have been sending in reports to various New York papers, especially the New York "American" and "Journal." They were never published. I took the liberty to interview the man in charge of the editorial department, but all the while I could get out of him was that the reports were to be published only with the command of the head of the paper. The head of the "Journal" is the well-known Mr. Hearst, who claims to be a man for the working class. This shows how much he cares for the laborer.

The proprietors of the New York "Journal," the proprietors of the "Sun," the "Times," the "Herald," the "Tribune," the "Press," the "World," the "States-Zeitung," and the other capitalist dailies, have a very good reason for suppressing or distorting labor news. The proprietors of all these papers belong to the capitalist class, the employing class, the profit-taking class, the class whose interests are threatened by trade unions on the economic field, and by Socialist political action. Moreover, they all depend to a great extent for their income upon their advertising columns, and none of them can afford to offend the big advertisers. Finally, they all "stand in" with the political bosses of one or the other of the two big parties, the two parties that regard capitalist profits as sacred and workmen's welfare as a secondary consideration. For all these reasons, it is really unreasonable to expect any of these papers to tell the truth about the labor movement, as well as it is as if Japanese soldiers should ask Russian officers for ammunition. Labor must depend on itself, on its own organizations and its own press, not on those of the class it has to fight.

We have in New York City one daily paper in the German language and one in the Jewish language—the "Volkszeitung" and the "Forward." They are since the summer of 1903, New York City, which one or the other of the old parties spends more than a single month before election than the national organization of the Socialist Party has at its disposal in a whole year. Finally, all the world may know where our funds come from; we give regular reports in our papers showing all the financial affairs of our national, state, and local organizations—showing how we have contributed the money and how it has been spent; and this is something that the old parties never do.

Our funds come from the rank and file of the party's membership and its sympathizers. They are made up of the dues of 25 cents a month that each of the 23,000 organized party members pays (except when he may be sick or out of work, when his dues are remitted); the proceeds of lectures and entertainments organized and patronized by Socialists; the free contributions of nickels and dimes and quarters and occasional larger sums from thousands of thinking workmen; and the occasional donations made by progressive trade unions or other labor organizations. In a word, the money comes from the rank and file and is spent under the direction of officers chosen by the rank and file, and there is nothing to conceal and no possibility of concealment.

Do you know what this means, reader? Do you see the significance of this contrast? Let us explain: When the old parties spend their money among the voters before election, they do not do it out of pure love or generosity. They are making an investment, on which they expect their return. The object of their campaign is to bring hands and feet and torchlight processions and free drinks to not to enlighten the voters, but to appeal to their senses, to put their brains to sleep, to excite and confuse them and make them forget to think until after their ballots are cast. The old parties do not want an intelligent voter; they want an obedient voter. They want the reader to file the votes to follow the leaders blindly. The campaign of whoop and hurrah and beer

timidly, so long as you do not think for yourselves or do not dare to vote as you think—so long as you allow the party to do your thinking for you or allow the "leaders" to dictate your vote—in a word, SO LONG AS THEY ARE SURE OF YOU, the leaders of whichever party may win will, AFTER ELECTION, treat your wishes and interests with contempt.

But when you begin to think for yourselves, to speak as you accept new ideas to suit new conditions—when you vote against the old-party politicians and their capitalist backers—when you oppose them UNCOMPROISINGLY—when you begin to show CONFIDENCE IN YOURSELVES—when, in one election after another, you steadily pile up more and more ballots against existing evils—when the evidence of your awakening intelligence and your growing self-reliance begins to frighten them, then they will respect you and consider your demands.

You say: Yes, Socialism would be a good thing, but it is a long way off, and we want some immediate relief. Very good. There is some reason in that argument. But we tell you that the best way even to get some immediate relief, some partial reforms, is to demand the whole of your rights, to vote for straight Socialism now.

We do not expect to get the whole Socialist program in a year. But we know that the Co-operative Commonwealth will come sooner if YOU vote for it NOW. And meanwhile, we know that if there is a big increase in the straight Socialist vote at this election, we shall be a great deal more likely to get some partial reforms than we shall be if the straight Socialist vote is stationary and the workers divide their support among the various parties of capitalism.

"A half a loaf is better than no bread," they say, and that's very true. But it is better to demand the whole loaf, and then to get it.

So long as you vote thoughtfully or

as a bribe profit to capitalists and takes working people's lives. What we do not understand is the apathy of the working class, even the organized workers, who can forget or forgive these crimes and this official complicity and not even take so much action as would compel the punishment of the most notorious criminals. That is the terrible thing.

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We have in New York City one daily paper in the German language and one in the Jewish language—the "Volkszeitung" and the "Forward." They are since the summer of 1903, New York City, which one or the other of the old parties spends more than a single month before election than the national organization of the Socialist Party has at its disposal in a whole year. Finally, all the world may know where our funds come from; we give regular reports in our papers showing all the financial affairs of our national, state, and local organizations—showing how we have contributed the money and how it has been spent; and this is something that the old parties never do.

Our funds come from the rank and file of the party's membership and its sympathizers. They are made up of the dues of 25 cents a month that each of the 23,000 organized party members pays (except when he may be sick or out of work, when his dues are remitted); the proceeds of lectures and entertainments organized and patronized by Socialists; the free contributions of nickels and dimes and quarters and occasional larger sums from thousands of thinking workmen; and the occasional donations made by progressive trade unions or other labor organizations. In a word, the money comes from the rank and file and is spent under the direction of officers chosen by the rank and file, and there is nothing to conceal and no possibility of concealment.

Do you know what this means, reader? Do you see the significance of this contrast? Let us explain: When the old parties spend their money among the voters before election, they do not do it out of pure love or generosity. They are making an investment, on which they expect their return. The object of their campaign is to bring hands and feet and torchlight processions and free drinks to not to enlighten the voters, but to appeal to their senses, to put their brains to sleep, to excite and confuse them and make them forget to think until after their ballots are cast. The old parties do not want an intelligent voter; they want an obedient voter. They want the reader to file the votes to follow the leaders blindly. The campaign of whoop and hurrah and beer

timidly, so long as you do not think for yourselves or do not dare to vote as you think—so long as you allow the party to do your thinking for you or allow the "leaders" to dictate your vote—in a word, SO LONG AS THEY ARE SURE OF YOU, the leaders of whichever party may win will, AFTER ELECTION, treat your wishes and interests with contempt.

But when you begin to think for yourselves, to speak as you accept new ideas to suit new conditions—when you vote against the old-party politicians and their capitalist backers—when you oppose them UNCOMPROISINGLY—when you begin to show CONFIDENCE IN YOURSELVES—when, in one election after another, you steadily pile up more and more ballots against existing evils—when the evidence of your awakening intelligence and your growing self-reliance begins to frighten them, then they will respect you and consider your demands.

You say: Yes, Socialism would be a good thing, but it is a long way off, and we want some immediate relief. Very good. There is some reason in that argument. But we tell you that the best way even to get some immediate relief, some partial reforms, is to demand the whole of your rights, to vote for straight Socialism now.

We do not expect to get the whole Socialist program in a year. But we know that the Co-operative Commonwealth will come sooner if YOU vote for it NOW. And meanwhile, we know that if there is a big increase in the straight Socialist vote at this election, we shall be a great deal more likely to get some partial reforms than we shall be if the straight Socialist vote is stationary and the workers divide their support among the various parties of capitalism.

"A half a loaf is better than no bread," they say, and that's very true. But it is better to demand the whole loaf, and then to get it.

So long as you vote thoughtfully or

METHODS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

This issue of The Worker will reach many persons who have never before read a Socialist paper and who know little about the Socialist Party. It is worth while therefore to point out, for their benefit, some of the particulars in which the organization and methods of our party differ radically from those of the two old parties.

A most striking difference is this: Neither of the old parties is carrying on its campaign, appeal to the rank and file of its followers for aid. On the contrary, they both have money to spend among the voters, in campaign time. They supply brass bands and fireworks galore. Their ward leaders set up the drinks and pass around the cigars freely. They hire great numbers of men just before election and pay them liberally for carrying out orders from above. In a thousand ways, at this time of year, the Republican and Democratic organizations are distributing money among the workmen whose votes they expect to win—and the recipients seem neither to know nor to care where this money comes from nor to wonder why the politicians have these periodical spasms of generosity.

The campaigns of the Socialist Party present quite a different spectacle. Music and fireworks and other displays are not much in evidence. You never see the Socialist candidate "standing treat" for his constituents. All our campaign funds are spent in printing and distributing literature and hiring halls and paying the necessary expenses of our speakers. By far the greater part of the work of our party is done by unpaid volunteers; only a few who are engaged to give their whole time to the work are paid, and they are paid no more than their liberal. Nearly all of our speakers, as well as the men who get out the platforms on the streets and carry the leaders from house to house, are workmen who freely give their leisure hours to the party's service, and even give something out of their daily wages to the party campaign fund instead of expecting to get something out of it. And our campaign funds are very small. There are some twenty districts in New York City, which one or the other of the old parties spends more than a single month before election than the national organization of the Socialist Party has at its disposal in a whole year. Finally, all the world may know where our funds come from; we give regular reports in our papers showing all the financial affairs of our national, state, and local organizations—showing how we have contributed the money and how it has been spent; and this is something that the old parties never do.

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NEW YORK "CALL."

A DAILY TRADE UNION AND SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER to be published in the interests of the WORKING CLASS. TRADE UNIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS are invited to send two delegates each to the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of New York, meeting every second Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York, or the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of Brooklyn, meeting every fourth Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Avenue, Brooklyn.

WORKINGMEN, THIS IS TO BE YOUR PAPER. Organized by workingmen and controlled by the delegates to the conference and the WORKINGMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, which meets every first Monday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

THE BEST OF CAMPAIGN PAMPHLETS.

Undoubtedly the most valuable campaign document that the Socialist Party has at its disposal this year is the plain story of capitalist tyranny.

"THE LAEOR WIR IN COLORADO"

BY BEN HANFORD.

our candidate for Vice-President. It is of the utmost importance—not only for the vote on Nov. 8, but for its permanent effect—that the facts of the Colorado affair and their lesson be brought before the people. The capitalist press certainly will not do this work. WE MUST DO IT. Hanford's pamphlet should be circulated everywhere.

Wherever the comrades have tried it, they have found it easy to sell "The Labor War in Colorado" by scores or hundreds of copies. Have YOU tried? If not, get a hundred at once, and push the sale. It will make voices.

Published and sold AT COST PRICE—5 cents a copy, or \$2.50 A HUNDRED, by the

SOCIALIST LITERATURE COMPANY,
184 William Street, New York City.

DEBS SPEAKS SUNDAY IN
NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN.

Eugene V. Debs, presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party—the Socialist Party, as it is called in other states—will speak in the Academy of Music, Fourteenth street, New York, on Sunday, Oct. 23, at 2 p. m., and in the Majestic Theatre, Brooklyn, at 8 p. m.

At both meetings an admission fee of 10 cents will be charged—25 cents for reserved seats—to cover expenses.

At the Academy of Music meeting, Dr. Howard A. Gibbs of Worcester, Mass.; John W. Brown, a national organizer of the Socialist Party, and Charles R. Bach, Social Democratic candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of New York, will also speak. Morris Brown, of the Cigar Makers' Union, will provide. The Brooklyn Letter Carriers' Band, under the leadership of Frank E. Houts, will render the following musical numbers: Prelude, "The Marseillaise"; march, "Over the Top"; "Wigwag Dance" from "Moc-tanna"; "Hill Girl"; cornet solo, "Flocktonian"; by H. E. Wiley; concert overture, "A Glean of Heaven"; two-step, "New Colonial"; finale, "The Marseillaise."

The doors will open at 1:30 p. m. and the concert will continue till 2:30.

Those holding platform tickets should come to the Fourteenth street entrance, others to the entrance on Irving Place.

Arrangements are being made for overflow meetings, if necessary, to be

addressed by John C. Chase, Jos. Wanhope, John W. Brown, Meyer London, Jacob Panken, E. T. Neben, and others.

Progressive labor organizations desiring to exhibit their banners at the Academy of Music are requested to leave them at the office of the organizer, 64 East Fourth street, not later than Saturday.

Comrades and friends who are willing to do committee work at the meeting are requested to communicate at once with Organizer Solomon, who will provide them with cards and badges. Over a hundred comrades are needed to fill all the necessary committees, and it is hoped that all those able to do such work will volunteer at once.

Brooklyn comrades who wish to do committee service at the Majestic Theatre meeting will report at the box office at 6:30 p. m. The doors will open at 7 o'clock, in order to avoid the crush at the box office. Reserved seats tickets will be exchanged at once at the office of the Campaign Secretary, 940 Wiloughby avenue. All tickets must be settled for before the meeting. Comrades should see to it that the accounts of their districts are squared up at once. Tickets not returned on Oct. 19 will be charged as sold. The Campaign Secretary has no more tickets for sale except a few platform seats.

In Brooklyn an overflow meeting will be held in Turnhall, Atlantic avenue, near Hoyt.

NO PARADE THIS YEAR.

Permit Refused by Police Department—Large Open-Air Demonstration in Union Square Instead.

The last meeting of the Democratic Party of New York City, and sympathetic organizations, was held Wednesday, Oct. 19, with Comrade Kilgus of the Brotherhood of Painters, 200 West 12th street, and J. Abramowitz, of the 21st A. D. presiding. New delegates from Branch 4, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, and Bakery & Confectioners' International Union No. 104, were seated.

The secretary of the Conference reported that application for a permit had been made and that same was denied on the ground that the Republicans had a permit for Saturday, Oct. 23. The same holds good for Nov. 5, on the ground that the Democrats hold a parade on that day. After considerable discussion on the question as to whether the parade should be held on another day it was decided to abandon the parade for this campaign. Several delegates made suggestions as to what the Conference should do. Delegate from the 30th A. D. favored the distribution of leaflets on a certain day. Delegate from the Typographical Union No. 7 favored mass meeting in hall. Delegate from the 14th A. D. suggested an open-air demonstration at Union Square. It was unanimously decided that an open-air demonstration be arranged to be held the Saturday preceding election, Nov. 5, at Union Square. The Arrangements Committee was given full power to engage a hall in case a permit for Union Square is also denied. The following contributions to the Demonstration Fund were received: Arbeiter-Mannschaft, \$2; United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners, Local 375, \$5; Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, Local No. 400, \$5; Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Branch 4, \$5.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The regular meeting of the General Committee will be held on Saturday, Oct. 22, at 8 p. m., sharp at the W. E. A. clubhouse, 206 East Eighty-sixth street. Important business is to be transacted and the delegates are urged to be on hand promptly.

THE PROGRESSIVE STAGE.

An important membership meeting of the Progressive Stage Society will be held on Sunday afternoon, Oct. 23, at 3 o'clock, at the Professional Woman's League, 108 W. Forty-fifth street. Sympathizers are invited to attend. The society now has about 300 members. It is expected that the first production will be staged some time in November.

STONE CUTTERS' LOGOUT.

The union stone cutters of New York, Brooklyn, and Newark have been locked out by the organized bosses for about four weeks. The local men are standing firm and promise to put up a good fight. The bosses are advertising through the country for workmen and in their advertisements are entirely misrepresenting the local conditions and holding out false inducements to bring stone cutters here. Men of the trade in other cities should spread this news.

The headquarters of the locked-out men are at Harlem Union Hall, Third avenue above One Hundred and Ninth street.

Many of the stone cutters will strike at the battle against the power of lock-out bosses by voting for Socialism.

AGAINST CHILD LABOR.

Comrade Owen E. Lovejoy of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., who has been pastor of the First Congregational Church of that city for the last six years, has resigned his pulpit in order to accept the position of Assistant Secretary for the National Child Labor Committee. The object of this body is to bring before the public the evils of child labor and work for the enactment of stricter laws for its prevention. At its recent meeting it decided to employ two regular agents, one for the North and one for the South, and Comrade Lovejoy was chosen for the former section.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM BRIEFLY EXPLAINED.

Addressed Only to Workingmen Who Really Think.

The mission of the Socialist Party is not merely to expose and attack corrupt politicians, nor merely to criticize and try to remove incidental social evils. The evils that Socialism deals with are fundamental ones. Not a few superficial reforms, but a radical change, a change in the very basis of our social system, is what the times demand and what the Socialist Party aims at.

When a man is sick, he knows it by certain outward symptoms of pain or discomfort. The quack will offer him some palliative medicines to relieve these symptoms for the time, but will allow the disease to go on, showing itself ever and again in new symptoms and calling for more palliatives. The scientific physician, on the other hand, will not begin by trying to remove those symptoms. He will begin by trying to discover their cause, trying to find out what is fundamentally wrong in the patient's system. When he has discovered this, he will prescribe a treatment to remove the cause of the disease, knowing that the troublesome symptoms will disappear when their cause is removed. His method seems slower and less direct than that of the quack. But it is the only safe and sure method.

Socialists leave it to the mushroom reform parties to use the quack's method. We prefer the slower but surer way. We do not offer to deal out doses of petty reform for each of the symptoms of disorder in the body-politic—such as the poverty of the workers, the luxury and power of the idlers, the unemployment of myriads who are willing to work, the influence of corruption in every relation of life. We know that these things that are complained of are only symptoms, only results. We devote ourselves to making clear the cause that produces them, so that a real cure can be effected. Many people are impatient with the slowness of our method. It is slow because it is thorough. Sooner or later, if these people are sincere, they admit that thoroughness is necessary, that Socialists are right in going straight to the root of things.

The purpose of this article is, not to attack the old parties, not to praise the Socialist Party, but to set forth briefly the principles of Socialism, the reason for our party's existence.

On every side we hear complaints. On every side we see discontent. All feel that, no matter what the laws and constitutions say, real liberty and real order are lacking. And a hundred different schemes are devised in the hope of reforming things a little. But none of the schemes work.

To this mass of vaguely groping discontent comes the Socialist and says:

No man can be really free while another man controls his job. We cannot be a truly free people, nor can we have lasting peace and harmony, so long as a part of the people are dependent on the will of others for permission to work.

No matter what laws and constitutions may say, no matter what pleasant phrases about liberty and equality and unalienable rights we may hear on the Fourth of July, this hard fact remains, that back of all political questions is the economic question, the bread-and-butter question, the question of getting a living; and if some men, under the forms of legal freedom and equality, have actual power to prevent others from getting a living or to dictate the conditions under which they may be allowed to work, they wield a power of oppression as great as that of feudal lords or holders of chattel slaves.

Now such a condition does actually exist to-day in this and all other civilized countries. It is accepted and sanctioned as just and natural and eternal by all except the Socialists. We say it can and must be abolished. Let us look at the facts:

Labor produces all wealth. Every loaf of bread, every yard of cloth, every ton of coal, every useful thing that we count as wealth, costs human labor. Every cent of value in these things means the expenditure of so much labor-power.

But in order to carry on any industry to-day, in order to produce food or clothing or fuel or houses or any of the other things by which we live, something besides bare human labor is necessary.

Labor must have access to the means of production—the materials, tools, machinery, and so forth, appropriate to each industry in its existing stage of development.

In the days of our great-grandfathers these means of production were very simple and inexpensive. The weaver worked with a hand-loom. The iron-worker needed only his little forge and anvil and a few hammers and chisels and other simple tools. These things, the necessary equipment for carrying on a trade, cost but little. Any man with reasonable industry and care could provide himself with them and establish himself as an independent producer. Owning his means of production as well as his labor-power, he owned his products. He had no master above him and no slave below. He was economically a free individual, just because he controlled his own job by owning his means of production.

But the days of hand-industry, of small production, are gone. So-called "labor-saving" machinery has driven it to the wall. The great steel mill, with its giant machinery, has displaced the cross-rails smithy. The great textile factory, with its hundreds of looms driven by one enormous engine or set of engines, has rendered the hand-loom and the independent weaver as extinct as the dodo. All trades, all industries, all the conditions of society, have been revolutionized by machinery.

It is by its cheapness, by increasing the productive power of labor, that machine-industry has displaced hand-industry. A thousand working people in a modern textile factory can in a day produce twice, thrice, perhaps ten times as much cloth as did a thousand weavers working separately with their hand-looms a century ago. No one could make his living, working with the old simple hand tools in competition with machine-industry.

So, whether he would or no, as this machinery came into use, the workman had to give up his hand tools and work with the machine. But in so doing, he ceased to be an independent producer, he became dependent on someone else, he became a wage-worker.

The individual workman could be independent in the old days just because the means of production were so simple that he could use them alone and because they were so cheap that he could own them alone.

The tools, the means of production, were individual in their nature. The modern means of production, the machine, is social or collective in its nature.

The huge textile factory is really one great machine, working altogether. It is the product of the joint labor of thousands of thousands of workmen. It is operated by the joint labor of hundreds of workmen and working women and children. Out of the value of their product it is repaired and reproduced as it wears out. They work together as a unit. No one of them alone produces a yard of cloth. Their different sorts of labor, with the different sorts of machinery, are all dove-tailed together, and the product is their joint product.

But this great social tool, the factory, is privately owned, just as were the simple individual tools of earlier days. Only—and here is the important point—whereas the individual tools of the hand-industry days were privately owned by the workers, this social tool of modern industry is privately owned by non-workers.

You will see now that what the Socialists oppose is not modern machinery in itself, and is not private ownership in itself. Private ownership was a good system in its time—when it meant the ownership of the means of production by the men who used them. Modern machinery is a good thing in itself, because it makes it possible for men to produce more wealth with less labor. What the Socialists oppose is the private ownership of modern machinery. We oppose it because—

The private ownership of the means of production in these days of great machinery and social labor means that the workers must be wage-workers; it divides society into two classes—the class that owns without working and the class that works without own-

ing; it makes the workers dependent on the owners for a chance to work, and so enables the owners to exploit the workers.

The workman of to-day is necessarily a wage-worker, a proletarian. He is legally a free man. He owns his own body, his own labor-power. But he does not own the machinery and other things necessary to use his labor-power. He is strong and skilful; he knows his trade; he is able and willing to do some kind of productive work; the world needs the product that he is able and willing to make. But, between his willing labor-power and the world's needs, stands the capitalist, the man who owns the factory, without which labor-power can do nothing.

The workmen must work, or starve. They cannot wait. The capitalists can wait, because they have a reserve, the stored-up product of other men's past labor, to live on, even though the factory should stand idle a while.

So it is the workmen that must go to the capitalists and ask for permission to work—ask it as a favor, and be thankful if they get it.

And it is the capitalists who dictate terms. They say to the workmen: "Yes, you may work for us. If you work at all, you must work as long and as hard as we desire. Your product shall belong to us, because the material and the machinery belong to us, and we are buying your labor-power. Out of the value of your product we shall pay for your labor-power—pay the market price. The surplus that you create shall stay in our pockets. You are 'free' men. You may work or not, just as you please. But the factories belong to us, we are going to run our own business in our own way, and if you work at all, you must accept our terms."

So this is the "free contract" between employer and employed, between capitalists who can wait and workmen who cannot wait, a tacit contract that provides that the workers' product shall be divided into two parts—one part, wages, the market price of labor-power, to go to the producer because he works; the other part, profit, to go to the non-producer because he has the upper hand, because he owns.

And that market price of labor-power, called wages, how is it determined? It is determined like the prices of other commodities in a competitive market. And the labor market is always a competitive market, for there is always an "Army of the Unemployed," an army of men begging for work, forced by their needs to compete with their fellows and keep wages down.

The wages of labor, generally speaking, are enough and only enough to keep the workmen and their families alive. For a time, in certain trades or certain localities, wages may be kept above this level; for a time, under special conditions, they may fall below it; but the general rule holds good.

But while competition continues among the workmen—while the attempts at restraining it by means of trade unions are overcome by the influence of the army of the unemployed which capitalism creates—competition among capitalists grows ever less and less.

The big capitalist has the advantage over the small one; he can undersell him and capture his trade and drive him out of business—and he does it. Combination and concentration mean economy—for the capitalist. So independent capitalists combine and those who stay out of the combine get crushed. Their wealth goes into the pockets of their bigger competitors; themselves, they are driven down into the ranks of the working class.

So the middle class grows smaller and weaker. The great capitalist class grows smaller and richer and more powerful.

The working class grows larger and poorer and more dependent.

Class divisions grow ever clearer and class antagonisms ever keener.

We Socialists do not, as is often foolishly said, "draw class lines" and "create class antagonism." Capitalism itself divides the classes. The interests of the classes are radically opposed; it is the interest of the workers to increase their wages, their share of their own product; it is the capitalists' interest to increase their share of that product, their profits; those two interests cannot both be satisfied. Victory for one means defeat for the other. Socialists do not and would not and could not create these conditions. But the class struggle exists, and Socialists frankly recognize it and study it and proclaim its lesson.

This is the lesson:

1. Since the cause of the workers' poverty and of class division and class conflict is the private ownership and control for profit of the means of production that the joint labor of the working class creates and operates and which are necessary to the existence of civilized society, it follows that—

The cure for these evils is to be found in the public ownership of those means of production and their control by the whole people for the benefit of the whole people.

2. Since the capitalists profit by the existing system, getting an income for doing nothing but permit other people to work, and piling up wealth out of the excessive labor and poverty of the workers, it follows that—

The working class must depend upon itself and upon itself alone to change the system. No ruling class ever voluntarily gave up its power. While some individuals, from humane motives, will come from the ranks of the ruling class to help the oppressed, they are exceptions. No class, as a class, ever knowingly acts against its own class interest.

3. Since we still have in this country the right of manhood suffrage, making the poorest laborer as powerful at the ballot-box as Morgan or Rockefeller, if he knows as well how to use his vote; and since the working class has the advantage of numbers and of organizing power, it follows that—

The right method to use to make this necessary change is the peaceful method of democratically organized, self-reliant, absolutely uncompromising political action—the method followed, here and in every country where popular suffrage exists, by the Socialist Party.

NEW YORK PARTY NEWS.

New York City.
The ratification meeting of the 14th A. D. will be held on Thursday, Oct. 27, at 8 p. m., at 644 Fifth Avenue, 67 St. Marks place. The speakers are L. Phillips, candidate for Senate; Geo. Weidner, candidate for Assembly; and John C. Chase, candidate for Mayor. Socialists and sympathizers in these districts should work hard for the success of these candidates.

Owing to the Debs meeting, there will be no lecture at Colonial Hall on Sunday, Oct. 23.

The 24th A. D. held eight street meetings during the past week. The indoor meeting at 1023 First avenue, addressed by John C. Chase, Brooklyn, and J. C. Frost, was a success and five members were gained. Over 90 tickets for the Debs meeting have been sold in the district. The district is helping to increase the sale of The Worker by stamping on each copy given away at meetings the address of a newsstand, 1026 First avenue, where The Worker can be purchased weekly. As a result the newsdealer, Joseph Moon, has doubled his order on account of an increased demand. If every district would do likewise the circulation of The Worker would be largely increased. Many copies are now unsold because many Socialists and sympathizers do not know of a newsstand in their neighborhood where they can buy one. The district organizer, J. C. Frost, proposes giving an illustrated lecture on the "Producers and Parasites" on Saturday, Oct. 23, at 1023 First avenue.

The quarterly general meeting of the 24th A. D. was held on Oct. 24 at 1023 First avenue. The attendance was 150. The report of the district organizer, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. The report of the district secretary, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. The report of the district treasurer, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. The report of the district auditor, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. The report of the district clerk, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. The report of the district secretary, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. The report of the district treasurer, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. The report of the district auditor, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. The report of the district clerk, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. The report of the district secretary, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. The report of the district treasurer, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. The report of the district auditor, J. C. Frost, was read and approved. 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PARTY NEWS.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND.

The National Campaign Fund has received \$77,001 during the week ending Oct. 20, of which amount \$600.27 was received as regular contributions and \$119,234 on the half-day fund, making a total to date named of \$77,300. An error in the report of contributions made Oct. 6, credited a personal donation of Channing Street of Denver to the half-day fund.

BEND IN YOUR LIPS AND COIN CAIDS!

During the week of Oct. 22 to 29 large quantities of literature of different kinds will be shipped to state secretaries of states where the material is likely to be most needed. This literature will go free of charge, but it takes money to move it. Local secretaries and other comrades who are therefore, urged to send in their lists and coin caids immediately. The money is needed NOW, not a month from now. Every comrade can do something during the last two weeks of the campaign to help pay for the thousands of pieces of literature being sent out by the national headquarters and the smallest contribution can do its share in bringing the campaign to a successful end.

The National Headquarters at its meeting Oct. 17, decided to have S. M. Reynolds of Terre Haute, Ind., accompany Eugene V. Debs on the remainder of his tour, from Oct. 17 until Nov. 7. This action became necessary because of the demand made upon Comrade Debs' time and energy in attending to the many duties devolving upon him during the tour. Comrade Reynolds will relieve Comrade Debs from the care of numerous details which help to make such a tour an arduous and wearing one.

Reports from speakers traveling under the direction of the national headquarters are all of the most enthusiastic and encouraging character. Meetings are large and the sale of literature greater than ever before. Every speaker predicts a large increase in the Socialist vote.

Local secretaries are urged to fill out election returns postal cards sent them by the National Secretary as soon as received and have them ready to mail immediately after the vote cast in the election is known. This will help greatly in getting complete returns at headquarters soon after election.

CAMPAIGN SPEAKERS.

Dates for national campaign speakers traveling under the direction of national headquarters are as follows:

Eugene V. Debs: Oct. 30, Boston and Fall River, Mass.; Oct. 31, Brockton, Mass.; Nov. 1, Providence, R. I.; Nov. 2, Rochester, N. Y.; Nov. 3, Buffalo, N. Y.; Nov. 4, Milwaukee, Wis.; Nov. 5, Racine, Wis.; Nov. 6, Detroit, Mich.; Nov. 7, Toronto, Ont.; Nov. 8, St. Louis, Mo.; Nov. 9, St. Paul, Minn.; Nov. 10, Minneapolis, Minn.; Nov. 11, Chicago, Ill.; Nov. 12, Indianapolis, Ind.; Nov. 13, Cincinnati, Ohio; Nov. 14, Cleveland, Ohio; Nov. 15, Detroit, Mich.; Nov. 16, St. Paul, Minn.; Nov. 17, St. Louis, Mo.; Nov. 18, Chicago, Ill.; Nov. 19, Indianapolis, Ind.; Nov. 20, Cincinnati, Ohio; Nov. 21, Cleveland, Ohio; Nov. 22, Detroit, Mich.; Nov. 23, St. Paul, Minn.; Nov. 24, St. Louis, Mo.; Nov. 25, Chicago, Ill.; Nov. 26, Indianapolis, Ind.; Nov. 27, Cincinnati, Ohio; Nov. 28, Cleveland, Ohio; Nov. 29, Detroit, Mich.; Nov. 30, St. Paul, Minn.; Nov. 31, St. Louis, Mo.; Dec. 1, Chicago, Ill.; Dec. 2, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dec. 3, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dec. 4, Cleveland, Ohio; Dec. 5, Detroit, Mich.; Dec. 6, St. Paul, Minn.; Dec. 7, St. Louis, Mo.; Dec. 8, Chicago, Ill.; Dec. 9, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dec. 10, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dec. 11, Cleveland, Ohio; Dec. 12, Detroit, Mich.; Dec. 13, St. Paul, Minn.; Dec. 14, St. Louis, Mo.; Dec. 15, Chicago, Ill.; Dec. 16, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dec. 17, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dec. 18, Cleveland, Ohio; Dec. 19, Detroit, Mich.; Dec. 20, St. Paul, Minn.; Dec. 21, St. Louis, Mo.; Dec. 22, Chicago, Ill.; Dec. 23, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dec. 24, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dec. 25, Cleveland, Ohio; Dec. 26, Detroit, Mich.; Dec. 27, St. Paul, Minn.; Dec. 28, St. Louis, Mo.; Dec. 29, Chicago, Ill.; Dec. 30, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dec. 31, Cincinnati, Ohio; Jan. 1, Cleveland, Ohio; Jan. 2, Detroit, Mich.; Jan. 3, St. Paul, Minn.; Jan. 4, St. Louis, Mo.; Jan. 5, Chicago, Ill.; Jan. 6, Indianapolis, Ind.; Jan. 7, Cincinnati, Ohio; Jan. 8, Cleveland, Ohio; Jan. 9, Detroit, Mich.; Jan. 10, St. Paul, Minn.; Jan. 11, St. Louis, Mo.; Jan. 12, Chicago, Ill.; Jan. 13, Indianapolis, Ind.; Jan. 14, Cincinnati, Ohio; Jan. 15, Cleveland, Ohio; Jan. 16, Detroit, Mich.; Jan. 17, St. Paul, Minn.; Jan. 18, St. Louis, Mo.; Jan. 19, Chicago, Ill.; 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VOL. XIV.—NO. 32.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 6, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN.

Thousands of Workingmen Gather Nightly to Listen to Debs and Hanford.

From East and West Comes News of Ever Growing Enthusiasm—Capitalist Press is Compelled to Take Notice and Even, in Many Cases, to Give Fair Reports—Years of Patient Work at Last Bringing Great Results.

The long years of patient work for Socialism by an army of earnest men and women who dared openly to espouse a great cause before it was popular are at last bringing results that cause every comrade to rejoice and that produce much anxiety in the ranks of the capitalist class.

The Socialist campaign of 1904 surpasses any expectations that the most sanguine could have held even when our convention met in Chicago last May and chose Eugene V. Debs and Benjamin Hanford to be our standard-bearers. The eagerness with which the workingmen, East and West, flock to hear them and our other speakers and the profound impression that their words produce are such that the capitalist press can no longer afford to ignore the movement and the men in whose places, the daily papers feel compelled even to give fair and adequate reports.

A Striking Contrast.

Although the smallness of the Socialist campaign funds makes it necessary to charge admission fees at most of these meetings to cover the expenses, yet in many places our audiences are far larger than the old parties can get together by all the attractions of music and fireworks and newspaper advertising.

We give below a brief account of some of the recent meetings which our candidates have addressed.

In Connecticut.

At New Haven, Conn., on Oct. 20, no less than 2,500 persons paid admission to Debs' meeting in Music Hall, and the way they applauded showed that they felt it a privilege to hear him. Alexander Irvine called the meeting to order and introduced Eugene Toomey as chairman. Debs was at his best, and his exposition of Socialist principles made many adherents for the party.

Debs' meeting at Hartford, Conn., last week, was the largest political meeting of any sort held in that city this year.

Big Monday Meeting.

At Springfield, Mass., last Friday, Debs made a short stop and addressed a noonday meeting of full 1,000 persons in Court Square. The Springfield "Republican," which is the finest non-Socialist daily in the United States, gave a full report. It remarked on the impressive fact that great numbers of workmen were willing to miss their dinner in order to hear the Socialist candidate.

Of Comrade Debs' meeting at Reading, Pa., the "Sentinel" says: "It was a grand success. About 3,500 people were crowded into the Auditorium, which only 2,800 seating capacity. The manager of the Auditorium said it was the largest audience that ever assembled in it, and it was the largest meeting held here by any political party in this campaign."

Halls Full by Eight.

Comrade Cohen writes from Philadelphia: "Odd Fellows' Hall, where Debs spoke first, began filling early, so that the hall was closed at 8 o'clock. The hall and stage were not only filled—they were jammed, packed. Long before Debs arrived at the Labor Lyceum the hall was jammed and packed and the doors closed and the sale of tickets stopped. Careful estimation places the audience at 4,000. The capacity of both places was taxed to the utmost and the audience were turned away. Debs looked well and was at his best. The applause was incessant and Debs had to talk in a staccato style, to prevent the outbursts of enthusiasm. It was, in every way, the greatest success Philadelphia ever had, surpassing in many respects Debs' splendid meeting here at the Academy four years ago."

"Struggled for Admission."

The Boston "Herald" says, in regard to the Debs meeting held Sunday afternoon in Faneuil Hall: "Never in recent years has such a gathering been seen in Faneuil Hall as that which assembled there yesterday afternoon to hear Eugene V. Debs, the famous labor leader and candidate of the Socialist Party for President of the United States. It is estimated that nearly 4,000 people were packed within the walls of the building, which can comfortably accommodate less than half that number, while outside were as many more clamoring and pushing and struggling for admission."

Providence Waked Up.

From Providence, R. I., Comrade Burt reported Tuesday night that Debs spoke two hours to an audience of 3,000 persons, and many could not get into the hall. The city has never seen so good a Socialist meeting. Rhode Island promises to give a splendid increased vote this year.

"Post" is Fuzzled.

Something of the impression which our campaign is making upon our opponents can be gathered from the following editorial which appeared in the Chicago "Post" the day after our standard-bearer spoke in that city: "Last night at the Auditorium, Eugene V. Debs spoke to 4,000 Socialists, every one of whom seemed to have lungs of leather. There was enthusiasm, cheering, and applause. The audience was packed to the doors, and the hall was filled to the top. Debs spoke for two hours, and the audience was so large that many could not get in. The 'Post' is fuzzled."

back of the yells which greeted the speaker. There was nothing out of the ordinary about the gathering. Every man in the great audience paid for his seat. He was willing to give up his money that he might hear expounded what he considers to be principles. "The Socialists in the United States form a body that is to be reckoned with—and it should be reckoned with now, not to-morrow or next week or next year, but now. The greater political parties ignore Socialism. Heretofore the Socialist vote has had little influence. There is a future, and unless we give place to action there must needs be a struggle for the preservation of the principles upon which our government is founded. The arguments born of dogmas must be met by the arguments born of reason."

"The Socialists are a tireless force. They are at their guns day and night. An active enemy is not to be despised. The Socialists are campaigning twelve months of the year. Their operations are not confined to the election periods. Nearly every country newspaper tells of the presence in the village communities of traveling Socialist orators. The people listen to them. One person may be convinced. He becomes a propagandist. No Socialist ever is known to stop talking while he can get some one to listen. His orders are to talk, and he does talk. The men who believe Socialism to be subversive of all that is good in government should learn a lesson from the methods of the enemy."

"At the Debs meeting last night the band did not play 'The Star Spangled Banner.' It played the 'Marseillaise,' and when the strains of the revolutionary hymn rose the Socialists yelled themselves into a frenzy."

"It is possible that even the sluggish-minded friends of constitutional government may find something in this incident to quicken thought."

The tone of this comment is immensely amusing to a Socialist. It is evident that the capitalists don't know just what they are up against, but they do know that it is something serious, something too big for them; they try to sneer, and the sneer changes to an expression of alarm.

Hanford in the West.

Benjamin Hanford, our candidate for Vice-President, is also addressing very large and enthusiastic meetings all along the line of his western tour. At Superior, Wis., on Oct. 19, in spite of bad weather, the hall was filled and the spirit shown by the audience indicated a big increase in the Socialist vote at that place.

From Minneapolis, where Hanford spoke on Oct. 20, Comrade Leonard writes: "Our Hanford meetings were attended by some 2,000 people in a hall. The meetings were given up in a hurry, owing to the fact that at the last moment the Exposition building, on which we had figured, was refused us, and we had to hire two halls and make the best of the situation. It is to be regretted that we had so short a time to advertise and also that for three days immediately prior to the meeting we had no national candidate in the field. The 'Tribune' said: 'As the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, Ben Hanford of New York, stepped forward to speak he was the plain, every-day workman, with not the least attempt at style or display, but dressed as he might be when going to work, in a colored negligee shirt and belt, with the plainest of neckties dangling loosely. The decorations were almost all, two small flags on the wall at each side of the platform, forming comprising their sum and substance. In short, there was absolutely no display, but a plain meeting of plain people, with some plain speaking.'"

An Unusual Spectacle.

The newspapers seem to have been impressed with the unusual spectacle of a national candidate not attired in broadcloth. The "Tribune" said: "As the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, Ben Hanford of New York, stepped forward to speak he was the plain, every-day workman, with not the least attempt at style or display, but dressed as he might be when going to work, in a colored negligee shirt and belt, with the plainest of neckties dangling loosely. The decorations were almost all, two small flags on the wall at each side of the platform, forming comprising their sum and substance. In short, there was absolutely no display, but a plain meeting of plain people, with some plain speaking."

Success in Montana.

From Helena, Mont., Comrade Will writes: "Ben Hanford spoke here on Oct. 22 to a huge house and the meeting was a complete success. He is one of the best men we have on the platform, or at least one of the best that ever came West."

Comrade Hughes says: "Hanford spoke to about 1,000 people, which is a big crowd to turn out to hear a Socialist in this aristocratic town. He made a fine speech and the audience was closely attentive throughout. Applause was loud and frequent and the speaker's reference to Debs drew forth continued cheering. A good amount of literature was sold and the meeting was a success in every way. This city is well known as the home of the capitalist politicians and other parasites, and with perhaps a smaller proportion of working people than any other city in the West. In view of these facts our meeting was wonderfully prophetic of the future."

The Butte "Miner" says of the meeting of Oct. 23: "Ben Hanford of New York, Vice-Presidential candidate on the Socialist ticket, spoke at the Auditorium last night to a well filled house. The speaker concluded his address by referring to Eugene V. Debs, Socialist candidate for President, at the mention of whose name the audience cheered. The meeting was attended largely by workmen."

A SLANDER CHALLENGED.

In San Francisco.

Comrade Jordan of San Francisco telegraphed under date Nov. 2: "The Hanford meeting in the Alhambra Theater last night was a record-breaker. The place was filled to the doors, and so many were left outside that the overflow meetings kept four speakers busy. No admission was charged, but the audience showed their appreciation when the position of the Socialist Party was laid before them, by making a collection of \$172 for campaign purposes. The success of this meeting is the more striking in contrast with the complete 'frost' of the Democratic meeting the night before."

VOTE FOR DEBS, SAYS C. F. U.

Only Presidential Candidate Unionists Should Support.

Philadelphia Central Labor Union Urges Defeat of Republican Party, Because It Helps Scab Bosses—New York Central Federated Union Gives a Fitting Answer.

It was a clear and unmistakable answer that the Central Federated Union of New York City voted last Sunday to send to the request of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia that union men boycott the ticket of the Republican party on Nov. 8. "Vote for union men, for Debs and Hanford," say the organized workmen of New York.

The Philadelphia C. L. U. has sent out circulars to sister organizations, declaring that the Republican authorities at Harrisburg had given a slap in the face to organized Labor by having the state capital built by non-union men under scab conditions for the greater profit of the contractors, and that the Republican national machine supported them in this course. Men at Pensacola, who stand very close to Roosevelt, and National Chairman Cortelyou were particularly mentioned as having joined hands with the scab bosses to antagonize the labor movement. The Philadelphia unionists therefore strongly urged that union men everywhere repudiate the Republican party.

When this circular was read, Delegate Morris Brown of the Cigar Makers, took the floor and pointed out that this was only one out of many instances of the servility of the Republican party to organized Capital, and that the Democratic party was equally guilty; he called to mind that President Cleveland had sent federal troops to break the A. R. U. strike in Chicago; that Governor Flower, also a Democrat, had sent the New York militia to break the switchmen's strike at Buffalo; that Democratic Governor Pattison of Pennsylvania had done the same thing in the case of the Homestead strike; that Democratic Governor Steiwerberg had declared martial law to break the miners' strike in Idaho, and had sanctioned just the same sort of atrocities against Labor that Republican Governor Peabody has this year committed in Colorado. He insisted that it would do no good merely to defeat the Republican party by supporting another which was just as bad. The thing to do was to strike at both these capitalist parties at once by voting for Debs and Hanford, the Socialist candidates. He offered a resolution to this effect to be sent to the Philadelphia C. L. U. in reply.

Delegate Kelly of the Theatrical Workers then took the floor. He thought Brown's resolution too long. It should be short and sharp. He said he had always voted the Democratic ticket in the past, but he was not going to do it this time. He would have the honor of voting for a union workman for President of the United States. He agreed with Brown's resolution, but thought it was too long, and so he offered a substitute in fewer words, calling on the Philadelphia unionists to join with those of New York in defeating the scab politicians by voting for the union men, Debs, and Hanford.

Delegate Morton of the Wood Workers moved to lay the resolution on the table, but was defeated by a vote of 71 to 34, and the resolution was then passed by a similar vote. The announcement of the result was greeted with a storm of applause.

TILLMAN GOT A SHOCK.

Senator Fitzhugh Tillman of South Carolina got a shock the other day, while addressing a big meeting of workmen in the Stockyards district of Chicago. After reciting the crimes of the Republican party against Labor, he dramatically asked: "If the workers don't vote for Parker and Davis, whom in the name of God can they vote for?" The answer came from hundreds of throats at once: "Debs and Hanford, and Socialism"—and then Tillman changed the subject.

ROOSEVELT AND THE "OPEN-SHOP" POLICY.

Parker supports Roosevelt, because he stands for the "open-shop." What does that mean? The so-called "open-shop" means the shop closed, at the arbitrary will of the boss, against every workman who dares to speak and act for the organization of Labor to improve its conditions. The "Open shop" means the Lockout and the Blacklist untrammelled. Are you going to vote for its champion?

TELLING POINTS FROM DEBS' AND HANFORD'S SPEECHES.

Our Presidential Candidate Puts the One Issue of the Campaign Before the Workingmen in Epigrammatic Style.

When success is gained only does the world applaud.

The millionaire has too much; the tramp too little. One is enslaved by what he has, the other by what he has not. Both are the products of the present social system and will disappear with it. Every state of society fulfills its mission and passes away.

You have nothing to show for your work. You construct Pullmans and walk. You pay the salaries of all judges and they paralyze you by injunctions.

You pay the state and government troops and they turn their guns against you.

You make silks and satins for rich men's wives and your own have linsy-woolsey.

You produce wealth 364 days in the year and on the 365th vote it to your masters.

You hear of the labor market. You don't hear of the capitalist market, for the simple reason that they are not for sale.

We could get along without King George. We can get along without King John—Rockefeller.

If your child dies in a brothel, you'll be responsible for it if you vote for the capitalists.

Both heads and hands should be used, that the moral balance may be preserved. That is the ideal state of society.

As far as the two great parties are concerned, there is no difference between them. Wall Street reached out, took possession of them and has them both.

The Socialist Party is the most truly democratic that the world has ever known.

In the next few years there will be a trust of a trusts. Then you'll be ready for a change in industrial and social conditions.

The only thing that divides the two old parties is an imaginary line and a real appetite—for the perquisites of office.

The Democratic machine has been lubricated with Standard Oil, and has been running beautifully since. The Democratic party has no principles. It consists of everything that is loose, and stands for everything that might catch a vote. They have Bryan, the "ex-peaceless," whom they allow to speak in spots. They let him talk to the free-silver shadow. They have Grover Cleveland, who assures the plutocrats of Wall Street that the party is all right. He vouches for Parker. But who on earth will vouch for Cleveland?

The tramp is the product of the capitalist system. You can reduce a strong, self-respecting man to a tramp if he is kept out of employment long enough. No one recognizes the tramp but the policeman, and he tells him to move on and keep moving. A man is judged by his clothes. You may have a spotless character, but if your clothes are ragged society looks upon you as one of its victims. When a man is denied employment on every hand his heart sinks within him, he feels embittered against the barbarous thing called society, he violates a capitalist law and is arrested and jailed. He keenly feels the disgrace, and starts out again with a fixed determination to obey the law, but in spite of his determination he sinks into jail again and is two or three degrees lower than before. If he couldn't get work before he was a criminal, now his case is hopeless. He goes back to jail again and again. There are 100,000 perverts in this country, 600,000 thieves and gamblers, 500,000 fallen women, and 125,000 registered convicts, the products of the capitalist system.

Do you know of any millionaire that will support me? They are not fools. They know I'm not their candidate. Every capitalist is bound to vote for the party which represents his class. They will control every department under the administration of either Democrats or Republicans. No workman should vote for a capitalist-class candidate. Ben Hanford and I are willing that Roosevelt and Parker should have the votes of all the capitalists in the country. We will be satisfied with those of all of the workingmen. And the capitalist class candidate cannot be elected without the vote of the workingmen.

We can't serve both classes. He who serves one, serves it at the expense of the other.

The Socialist Party is the coming party, and the young man who wants his first vote to count against the private ownership of the earth and the tyranny of class rule and for industrial democracy and the freedom of the race will cast that vote for the Socialist Party with all his heart.

"THREE MEN LOOKING FOR EVERY JOB."

A circular recently issued from the headquarters of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway and sent to all superintendents and other officials who have power to hire and discharge men contains the following words:

"There are three men looking for every job, and there certainly can be some discrimination as to who we take into the service."

The embryo, as well as the fully developed, agitator, fast-finder, trouble-maker and the "kick" editor, to do the dirty work themselves. That they do it, instead of leaving it to the cheap beavers, only goes to show how much they fear the Socialist Party.

Workersmen know what is meant by those words, "agitator, fast-finder, trouble-maker, and disturber." The engineer who objects to being kept on duty twenty hours at a stretch, the conductor who objects to taking out a train with an insufficient crew, the employee of any sort who objects to a reduction of wages or helps to organize a union to resist it—these are the "trouble-makers." And with "three men looking for every job," the capitalists have the whip-hand—and Socialism tremes.

We are rapidly approaching a time when Morgan, Rockefeller, and a few others are going to be the owners of all the land, mills, mines, railroads, stores, quarries, steamships, factories, and everything else in the United States upon which the very life of the people depends. Are we still going to jolly ourselves along with talk about the land of the free and the home of the brave when Rockefeller owns it and everything in it, including its flag and its government? I am not. I was born in this country, and I believe that I am patriotic as a man should be—but I want this to be OUR United States of America, and not Rockefeller's United States of America.

Some people think Rockefeller is a hypocrite, and that his religion is a sham, but it is not. He believes in God as sincerely and as devoutly as any man alive. But Rockefeller spells God with an I-g-o-d—God. That is Rockefeller's God.

A vote for Parker or a vote for Roosevelt is a vote to continue the present industrial system. As long as we have the present industrial system, workingmen are going to have strikes for

breakfast, lockouts for dinner, and injunctions for supper, and if you live in Colorado you are likely to be put in the bullpen after supper, and you will be lucky if you are not deported before midnight.

This is the age of Trusts. Those who doubt their irresistible power should note Mr. William Jennings Bryan's Trust in Parker and Davis, and the Trust that Tom Watson places in the dead and buried Populist Party.

To-day we have a government of the workers by the grafters for the shirkers; a government of the makers by the boddlers for the takers; a government of men by lawyers for parasites. We Socialists want a government of the working class by the working class for the working class.

What the workingmen of Colorado got yesterday, the workingmen of any and every other state may get to-morrow. If workingmen keep on voting the grand old Republican and Democratic tickets, the whole United States is going to become an industrial hell of Colorado, Siberia and South Africa.

The eminent gentlemen and thieves, who say that Socialism is "un-American" see nothing un-American in a man going hungry.

The capitalist papers say the country is prosperous and that there is plenty of work for everybody—and the moment a strike takes place, they declare that there is an army of men who need work so badly that they are anxious and willing to be scabs to get it.

Think of a good union workman going up to the polls and voting for Roosevelt along with Governor Peabody and General Sherman Bell of Colorado. Think of his brother union workman going up to the polls and voting for Parker along with Grover Cleveland and St. George F. Baer of the Coal Trust.

Roosevelt wants the people to lead the strenuous life. I'd like to see him firing a freight engine for about ten hours on one of Morgan's railroads. At the end of the run he'd know more about the strenuous life than he'll ever learn hunting bear.

Parker and Roosevelt are both open-shop candidates. They are such good friends of organized labor that both have the backing of Parker and the Citizens' Alliance. You Union men want to let Parker and the members of the Citizens' Alliance vote for them—but don't you workingmen help them.

The only strike which ever was really lost was the one which was never made.

You men who work together, you men who join trade unions together, you men who go out on strike together, you men who get locked out together, you men who go hungry together—we Socialists come to you and ask you to do one more thing together—get into the Socialist Party and go up to the polls and VOTE TOGETHER and this world is yours.

We workingmen never can lick Rockefeller by fighting capital with capital. He and his kind have all the capital, we have none of the capital. As long as we workingmen fight the boss by counting our dollars against his dollars, he has us licked before we start. But the very day that we go to the polls and vote against the boss, and count our votes against his votes, we've got him licked to a finish. Rockefeller has one vote, Morgan has one vote, the poorest man in this city has one vote, and he is as big as Rockefeller at the ballot box. The Rockefellerers and Morgans are few, we workingmen are many, and the moment we go to the polls and vote against Rockefeller, we'll make him think his name is Jack Munroe after Jim Jeffries got through with him.

We Socialists want you workingmen to get all the powers of government, and then to use those powers to make the means of production the collective property of the producers. When we workingmen own the shop in which we work we won't have to go on strike in our own shop, will we? And if we did go on strike in our own shop, and if we also owned the government, we wouldn't be such fools as to call ourselves out in the militia and shoot ourselves down for being on strike in our own shop, would we?

The Nation cannot endure one-tenth capitalist masters and nine-tenths wage slaves.

The working class, may it ever be right—right or wrong, the working class.

He that will not work neither shall he eat. That is good gospel, and it is sound political economy, for if a man eats who has worked not, then a man who has worked eats not.

If you want to be clubbed by the police, bull-penned by the militia, massacred by the federal army or deported by the Citizens' Alliance, then vote for Roosevelt or Parker and you will get what you vote for. If you want industrial peace, if you want this world to be a paradise for working people, if you want neither to rob others or be robbed by others, if you want this to be a world of free men and free women among free men and free women, then vote for and vote for the Socialist ticket, and you will get what you vote for.

We Socialists have nominated a candidate for President of the United States. But our candidate for President is not a distinguished jurist nor does he trace his ancestry back through a long line of dead and buried New York Knickerbockers. The Socialist candidate for President of the United States is a common—or rather he is an uncommon—jailed. But I want to tell you that our candidate for President did not go to jail for picking pockets, or for doing any dishonest or dishonorable thing. Our candidate for President, Eugene V. Debs, went to jail for contempt of a court which was contemptible—and he is a better man than the judge that sent him to Woodstock. I venture to say that there are not two men in this audience who can tell me the name of the judge who sentenced John Brown to be hanged, but there is no man in this country so lost in the darkness of ignorance that he does not know John Brown—his soul goes marching on, down to this hour, and it will go on marching for ages yet to come. And so it will be with Debs. His name will be heard in song and story, in the shop and at the fireside of honest men, a holy memory to the old and an inspiration to the young, long after the names of Judges Woods and Grosscup have only foiled obloquy to find oblivion.

BE ON GUARD AGAINST CAMPAIGN LIES.

If, just before election, the old-party dailies announce that Debs has withdrawn in favor of one of the old-party candidates, SET IT DOWN AS A LIE.

You may get these in your collection of eternal verities, for reference when needed:

1. Socialists are not quitters. We are in the fight to stay till we win. Our candidates DON'T ACCEPT ENDORSEMENTS and they NEVER WITHDRAW.

2. We are AGAINST BOTH THE OLD PARTIES ALIKE, for both stand for Capitalism. If we could decide between Roosevelt and Parker by the turn of a single vote, we wouldn't do it.

The Worker.

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THE SOCIALIST VOTE.
The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic
Party of New York) has passed through its
most general election. Its growing power
is indicated and its speedily victory fore-
shadowed by the great increase of its vote
as shown in the figures:
1900 (Provisional) 97,730
1904 (State and Congressional) 239,763



PRESIDENTIAL TICKET.
FOR PRESIDENT—
EUGENE V. DEBS,
OF INDIANA.
FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—
BENJAMIN HANFORD,
OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK STATE TICKET.
FOR GOVERNOR—
THOS. PENDERGAST,
OF WATERLOO.
FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR—
CHARLES R. BACH,
OF ROCHESTER.

For Secretary of State—
E. J. SQUIRES of Jamestown.
For State Treasurer—
EMIL NEPPLE of New York.
For Attorney-General—
LEON A. MALKIEL of New York.
For State Comptroller—
W. W. PASSAGE of Brooklyn.
For State Engineer and Surveyor—
R. B. EARLY of Buffalo.
For Chief Judge of the Court of Ap-
peals—
CHAR. H. MATTHEW of Brooklyn.
For Associate Judge of the Court of
Appeals—
WILLIAM NUGENT of Troy.

ANNOUNCEMENT.
Next week's issue of The Worker,
dated Nov. 13, will go to press one day
later than usual and there will be no
separate city edition. City readers
should get their paper on the usual
day, but outside subscribers may expect
a delay of twenty-four hours. The
object of this postponement is to make
it possible for us to get fuller election
returns.

The issue of Nov. 13 and Nov. 20
will be valuable for propaganda, as
showing the results at the polls won
by our hard-fought campaign, and they
should be widely distributed. The
capitalist press will not tell the truth
about our vote, and it is important that
the people should be informed.

VOTE EARLY.
Perhaps it is not necessary to advise
Socialists to go to the polls as early on
Election Day as possible. Most of them
do it without being so advised, because
of their intense interest. In New
York this year, however, it is a little
more important than usual. There will
probably be a great deal of challeng-
ing. While this will not be directed
against Social Democrats particularly,
it will affect us as well as others by
delaying the vote, so that those who
come late in the day may have no
chance to cast their ballots. Vote not
"early and often," but early and
straight.

LIES AND STUPID LIES.
We never could see any appropriate-
ness in the use of the elephant to re-
present the Republican party. The fig-
ure of a Hyena would be more fitting.
But there can be no doubt that the car-
toonist who first pictured the Demo-
cratic party under the form of an Ape
was inspired. The Ape is notoriously
as stupid as he is ugly. And nothing
could surpass the present stupidity of
the Democratic party—except the Demo-
cratic party itself when it has grown
a little older and more practised in
perjury.

Judge Parker—eminent jurist, pled-
ged to the doing of justice, trained to
weigh evidence and to measure his
words—said last Friday that perhaps
the activity of trust magnates would
prevent the election of the Socialist
Party to prosecute an expensive cam-

paign largely in aid of the Republican
party. The Judge was cautious. He
put in "perhaps" and "largely," at qual-
ifying words. He hadn't quite the
nerve to say outright what he wished
to induce his hearers to believe. Par-
ker is one of those who "murder truth
with an A." The Brooklyn "Eagle"—glit-
ter of respectability, so full of "cul-
ture" that it slops over once in a while,
edited by a gentleman of impeccable
manners, antique education, and its du-
dicle morality—came out Monday with
a circumstantial statement that the
Republican leaders, backed by the trust
magnates, were managing the Socialist
Party and had put \$300,000 into its na-
tional campaign fund. The "Eagle" at
least deserves credit for not hiding be-
hind a "perhaps."

Now what we complain of is not that
these people attack the Socialist Party.
We should be sorry if they did not.

What we complain of is not even that
they lie about us. We understand very
well that as truth is not on their side,
they have to lie or be quiet.

We do complain that they lie so
crasmy, so clumsily, so stupidly.

We like a fight. We should prefer a
fair fight, but we don't expect that.
But we do like to see the other fellow
show some skill, even when he fights
fool.

A large proportion of the Democrats,
of those who are still "loyal," even of
those who read the "Eagle," know
something about the Socialist Party. If
they know nothing more, they know
that the Socialist Party is absolutely
independent, equally against both old
parties, and that its campaign funds—
and very small ones, compared with
those of the old parties—are contrib-
uted by the rank and file, and that full
reports are given to the public both of
all moneys received and of all moneys
expended. That fact about the Social-
ist Party commands attention first, be-
cause in that particular our party is so
strikingly different from the Republi-
can, Democratic, Populist, or Prohibi-
tionist organizations. These facts are
so widely known that the slander
which Judge Parker and the "Eagle"
have stooped to tell have no effect ex-
cept to help destroy such confidence
and respect as they still may com-
mand.

We acknowledge the service which
Parker and his Brooklyn friend have
unwittingly done us. We do not thank
them for it—they didn't know any bet-
ter. They meant ill enough, no doubt.
But we reciprocate the service, aver-
theless, with a piece of good advice:
Gentlemen of the Democratic party,
hereafter, when you find it necessary
to indulge in mendacity against the
Socialist Party, tell lies that are not
still-born, lies that we will have to
answer because your own followers may
believe them. Say we wish to destroy
the family. Say we intend to burn the
churches. Say our object is to "divide
up" the workman's hard-earned
wealth. Say we are foreigners. Say
we are actual or prospective thieves,
incendiaries, and murderers. But when
you take the knife of falsehood in your
hands, don't handle it so carelessly as
to cut your own fingers.

But it's no use. A jackass is a jack-
ass and his behavior is bound to be
asinine. The only thing is to let him
kick—strut him up once in a while, when
he gets lazy—and let him kick himself
out of existence in his own stupid fash-
ion.

THE STRIKE-BREAKER.

Whenever a strike occurs the cap-
italist press is loud in defence of the
liberty of the individual workman to
go to work at whatever wage he can
get and under whatever conditions he
is willing to accept, regardless of the
interests of his fellows; and the cash
is tearfully sympathized with as a man
eager to make an honest living but
oppressed and deprived by trade union
tyranny of his precious personal liberty
to work under the worst conditions
which hunger will drive him to accept.

But despite the fact that there is
always and everywhere an army of
unemployed workers in dire need of
jobs, it is seldom the men actually liv-
ing in the neighborhood of a strike
who break it by scabbing, and still
more rarely is the strike broken by
defections from the ranks of the strikers
themselves. The sense of working
class solidarity in this respect has
grown so strong that very few real
workmen will take the places of
strikers, and even the meanest man
will rarely do so in his own town
where he will incur the contempt and
ostracism of his neighbors.

The big strikes, except in the many
cases when the union itself gives in
because of the hunger and want of its
members, are mostly defeated by the
importation of desperate ruffians and
professional strike-breakers from other
localities who are paid big wages to
take the jobs of the regular workmen
until hunger makes the unionists
submit to the terms of the employer
and declare the strike off.

These professional strike-breakers
are supplied by a number of "employ-
ment bureaus" and detective agencies,
such as supply spies and private guards
for the same purpose, but the chief
"captain of industry" in the strike-
breaking line is James Farley. Until
recently Farley's nefarious work was
little known to the general public al-
though he has long been notorious to
trade unionists and well known to the

capitalists, who have such frequent
occasion to employ his dirty services.

The threatened strike on the elevated
railroad in New York last month,
which was averted by the presence of
Farley's army, brought him into great
prominence. The following passages
from a long account of his work in the
New York "Herald," one of several
interviews in various metropolitan
dailies, should go on record in the labor
press:

"To-day, like a premier jockey, Far-
ley receives large retainers from men
and corporations for first, second or
third call on his professional services.
He has become a widely recognized fac-
tor in the transaction of business.
From New York to San Francisco his
services have been enlisted by street
railway companies.

"Farley stands to-day in the same
relation to 'cost of maintenance' on the
books of these companies as fire insur-
ance. He is as much a part of the
expense of running the business of
these common carriers as the solicitors
and the clerical force.

"From not a few companies James
Farley now receives a regular stipend,
with certain liberal terms for ap-
pointing with his men when trouble seems
imminent, and certain additional com-
pensation the instant he and his men
are set to work, besides allowances for
maintenance, food, barracks room, etc.

"Farley arranged to have a motor-
man or two and several guards riding
as passengers on every elevated train
in this city. The moment the old em-
ployees quit Farley's men would have
jumped to the controllers and manned
the car gates. Traffic might have been
upset for a short time, but practically
the whole strike would have fallen.

"Not only this, but Farley had his
men drilled in calling out the names
of the stations, had had others drilled
in the signals and was pre-
pared to take hold of every department
of the road from station platforms to
the power house and the car shops. He
had been assured of the active co-
operation of the Police Department and
he had arranged his own commissary
department. Even a first aid to the in-
jured and a regular hospital service
had been arranged, not to mention
barbers and confectioners.

"The city system in vogue on most
of the larger trolley lines keeps the
superintendents and directors of the
roads cognizant of impending troubles,
and they take Farley into their con-
fidence usually long before any out-
break is really imminent. He prides
himself not only on the extent of his
resources as a strike-breaker but upon
the rapidity and certainty with which
he operates.

"To indicate the extent to which
this man and his methods reach it is
necessary only to recall that he has
broken strikes in Brooklyn, Provi-
dence, Waterville, Richmond, Cleve-
land, and San Francisco. He has never
lost a struggle of this sort."

An interview in the New York
"Times" contains the following:
"During the nine years I have been
in the strike-breaking business," said
Farley, in discussing this feature, "I
have had at various times on my pay-
roll some 30,000 or 40,000 men, all of
whom I could call upon now in the
case of a pressing emergency, though
they are scattered all over the coun-
try. Among these there are 600 or
700 men whom I call my own men.
Nobody can get a place among them
unless he has been vouched for by an-
other member. Whenever there is
trouble I will send for those men
wherever they may happen to be, and
pay their fare to the strike centre. I
can reach them at a minute's notice
at any time."

"Farley had his first taste of strike
breaking during the trolley strike in
Brooklyn in 1903. Since then Farley
has been in every big street-railway
strike in the country. In the last two
years he has figured in twenty-nine
strikes, and at one time a year ago
had 4,600 men on his payroll."

It is hardly necessary to remark that
men for such desperate and despicable
work must be recruited mostly from
the ranks of thugs, criminals, and un-
principled desperadoes.

It is the presence of such reckless
characters which causes much of the
violence which sometimes attends
strikes, and which is so greatly exag-
gerated in the capitalist press. It is
part of Farley's business, just as it
is part of the business of the militia,
to stir up disorder and foment violence
in order to prejudice outsiders against
the strikers and have a pretext for
shooting or jailing them in order to
break the strike.

Not only is the wage-worker's "freedom
of contract" a miserable farce, not
only is the tactic "contract"—as it
is called by "legal fiction"—which he
makes with his employer by taking a
job a "contract" made under the duress
of hunger and torturing want, but it
is so difficult for the capitalists to
get a sufficient number of workmen
to exercise this "freedom" to the de-
triment of their fellows on strike that
they find it necessary to have a private
standing army of professional strike-
breakers.

NOTE, COMMENT AND ANSWER.

The Signa "Exponent" editorially
discusses the probabilities of the So-
cialist vote this year, and concludes
that a total of 500,000 is a very con-
servative figure. Wisconsin, New
York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana,
and Ohio are the states to which it
looks with most interest. A scabbing
of the vote every two years is regard-
ed as a normal rate of increase for
our party and "a little calculation will
demonstrate that with the same ratio
of increase in the next few years, it
will not be long till we see the fulfil-
ment of the late Senator Hanna's
prophecy—that the political battle of
the future will not be between the
Republicans and Democratic parties,
but between the Republican and So-
cialist parties." The "Exponent" notes
that steady growth since the "Ex-
ponent" was founded, and adds: "In
this respect it differs from the Repub-
lican and other reform movements,

which reached the zenith of their in-
fluence during 'hard times,' and as
quickly subsided when the middle
class, of which they were largely com-
posed, felt the first flush of returning
capitalist prosperity. While it is to be
expected that the Socialist Party will
receive large accessions during the im-
pending industrial depression, the sta-
bility of the movement and its contin-
uance along revolutionary lines is
guaranteed by the character of its pro-
paganda and its peculiar form of or-
ganization.

Heartily agreeing in this judgment,
it will not be amiss for us to urge in-
creased efforts to strengthen the party
organization and complete the educa-
tion of our new recruits, to counter-
act the attempts which will undoubt-
edly be made by the old-party politi-
cians during the next year or two to
lure them back to their former alle-
giances.

Once in a while the capitalist papers
can tell the truth about Socialists and
Socialism in foreign countries, system-
atically as they misrepresent our move-
ment in the United States. It is thus
that the New York "Tribune" charac-
terizes Jules Guesde of the Socialist
Party of France:

He is a bar of iron. No temptation,
pecuniary, social, or intellectual, to co-
operate with a bourgeois enterprise of any
description, whether in the press, in parlia-
ment, or elsewhere, has ever made him
yield one iota of his independence or abate
in the smallest degree his carefully cal-
culated refusal. As the champion of an
idea he is certainly remarkable, and it is
in a far-sighted and dogged determination
ever most of its development and all of its
international discipline.

The characterization is absolutely
correct. Only if the "Tribune" had
really wished to tell "the truth, the
whole truth, and nothing but the truth,"
it would have said that men of the
same type, not all of equal ability,
not all with such a long record of
service, but peers and fit comrades of
Guesde in character, are to be found
in the Socialist movement all over the
world, but here the present figure
hundreds and thousands. The Social-
ist movement needs such men, and it
develops them.

The following bit of news is more
significant than the careless reader
may suppose:

CHICAGO, Oct. 24.—The National Busi-
ness Men's League, with headquarters in
this city, has been corresponding with
prominent men in all parts of the country
with reference to the length of the presidential
term, it being held that it is poor busi-
ness policy to upset the business of the
country with a national election every four
years. Hundreds of answers have been
received, and, without exception, the writers
favor a six or eight-year term, a majority
of them suggesting that the incumbent
be ineligible to reelection. One, but by
no means a lone, candidate, favors a single
term of six years and an amendment to
the constitution limiting the president to
a single term. Answers from six bankers
in California and two boards of trade favor
a single term of eight years. Manufactur-
ers, bankers, and boards of trade in Illinois
favor the six-year term, with no reelection.
Business men of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana,
Pennsylvania, Kansas, "all of the southern
states, favor a single term of six years.
From the Honolulu Board of Trade comes
a strong plea for a single term of six years.
In no case, among the hundreds of answers,
is there a plea for the present system. The
letters are non-partisan, business men of
all shades of political faith being solicited
for opinions.

St. Louis "Labor" rightly says that
"every attempt to lengthen the term
of office is a step toward monarchism."
—toward the essence of monarchism,
even though its title be avoided. This is
but one among many signs of the
tendency toward political reaction that
is gaining strength among the capiti-
lists, big and little, and their hangers-on,
in proportion as the Socialist move-
ment of the working class gathers
strength.

The daily papers inform us that the
Chicago police are carefully watching
John Most, the Anarchist, who has
gone to that city to lecture on the gen-
eral strike. Chief Schustetter is quoted
as saying:

"The last time Most was here was a year
and a half ago, and I then told him that a
ward against the flag, the government or
the police would cause me to shut him off.
Those orders held good. The old man told
his auditors that day that he could not
say all he wanted to. I do not think there
is any danger from these open meetings. It
is the secret meeting that we are afraid of."

Those words well exhibit the stupid-
ity of the police—and not of Chicago
alone—in dealing with movements of
discontent. They admit and even de-
clare that secret meetings are the refuge
of persecuted revolutionists, are more
dangerous to peace and order than the
public expression of dissatisfaction.
And yet they forbid that public ex-
pression—threaten arrest for a word
of criticism of the established order—and
so compel the agitators to become con-
spirators. In the police this course is
intelligible; it is good for their trade.
It is like the practice of the quack
who applies lotions to suppress an erup-
tion on the skin and drives the poison
back into the blood so that the pa-
tient may continue sick and continue
to pay for his drugs. Spies live on
conspirators; if conspiracies do not ex-
ist, they must be manufactured, lest
the spies be out of a job; and one way
to stimulate dangerous conspiracies is
to suppress wholesome agitation. But
for the "upper classes" who stand
back of the police, the plan is a foolish
one; it is the policy that Harriet
Beecher Stowe first characterized as
"sitting on the safety valve." But rul-
ing classes are always foolish, always
misled by interested agents.

Poverty side by side with opulence,
poverty increasing in mass and intensi-
ty while wealth accumulates in the
one country of all the world where
Nature is most bountiful and Labor
most efficient, poverty that disgraces
every tradition of the Republic and
threatens its moral and material secu-
rity—this is the topic that Comrade
Ladoff takes up. He has devoted him-
self earnestly to the investigation of
facts and to their explanation with a
view to showing the way to "abolish
poverty." The amount of documentary
material that he piles up is impressive,
almost overwhelming. Such as these

REPORT THE VOTE.

Comrades in every locality are re-
quested to report the Socialist vote
to THE WORKER, that we may give
the vote without delay.

—Editor to vote for freedom and not
then vote for slavery and freedom.—E. V.
Debs.

WHY I SHALL VOTE THE TICKET OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

By Alfred Huettner.

The days grow shorter, and the
nights grow longer. While it is still
dark I rise from my bed and take my
frugal breakfast. In the dawn I walk
to the workshop to do my daily labor.
When the sun has set, when darkness
spreads over the world again, I walk
home wearily. All the day I see nothing
but my fellow-workers, the machin-
ists, I hear nothing but the whis-
sling of wheels and the noise of pulleys.
But I want to see nature. God made
it for men, and I am a man. I want
to see the tender green in the springtime,
I want to see the red robes of autumn.
I want to see the world I inhabit.
Therefore I shall vote the ticket of the
Socialist Party.

On the way to the workshop I con-
template my fellow workers. Men and
women, boys and girls, disappear be-
hind the high gate of the factory. I
see little girls with pale faces, girls
of thirteen, of twelve, may of eleven
years of age. I see little boys dressed
in rags and with torn shoes. I look
at them with love and pity. It makes
me tremble to think of the future of
these poor beings.

I am against child labor. Children
belong in school. I am not willing
that those young lives be destroyed
morally and physically. Therefore I
shall vote the ticket of the Socialist
Party.

I do my daily work as mechanically
as the machine. Work does not bring
me any delight. It disgusts me. My
brain, my thoughts are busy with
many other things.

But I wish to do my work joyfully

and gallily. Therefore I shall vote the
ticket of the Socialist Party.
In the evenings, before I go to bed,
I read in my books. I learn, I study,
to make up for my lack of education.
There are many, many things I should
like to know. But I have no time, I
have no means, to study. I do not
even have money enough to buy the
books I should like to have.

But I want a good education. I
wish that all men should get a good
education. I do not wish that our
children should grow up in dull igno-
rance. Therefore I shall vote the ticket
of the Socialist Party.

Sometimes I take a walk through
the city. I see big stores filled up
with clothes, food, and all the neces-
saries of life. And I see those who
created all these things, standing out-
side freezing and hungry. I see drunk-
ards lying in the gutter, while their
wives and children live in dirty holes
in the greatest misery. I see young
girls selling their honor for money in
the street. I see many other things
that make my heart break.

But I wish that everything might be
happy. I believe in Christ's word that
says: "He who does not work, shall not
eat." I am not willing that we should
starve to death, while our storehouses
are overfilled with food and clothes. I
am not willing that prisons and poor-
houses should be crowded. I am not
willing that our wives and girls should
have to work for starvation wages.
Therefore I shall vote the ticket of the
Socialist Party.

Petersen, N. J., Oct. 30.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

Continued increase of the Circulation
of The Worker—Steady Growth of In-
dividual Subscription List Especially
Gratifying.

The total circulation of last week's
issue did not, of course, equal that of
the preceding week—the special cam-
paign issue—but it showed a gain of
4,400 over that two weeks before.

The last week brought a net gain of
116 individual subscriptions. This is
the vital thing, both for the stability
of the paper and for its real usefulness
to the cause.

	Week ending Oct. 30, 1904.	Oct. 23, 1904.
Printed	21,000	20,500
Single subscriptions	10,654	10,819
Outside bundles	2,130	38,113
Samples	113	153
Exchanges	500	500
Sold at office in bundles or at retail	6,414	6,336
Totals	20,770	56,729

We may expect that after Election
Day, when fewer meetings are being
held and there is less opportunity to
distribute literature, the total circula-
tion will fall off considerably, for a
time from the present high figure.
We take this for granted. But, while
the bundle circulation will be reduced,
it is to be hoped that the comrades
who value The Worker will not relax
their efforts to get regular subscribers,
but will rather turn to that end some
of the energy they now have to devote
to other work. To get one yearly sub-
scription is as good as to sell 62 copies
of the paper; it is even better, for the
regular reader, becomes thoroughly
grounded in Socialist principles, and
himself becomes a propagandist in
turn. Let us keep on adding a hun-
dred or two hundred each week to the
individual subscription list, and by the
time another campaign comes around
we shall be able to get out a much bet-
ter paper and have it reach twice as
many people.

Comrade McIlhenny of Anacosta,
Mont., in ordering 1,000 copies of our
campaign leaflet, remarks that the
circulation and sale in ten others. These
Westerners don't do things by halves.

"Some kind friend sent me The
Worker for the last year," writes a
comrade in Chico, Mont., "and now
that we have become acquainted, I
will have to continue. Enclosed find 50
cents for renewal. I take seven other
Socialist publications, but for good
sound revolutionary Socialism there is
none superior to The Worker."

Comrade Goodridge of Kansas City
falls in line with seven yearlies, in one
lot this week. There will be more from
that quarter.

Comrade Bowen of Ashland, Ky.,
has disposed of an astonishing quan-
tity of Socialist literature this year.
"Some kind friend sent me The
Worker for the last year," writes a
comrade in Chico, Mont., "and now
that we have become acquainted, I
will have to continue. Enclosed find 50
cents for renewal. I take seven other
Socialist publications, but for good
sound revolutionary Socialism there is
none superior to The Worker."

Comrade Goodridge of Kansas City
falls in line with seven yearlies, in one
lot this week. There will be more from
that quarter.

"I trust you will receive this in good
time, so that I shall not miss a single
number," writes a comrade of Marion,
Ind., in renewing his own subscription
and a friend's: "The Worker is a wel-
come visitor here, with its mission of
general propaganda and its carefulness
and good judgment in party affairs."

Current Literature.

AMERICAN PAUPERISM AND THE
ABOLITION OF POVERTY. By leader
Ladoff. Chicago. Charles H. Kerr & Co.
1904. Cloth, pp. 230. Price, 80 cents.

Poverty side by side with opulence,
poverty increasing in mass and intensi-
ty while wealth accumulates in the
one country of all the world where
Nature is most bountiful and Labor
most efficient, poverty that disgraces
every tradition of the Republic and
threatens its moral and material secu-
rity—this is the topic that Comrade
Ladoff takes up. He has devoted him-
self earnestly to the investigation of
facts and to their explanation with a
view to showing the way to "abolish
poverty." The amount of documentary
material that he piles up is impressive,
almost overwhelming. Such as these

are the condensed statements of some
of the frightful truths that be lay be-
fore the reader:

The number of officially recognized pa-
pers in the United States is not less than
250,000—ONE PAUPER TO EVERY 25
PEOPLE.

The number of inmates of charitable in-
stitutions in the state of New York is 300,
000—ONE IN EVERY 17 OF THE POPU-
LATION.

In the city of New York, the richest city
in the world, ONE PERSON OUT OF
EVERY 10 IS BURIED IN A PAUPER'S
GRAVE.

Only about one-fourth of the men who die
in New York City leave any property what-
ever except their clothing and household
furniture.
Over 450,000 different persons (allowing
made for duplications) in New York City
receive free medical treatment in dispen-
saries. Of these, according to the charity
authorities, about one-fourth "are able to
pay but are paupers in spirit," another
fourth are destitute, but at least half, or
ONE-OUT OF EVERY 10 OF THE CITY
POPULATION, ARE COMPELLED BY
ACTUAL POVERTY TO ASK FREE
TREATMENT.

During the last census decade, child labor
in the South increased by more than 100
per cent.
During the last census decade, child labor
in the iron and steel industry of the whole
country increased 216 per cent.

There are now about 1,750,000 children
between the ages of ten and fifteen work-
ing in the mines and factories of the United
States—ONE CHILD-SLAVE TO EVERY
NINE FAMILIES IN THE LAND.

Ladoff is under no illusions. When
he sees millions upon millions of
money given every year by govern-
ment, by charity organizations, and by
individual philanthropists for the relief
of poverty, he does not rejoice in it as
an evidence of the benevolence of the
rich; he views it with horror as an evi-
dence of the misery of the poor. He
knows that, at the best, charity but
partly relieves a part of the poverty
that

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the wrapper.

The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed.

No bills or receipts sent to individual subscribers.

The Worker.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

"WE WANT SOCIALISM NOW AND WE KNOW HOW TO GET IT," SAY 500,000 VOTERS.

Vote of the Socialist Party Increases by Over 400 Per Cent. in Four Years—Figures of the Coal-Strike Year More Than Doubled—

Illinois Heads the Column—New York in Second Place—Splendid Gains in Wisconsin—Eleven States Pass the 20,000 Mark

—Socialists Enter Two State Legislatures—Wide Distribution of Our Increased Vote a Most Pleasing Feature.

The results of the campaign of 1904 have more than justified the hopes of the Socialists and the fears of the master class and their political lackeys. Returns are still very incomplete, but enough is known to serve as a safe basis for estimates.

In the Presidential election of 1900 our party made a great forward step in polling 97,730 votes in the whole country. In the state and Congressional elections of 1902 we were proud when we increased this total to 229,762. This year it is certain that our vote is over half a million. National Secretary Mailly on Wednesday evening puts the figure at 600,000.

Illinois now takes the place at the head of the column which New York held in 1900 and Massachusetts in 1902. The vote for Debs and Hanford in Illinois is from 70,000 to 75,000, and possibly more—42,000 in Chicago alone. Four years ago the state gave 9,687 and two years ago 20,167. Two Socialist Assemblymen are elected from Chicago districts.

New York holds second place with a vote variously estimated from 40,000 to 50,000. In the last Presidential election this state polled 12,869 votes for Debs and Harriman, and in 1902 the figure was 23,400. It is almost certain that the S. L. P. has lost official standing, falling below 10,000 votes.

Wisconsin has continued its brilliant record, especially Milwaukee, where nine Social Democratic Aldermen and several minor officials were successful in the city election last spring. The state now gives from 30,000 to 35,000 votes, as against 7,095 in 1900 and 15,957 in 1902. Milwaukee contributes 18,000 of these votes, and elects four or five Socialists to the Assembly and probably one to the State Senate. Our candidates in the Fourth and Fifth Congressional Districts, Winfield R. Gaylord and Victor L. Berger, ran ahead of their Democratic opponents and gave the Republicans a hard fight.

Indiana makes a most striking advance. In 1900 the state gave us 2,374 votes and 7,134 in 1902. This time its Socialist vote is estimated at 30,000—more than quadrupling in two years. Eugene V. Debs may be proud of the workmen of his state—as they certainly are of him.

Missouri's gain is also very gratifying. Its vote four years ago was 6,128. Two years later, owing largely to the temporary confusion resulting from the launching of a so-called Public Ownership party, which offered a delusive "short cut" to Socialism, our vote fell to 5,335. But the lesson has been learned. Missouri now contributes about 20,000 to the straight Socialist vote. Kansas City alone gives 2,000.

Pennsylvania is another state where our vote has wavered too much. In 1900 it cast 4,831 for Debs and Harriman. In 1902, under the stimulus of the coal strike, our vote there rose to 21,910. Last year there was a relapse, and we polled only 13,245 for our state ticket. But the loss has now been more than recouped and 25,000 or possibly 30,000 votes have been cast for Debs and Hanford.

Massachusetts is the one state that sends bad news this year. As compared with the 9,716 Socialist votes of 1900 and the 13,630 of two years ago, the Bay State now gives about 20,000. For the first time in six years there will be no Socialist in the Legislature. It is up to the Massachusetts comrades to do some hard toiling and then some extraordinary hard and persistent work.

Ohio's Socialist vote increased from 4,847 in 1900 to 14,270 in 1902. Now it is estimated at 25,000 or even 30,000.

California's advance is equally encouraging. Four years ago we had 7,572 votes there. Two years ago, in spite of a Union Labor party manufactured by disgruntled politicians, ambitious labor leaders, and impatient visionaries, our vote increased to 9,592. This year 30,000 will be near the mark.

Minnesota has made a record. Her Socialist vote in 1900 was 3,065. In 1902 the highest vote for a state candidate on our ticket was 10,129. This year, through the compliance of the courts with a protest made by the S. L. P.—a party potent only in obstruction—we were put under the handicap of having the name "Public Ownership" instead of "Socialist" to designate our ticket. In spite of this, we have polled about 20,000 votes. We have conquered old Populist strongholds and built up our movement simultaneously in the industrial cities and in the rural districts. Moreover, we have put the S. L. P. where it can no longer do any harm to the cause.

Iowa is perhaps the greatest surprise of all. A dispatch from Des Moines declares that the state will give 24,000 votes for Debs and Hanford. In 1900 Iowa cast only 2,742 votes for Debs and Harriman; and two years later it gave only 6,360.

The eleven states named give a total variously estimated from 336,000 to 360,000, as against 70,866 in 1900 and 167,883 in 1902. National Secretary Mailly reports that twenty other states will range between 2,500 and 15,000.

Besides these there are eight or ten states in which the movement is still very young and which will contribute but a few hundred each, and the territories, whose inhabitants have no voice in national elections but in all of which there is an organized Socialist movement.

The most pleasing feature about the present progress of the movement is that it is extended over nearly the whole country, not concentrated in one section. This helps to guarantee its stability. Once it was New York that led the van; then Massachusetts outstripped it; now Illinois has taken the lead; perhaps it will be Wisconsin's turn in another year or two. None of us are jealous when another state excels us. We regret only the rare cases where a state loses its leadership, not by another's greater success, but by its own retrogression; but even this is sure to be but temporary. Massachusetts will rally her forces and advance again, as Pennsylvania has done. Meanwhile, the "Solid South," the only considerable portion of the country in which Socialism has not yet attracted general attention, is being invaded, and Georgia and Alabama and Louisiana will soon be awakened from their slumbers by the voice of the Socialist Party. We rejoice in this evenly distributed power much more than we should in a doubly greater strength limited to a few centers. We are advancing, not in frantic charges here and there, but steadily all along the line.

Yet there are certain points, of course, to which we naturally turn our eyes—especially Milwaukee and Chicago at this moment. But there are others as worthy our attention, as these dispatches show:

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 9.—Debs and Hanford poll 7,331 votes here and will probably have 35,000 in the state.—This means that we now have over 10 per cent. of the vote in that great city, spite of Hearst and Schmitz.

CINCINNATI, Nov. 9.—We have over 6,000 votes in this city. A year ago we had 3,800, and thought it a wonderful gain.—There also, one-tenth of the voters have declared for Socialism.—Can it be far off?

OMAHA, Nov. 8.—The Socialist vote here is about 3,500.—There the proportion is still larger, being more than 12 per cent.—Yes, Socialism is coming. Roosevelt cannot stop it with his Big Stick. Party cannot stop it with his blacklists. Hearst will try to divide and mislead it with his chicanery—but he will try in vain. It is coming, because the immediate interests of the working class and the deepest interest of all humanity require it, and because capitalism is so suicidally futile, now it has fulfilled its mission, and because all the vital morality and all the original thought of the world of to-day turns toward it as leaves turn to the sun. It is coming. Are you doing your full share to help, that it may come easily and soon?

The re-election of Peabody in Colorado or even his defeat by a doubtful majority—for the matter seems still to be in doubt—is the

saddest thing in the election news. We have no information as to the size of the Socialist vote in that state. It may be taken for granted, however, that it will be small. The respectable forces of lawlessness and disorder were resolved to carry the state by fraud or by force as might be necessary. The shooting of two trade-unionists who were acting as Democratic judges of election at Cripple Creek was doubtless but one of many acts of violence—the one that has so far come to light. It is for us of other states, who are not yet in so hard a plight, to help our Colorado brothers and build up a power that can defy their oppressors and ours.

ATTENTION, COMRADES! THIS IS IMPORTANT.

Comrades, you should give a wide circulation to this and the next issue of *The Worker*, containing returns of our vote. You know that it is important that the men who have voted our ticket for the first time should be informed of the result. You know that the capitalist press will not give this news fully or accurately; many of the great dailies entirely suppress it and others garble the figures. The only way is to circulate our own papers. You should also try your best to get subscriptions NOW. The *Worker* is going to devote special attention during the winter months to systematic Socialist education. Our new recruits feel the need of such education. You realize their need of it. The best way to give it to them is to get them to subscribe for *The Worker* for six months or a year.

OUR LEGISLATORS IN WISCONSIN.

A Social Democratic State Senator and Four Assemblymen from Milwaukee Districts—Working Class at Last Represented.

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 10.—We elect five Social Democrats to the Legislature—four to the Assembly and one to the Senate. Our Assemblymen are: In the Fifth District, W. J. Aldridge, a union machinist; in the Sixth, August Streib, a union painter; in the Ninth, Edward J. Berner, union cigar maker; in the Eleventh, P. J. Brockhausen, union cigar maker and Secretary of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor. Our State Senator is Jacob Rummel, a union cigar maker and an old-timer in the movement, who is elected in the Sixth Senatorial District.

TWO SOCIALISTS IN ILLINOIS ASSEMBLY.

CHICAGO, Nov. 10.—The Socialist Party has elected two of its members to the Assembly—in the Fourth District, J. A. Ambrose, a union machinist, and in the Ninth District, Andrew A. Olson, also a manual workman.

NEW YORK STATE VOTE.

Good Gains in Buffalo, Syracuse and Many Smaller Places—Rochester's Vote Stationary—Impossible as Yet to Make Class Estimates.

BUFFALO, Nov. 8.—With 20 districts still missing, we have 682 votes for Debs and Hanford. Four years ago Erie County gave us 401, and in 1902 this was increased to 503.

NEW ROCHELLE, Nov. 8.—This city gives 110 for Debs and 14 for the S. L. P.

PORT CHESTER, Nov. 8.—The Social Democratic vote increases well here. We have 108, as against 91 two years ago, and 50 in 1900. The De Leontes held 14 of the 15 they had in 1902.

ROCHESTER, Nov. 8.—With four districts unreported, this city polls 2,010 for Debs and 303 for Corrigan. In 1900 we had 1,019 in Monroe County and the S. L. P. had 845. In 1902 we had 2,171 and the S. L. P. 845.

SYRACUSE, Nov. 8.—Our national ticket receives 545 votes in this city. In 1900 we had 330, which was raised to 332 two years later.

SCHENECTADY, Nov. 8.—Debs gets 304 here and Corrigan 271. In 1900 and in 1902 our vote in the county was 30, and that of the S. L. P. in the two years named was 247 and 126, respectively.

JOHNSTOWN, Nov. 8.—This city gives 223 for Debs and 35 for Corrigan.

GLOVERSVILLE, Nov. 8.—Debs has 223 here and the S. L. P. candidate 83. Fulton County, which includes these two cities, gave us 98 votes in 1900 and 405 in 1902. The S. L. P. had 170 four years ago.

TICONDEROGA, Nov. 8.—Our vote here is 152. In 1900 it was 44 and in 1902 it was 68 in Essex County.

WELLSVILLE, Nov. 8.—Debs gets 25 votes. We had only 15 in Albany County two years ago.

CORNING, Nov. 8.—Our record is: Debs, 103; Corrigan, 3. Addison gives 11, in place of the one cast in 1900, with one also for Corrigan. The whole of Stenben County gave us 185 two years ago, with 169 for the S. L. P.

MIDDLETOWN, Nov. 8.—Debs has 121 and Corrigan 62.

PORT JERVIS, Nov. 8.—We have 149 for Debs and 43 for Corrigan. Otsego County, in which both these

places are situated, gave 142 for the Social Democratic Party and 187 for the S. L. P. in 1902.

WATERLOO, Nov. 8.—Watertown gives 254 for Debs and 25 for the De Leontes. Two years ago Jefferson County gave us 398, with 120 for the S. L. P.

MALONE, Nov. 8.—Debs received 93 votes here. In 1900 Franklin County gave him 40.

LINDSEYHURST, Nov. 8.—Three election districts show 14 votes for Debs.

SHROY, Nov. 8.—Fifteen districts in Troy give Debs 123 votes and Corrigan 108. In Watervliet Debs has 108 and Corrigan 31. The whole of Herkese County, two years ago, gave us 233 and the De Leontes 480.

PRECKSKILL, Nov. 8.—Our national ticket gets 142 votes in Preckskill. Two years ago we had 118.

UTICA, Nov. 8.—The city gives Debs 214 votes; the whole county gives him 380. In 1900 we had 114 in the county.

CONSTATEVILLE.—Last year, 7; now 20.

MT. VERNON.—Increase from 92 to 181 last year.

EAST AUBURN.—The 2 votes of 1900 have grown to 28.

TYONAHOG.—Twenty-one votes here, last year 3.

JAMESTOWN.—We have 536 votes. In 1902 we had 17.

PALEONKER.—Debs gets 23 votes.

SAJAMASCA.—Last year 2 votes; now 61.

HANTINGS' ON HUDSON.—We have 10 votes where we had 2 a year ago.

PEARL RIVER.—We advanced in one year from 10 to 22.

HERLIN.—Eight votes; last year, 2.

CARTHAGE.—Seven last year; 20 this time.

BATAVIA.—Debs gets 47 where we had 82 last year.

SHOWANDA.—We poll 19 Social Democratic votes here, as against 2 in 1900. The S. L. P. has 3.

Assembly Districts	1900		1902		1904	
	Debs	Malloy	Hanford	DeLeon	Debs	Corrigan
First	13	18	23	28	15*	24*
Second	61	35	85	37	138*	51*
Third	36	38	42	86	88*	58*
Fourth	437	247	814	179	1,100	52*
Fifth	42	45	65	32	91	29
Sixth	80	65	240	141	306	50
Seventh	44	40	78	60	146	17
Eighth	253	157	457	150	770	25*
Ninth	44	62	84	68	140	57
Tenth	390	240	950	282	108	113
Eleventh	84	64	110	102	200	65
Twelfth	352	443	534	351	430	73
Thirteenth	331	70	102	108	294	83
Fourteenth	295	262	402	240	607	138
Fifteenth	65	45	168	103	244	60
Sixteenth	210	847	400	620	872	230
Seventeenth	63	64	123	82	223	95
Eighteenth	63	134	176	142	249	85
Nineteenth	54	72	85	86	142	57
Twentieth	71	65	124	103	167	50
Twenty-first	68	62	144	120	347	90
Twenty-second	102	62	154	86	357	63
Twenty-third	147	112	342	82	400	107
Twenty-fourth	212	62	378	321	430	73
Twenty-fifth	18	52	82	62	62*	83*
Twenty-sixth	378	124	841	194	656	120
Twenty-seventh	18	10	30	36	30*	36*
Twenty-eighth	420	110	628	174	872	115
Twenty-ninth	37	50	50	86	60*	36*
Thirtieth	401	153	930	217	1,152	114
Thirty-first	102	107	220	178	475	100
Thirty-second	234	190	440	205	763	101
Thirty-third	67	62	181	165	272	91
Thirty-fourth	263	232	486	381	480*	338*
Thirty-fifth	517	240	1,012	424	1,512	382
Annexed	41	25	180	67	224	40
Total	4,198	4,907	10,985	5,820	15,074	3,375

In the Ninth Congressional District, which comprises the greater part of the Jewish East Side, our candidate, Joseph Barondas, made a very remarkable run. His vote, as nearly as now ascertainable, is 3,874, the Democratic and Republican candidates receiving about 6,000 each. Nine hundred additional votes, if drawn equally from both the old parties, would have elected Comrade Barondas.

The uptown districts—the regions commonly described as Yorkville, Harlem, and the Bronx—have made advances almost, if not quite, as remarkable as those of the East Side.

Kings County.

Brooklyn gives a still larger proportionate increase in the Social Democratic vote than Manhattan and the Bronx, and as even more emphatic repudiation of the Leontines.

In the following table, we do not give the vote of 1900, because at that time Brooklyn was divided into wards which did not correspond with the assembly districts. The totals for 1900 were, for the Social Democratic Party, 2,331 and for the S. L. P. 1,711.

Assembly Districts	1902		1904	
	Hanford	DeLeon	Debs	Corrigan
First	30	54	157	37
Second	37	75	97	25
Third	61	40	83	28
Fourth	100	47	157	35
Fifth	313	136	214	50
Sixth	201	105	332	64
Seventh	119	171	307	125
Eighth	36	40	104	33
Ninth	91	73	120	87
Tenth	52	72	60	17
Eleventh	71	50	123	35
Twelfth	150	113	274	70
Thirteenth	228	224	300	94
Fourteenth	120	150	132	70
Fifteenth	354	270	613	63
Sixteenth	188	98	242	51
Seventeenth	32	30	80	15
Eighteenth	135	102	200	61
Nineteenth	872	261	496	50
Twentieth	1,025	394	1,101	90
Twenty-first	550	378	915	172
Totals	4,281	2,860	6,362	1,253

The 20th A. D. of Brooklyn still holds its second place among the districts of the whole city, the 35th A. D. and the 30th A. D. of New York ranking first and third, respectively, with the 4th A. D. following close behind.

Queens County.

The First Ward, incomplete, shows

Assembly Districts	1900		1904	
	Debs	Malloy	Debs	Corrigan
4,183	4,807	15,074	3,375	
2,331	1,711	6,502	1,253	
614	250	1,400	100	
100	144	150	70	
Totals	9,577	6,972	23,616	4,838

Our vote in the city is thus a little larger than was our vote in the whole state two years ago.

A year ago the city gave 18,000 for Furman, our candidate for Mayor, and 18,011 for Manchester, our candidate for Judge of the Court of Appeals; the S. L. P. candidates had 5,205 and 5,980, respectively.

Manhattan and Bronx.

The following table shows approximately the vote for Debs and for the S. L. P. candidate, Corrigan, in the various assembly districts, compared with the vote cast for the Presidential candidates of the two parties in 1900 and for their candidates for Governor in 1902. The figures for 1904 are those furnished by our watchers, except those with a * which are mostly taken from the "Sun" for districts

NEW JERSEY MAY DOUBLE ITS VOTE.

If Other Counties Give Proportionately as Well as Hudson and Essex, Our Total Vote in the State Will Reach 8,000.

In 1900 the state of New Jersey gave Debs and Harriman 4,000 votes. In

were Socialist, 30 Democratic, and the rest Republican. In 1900 we had only 11 votes in the whole of Cape May County. This is the result of an active campaign.

DOVER, N. J., Nov. 8.—The Socialist Party polls 127 votes here. In 1900 we had 4 and in 1902 we had 21. The S. L. P. has 21.

WESTFIELD, N. J., Nov. 9.—In spite of the fact that this town is a residence place of capitalists and their hangers-on, we have increased our vote by 50 per cent. We have 42, as against 28 the last time. A few active comrades have worked very hard to accomplish this. The S. L. P. has 8 votes.

WHARTON, N. J., Nov. 9.—We have raised our vote from 18 to 43. The S. L. P. ticket got 7 votes, but they do not really belong to that party.

MANCHESTER, Conn., Nov. 9.—The Socialist Party vote here increases from 5 to 68. The S. L. P. has 10—and they will be with us next time.

BRISTOL, Conn., Nov. 9.—We have 31 straight Socialist votes, and 9 others for our national ticket. At last election we had 35 in all. In 1900 we had 20. The S. L. P. has 8, as against 15 in 1900. The Populists have 50, whom we must convert.

STONINGTON, Nov. 8.—The Socialist Party's vote here has risen from 43 to 73. The S. L. P. has 13.

SOCIALISTS LOSE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Haverhill Especially Experiences a Severe Set-Back—Gains in Smaller Cities and Towns, but Not Enough to Offset Losses in Important Centers.

HAVERHILL, Mass., Nov. 9.—We have suffered a heavy loss here. Debs' vote is 704, as compared with 1,280 in 1900.

WALTHAM, Mass., Nov. 9.—This place gives our national ticket 105 votes. In 1900 we had 22.

MILFORD FALLS, Mass., Nov. 9.—This place gives Debs and Hanford 41 votes. In 1900 we had 7.

WARE, Mass., Nov. 8.—We have 140 votes, as against 47 in 1900.

HINSDALE, Mass., Nov. 8.—We got 10 votes here. In 1900 we had two and in 1902 five.

HYDE PARK, Mass., Nov. 8.—Our national ticket has 105 votes. In 1900 we got 72.

ANDOVER, Mass., Nov. 9.—This place casts 17 votes for the Socialist Party national ticket. None in 1900.

PITTSFIELD, Mass., Nov. 9.—Debs received 66 votes here, as against 9 four years ago. The S. L. P. has 44; in 1900 it had 45—"stands like a rock," of course.

NORTH ADAMS, Mass., Nov. 9.—Our national ticket has 99 votes here, as against 10 four years ago.

NEW BEDFORD, Mass., Nov. 9.—Debs' vote in this city is 241. In 1900 he had 118.

MELROSE, Mass., Nov. 9.—The vote for Debs is 31; in 1900 it was 14.

BOSTON, Nov. 9.—This city gives 2,014 votes for Debs and 626 for Corrigan. Watson got only 159. Four years ago we had 1,206 and the S. L. P. had 431.

Our largest vote is in Ward 22, where we have 352. Ward 24 follows with 147, Ward 10 with 127, and Ward 14 with 115.

HOLYOKE, Nov. 9.—We have 206 votes for Debs. Had 116 in 1900.

BROOKTON, Nov. 9.—The vote for Debs in this city is 1,822, out of a total of 8,505. Randall is defeated for re-election to Legislature, in which he has served two years.

MILFORD, Nov. 9.—Debs has 63 votes here. Had 41 in 1900.

WELLESLEY, Nov. 8.—From 5 votes in 1900 we rise to 19.

BOSTON, Nov. 9.—Two hundred and ten cities and towns give Debs 8,904 votes. The same cities and towns gave us 5,670 in 1900.

These places give John Quincy Adams, our candidate for Governor, 6,257 votes. Last year they gave our gubernatorial candidate 7,207.

Corrigan gets 825 votes in these places. Berry, S. L. P. candidate for Governor, gets 551.

One hundred and forty-four cities and towns are still to be heard from.

S. E. P.

FROM "DOWN EAST."

RUTLAND, Vt., Nov. 9.—This little city yesterday cast 201 votes for Debs. Four years ago we had 35. The total vote of the city is only 2,140. At least three-quarters of our Socialist voters of yesterday are clearly clam-conscious, too.

PUTNEY, Vt., Nov. 9.—In 1900 we had 2 votes here. Now we have 31. The vote of all parties combined is 212. We have almost one-sixth of the whole.

BENNINGTON, Vt., Nov. 8.—Debs and Hanford received 26 votes here today. At the state election in September our ticket had only 17.

EXETER, N. H., Nov. 9.—We have to record a loss here—30 yesterday, as against 62 in 1900.

WESTBROOK, Me., Nov. 8.—We cast 77 votes here today. In November, 1900, we had 7. In the state election of September, 1902, they increased to 30. In September of this year there were 41. So we grow.

PORTLAND, Me.—Debs gets 333 votes here. In the September election we had 162.

LITTLETON, N. H., Nov. 9.—We had one vote here in 1900. In 1902 we had 8. Now we have 19.

LEVISTON, Me., Nov. 9.—Maine gives about 2,500 votes for Debs and Hanford. In 1900 this state gave 878 for Debs and Harriman. In 1902 our state ticket had 1,474.

BAKES, Vt., Nov. 9.—This city gives 88, as against 90 in the state election in September. Our vote in the state is probably about 800. We had 371 in 1900.

80 PER CENT. GAIN IN CONNECTICUT.

New Haven Gives Nearly 1,500 Votes for Debs—Increase in General—S. L. P. Loses Heavily.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Nov. 9.—Such returns as we have from the state indicate a gain of 80 per cent. over the Socialist vote of 1902. We had a total of 2,857 in the state that year. We are certainly the third party now. The S. L. P. cuts to figure whatever, having lost considerably from the already small vote it cast in previous years.

W. E. W.

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 9.—This city gives 1,473 votes for Debs and Hanford. Four years ago we had 437, and 806 in 1902. The S. L. P. has 131, as against 235 in 1900.

HARTFORD, Conn., Nov. 9.—Debs and Hanford have 529 votes here. Four years ago we had 339.

WATERBURY, Conn., Nov. 9.—Our vote is 378, a gain of 119 since last election. In 1900 we had 173.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Nov. 9.—From 108 votes in 1900 and 224 in 1902, we rise to 376 to-day.

NAUGATUCK, Conn., Nov. 9.—The Socialist vote here is 184. At last election we had 141. Some of our candidates ran as high as 230.

MERIDEN, Conn., Nov. 9.—The Socialist Party polls 171, as against 90 at last election.

DANBURY, Conn., Nov. 9.—We lose a little here. We have 64 votes; last election, 73.

GREENWICH, Conn., Nov. 8.—From 17, our vote rises to 33 in this place.

(Continued on page 4.)

DON QUIXOTE CRITICS.

A Steel Worker Answers One of Those Who Attacks Socialism Without Knowing What It Means.

[A steel worker of Covington, Ky., writes as follows to the "Amalgamated Journal," the organ of the union:] "Socialism is impracticable. We can't get it, and we never will have it." So says Brother Van Brimmer of Cleveland, in a great long article in the "Journal" of Aug. 11. However, he is not the whole court; I want to give a dissenting opinion. He takes up a great deal of space pretending to tell what Socialism is, and then accuses with great solemnity that it won't work because we can't change human nature, etc.

It is all due respect to Brother V. B. I will say that he has about as much idea of what Socialism is as the monkey does of butterflies of fashion have of the aims and purposes of the noble and heroic trade union movement. The charming simplicity with which he airs his ignorance of this great economic question is truly laughable. He sets up a man of straw this idea of Socialism and then proceeds to knock it to pieces with as much seriousness as Old Quixote, who, mistaking wind-mills for armed knights, courageously tackled them with his broken lance and rusty old sword. Old Quixote was excusable, because he was daffy and his eyesight was bad. But Brother V. B. can read, and stand on his feet, and he is not a daffy man. He is a Socialist, and he will find that they all agree that

"Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be in the hands of the people, owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men." Extract from Socialist platform adopted at the convention at which nominated Debs, May 1, 1904.

When we look at the matter carefully we see that society (all the people) is divided into two distinct classes, those who own the jobs and those who work at the jobs; those who own and control the machinery of production, and those who work this vast machinery for a wage. In other words, the capitalist class and the working class.

Dear in mind that one class owns the machinery, etc., which they do not work; and the other class work the machinery, etc., which they do not own. The owning class, who do practically nothing, have practically everything. The working class, who do practically everything, have practically nothing.

Our motto is "Labor Omnia Vincit." Labor conquers all things. Labor builds palaces. Do the builders live in them? Labor builds a railroad. Labor makes the rolling stock. Labor runs the road. Do the laborers own the railroad? Do they control it? Certainly not. Why not? Because this all-powerful giant is yet too stupid to change the system of industry which compels him to work and drudge on the terms laid down by his bosses. Because he is yet too stupid to demand the right to own and control the machine which he works and with which he "conquers all things." When this hypothetical giant wakes up he will demand this right, and he is big enough and strong enough to enforce these demands.

Harry is disturbing him. Peabody is punching and jabbing him. Already he is stretching out his big arms, and with growls and curses is asking who it is that is annoying him. Wait till he comes to, and there will be something doing. He will see we have Harry and Peabody and Bella and Bern. He will see that as long as his job is owned by some one else, there will be Harry and Peabody and Bella and Bern with their hiring courts and solidarity to oppress and enslave and rob him.

Can't you see that it is the ownership of our jobs that gives the capitalist class so much power over us? The present system stands for the private ownership of the jobs. So the trades unionist who stands up for this ownership. He may mean to be a good and true trades unionist; but he stands up like a man on a strike, and if he believes that one class of men have the right to own the means whereby another class must live, he cannot truly serve two masters. No man can serve the interest of the capitalist class and the working class, and the bosses.

The Socialist alone stands for the interest of the working class. Ask a Democrat or a Republican how he stands for the interest of all the people. But, mind you, after he is elected he always by his actions that he meant the capitalist people. Ask a Socialist how he stands and he will tell you without any dodging that he stands for the interest of the working class only. They are the only people worth considering, in the estimation of the Socialist.

Listen! We ask the bosses to be good. They arrogantly say: "There is nothing to arbitrate. This is our industry; we own it; we intend to run it; if you don't like your jobs get out." Then we go on strike. Out trots a judge with an injunction made to order. You can't tell from the wording of the injunction whether the judge is a Democrat or a Republican. A Republican or Democratic executive backs up the injunction with soldiers and getting guns. The capitalist always obeys the law, you know. They make the law. And they have it interpreted and enforced in the interest of their class, too, even if they have to twist it all out of shape. But, we workers are the law-breakers. We are not a bad lot, because, somehow or other, we always have one case in court. If we made the law and had

THE BREMEN CONGRESS.

Rebel's Report on the Proceedings of the International German Party Organization—General Strike to Be Considered Next Year.

Rebel's report to the Bremen Congress of the German Social Democracy upon the International Congress of Amsterdam presents some interesting features.

Rebel expressed his earnest hope that the deliberations at Amsterdam would ultimately result in unity of the party in France and other countries where division now exists and urged that the party press in Germany should avoid any such recriminations as might make unification more difficult. He noted a recent article by Jaurès in "L'Humanité" which, in his opinion, constituted a real step toward unity. He found encouragement, too, in the prospect of a new French review, "La Vie Socialiste," sent out by Jean Longuet, a member of the left wing of the Jaurèsist party; Francis de Pressensé is to be editor, and Vaillant and Rebel have promised to collaborate.

Rebel found it necessary, however, to reply to a statement which Comrade Quarek, one of the German delegates at Amsterdam, had made in the course of a heated attack upon the German delegation at Amsterdam was inclined to vote for the Adler-Vanderhorst substitute, but that a free decision was not allowed, that the debate was cut short and that Rebel made it a question of confidence, and that the delegation, in deciding to support the Dresden resolution, was influenced by its unwillingness to desert or embarrass its retreating ally. I do not like such evidence," said Rebel to Bremen; "they are repugnant to my character, and to my democratic conception of our relations. It is not true that I made the acceptance of the Dresden resolution a question of confidence in me. I did say to the German delegation, when Quarek proposed supporting the Adler-Vanderhorst substitute: 'You know that I have taken a decided stand for the Dresden resolution. If you decide to support the substitute, you can hardly expect me to act as reporter. You will have to choose another spokesman.' Was not that natural? It is not true that discussion was suppressed; if the delegation cut short its debates, it was in order to listen to Adler's speech in support of the substitute. The delegation decided by a vote of 51 to 13 to support the Dresden resolution, and Rebel also said that he would have had nothing against the text of the Adler-Vanderhorst substitute, but that the fact of the revisionists accepting it as an endorsement of their views made it necessary to oppose its adoption.

Bernstein, who opposed the Dresden resolution, confirmed Rebel's statement that no undue pressure had been used to carry it in the delegation, that it was not voted on a question of confidence in Rebel.

Comrade Kurlberg proposed that under the head of "Emigration and Immigration," which had been referred to the Congress of 1907, should be considered also the subject of the right of emigrant workmen to transfer freely from the trade unions of the old country to those of the new.

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A NEWS ITEM.

I take the following from the New York "Times" of Oct. 26:

"Policeman O'Connell of the Delancey Street Station, while passing along Cherry Street, near Jackson, last night about 10 o'clock, saw a curly-headed boy about four years of age lying on the sidewalk in front of the house at 436 Cherry Street. He seemed to be asleep, but when the policeman took the child in his arms and tried to wake him he was unable to do so. The boy's eyes were staring wide open, but still he did not seem to respond to any of the efforts of O'Connell to arouse him. The policeman then called an ambulance from Gouverneur Hospital. Dr. Colton after working over the boy decided that he was starving. 'Up to a late hour the boy had not been revived.'

It seems hardly credible that the most pronounced capitalist sheet in New York should convict the system it advocates, by printing such a news item.

Could there be more convincing evidence of the crime of capitalism.

"The Times" is guilty; Capitalism is guilty. They killed the curly-headed boy. Poor little chap, he never did have. Why should he have starved?

Think of his cries for food. Think of the heart pangs of his mother.

Misery and magnificence. Cherry Street and Fifth Avenue. Little Miss Carnegie and the curly-headed starving boy.

Great heavens, has it come to this, that babies die of starvation on the sidewalk?

We are more or less enlivened to the sight of the dispossessed, but not yet hardened to the sight of starving babies in the street.

It can be stopped. It must be stopped. Socialism, and Socialism only can stop it. — K. K. EGERTON

THE OLD DECADE WOMAN

AT THE WORLD'S FAIR GATE.

She stands with outstretched withered hand.

But the crowd passes carelessly by; A haggard countenance to be pitied.

The world's gay heart at play to try.

None and her heart; now know her woes.

The world must have its holiday— The poor are with us, and so—

The crowd goes heedless on its way.

There is no mirth upon her face;

No gleam of light in her eyes; She is a sister of the poor—

The crowd that passes careless by.

They hurry by they lounge the while, Do all their life she has no part; She suffers the suppliant's crying wail—

The crowd that passes careless by.

O world, where will she rest to-night?

In what gray pit or garret high— What food can she find from the light?

The world that passes not— it cannot be.

May, rest the hole to which she'll creep.

The searching light she dreads to see; And, running from the daylight deep,

The world must move to her plight — Anna A. Moley in St. Louis Globe.

THE BREMEN CONGRESS.

Rebel's Report on the Proceedings of the International German Party Organization—General Strike to Be Considered Next Year.

Rebel's report to the Bremen Congress of the German Social Democracy upon the International Congress of Amsterdam presents some interesting features.

Rebel expressed his earnest hope that the deliberations at Amsterdam would ultimately result in unity of the party in France and other countries where division now exists and urged that the party press in Germany should avoid any such recriminations as might make unification more difficult. He noted a recent article by Jaurès in "L'Humanité" which, in his opinion, constituted a real step toward unity. He found encouragement, too, in the prospect of a new French review, "La Vie Socialiste," sent out by Jean Longuet, a member of the left wing of the Jaurèsist party; Francis de Pressensé is to be editor, and Vaillant and Rebel have promised to collaborate.

Rebel found it necessary, however, to reply to a statement which Comrade Quarek, one of the German delegates at Amsterdam, had made in the course of a heated attack upon the German delegation at Amsterdam was inclined to vote for the Adler-Vanderhorst substitute, but that a free decision was not allowed, that the debate was cut short and that Rebel made it a question of confidence, and that the delegation, in deciding to support the Dresden resolution, was influenced by its unwillingness to desert or embarrass its retreating ally. I do not like such evidence," said Rebel to Bremen; "they are repugnant to my character, and to my democratic conception of our relations. It is not true that I made the acceptance of the Dresden resolution a question of confidence in me. I did say to the German delegation, when Quarek proposed supporting the Adler-Vanderhorst substitute: 'You know that I have taken a decided stand for the Dresden resolution. If you decide to support the substitute, you can hardly expect me to act as reporter. You will have to choose another spokesman.' Was not that natural? It is not true that discussion was suppressed; if the delegation cut short its debates, it was in order to listen to Adler's speech in support of the substitute. The delegation decided by a vote of 51 to 13 to support the Dresden resolution, and Rebel also said that he would have had nothing against the text of the Adler-Vanderhorst substitute, but that the fact of the revisionists accepting it as an endorsement of their views made it necessary to oppose its adoption.

Bernstein, who opposed the Dresden resolution, confirmed Rebel's statement that no undue pressure had been used to carry it in the delegation, that it was not voted on a question of confidence in Rebel.

Comrade Kurlberg proposed that under the head of "Emigration and Immigration," which had been referred to the Congress of 1907, should be considered also the subject of the right of emigrant workmen to transfer freely from the trade unions of the old country to those of the new.

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PARTY ORGANIZATION.

The Bremen Congress considered carefully the question of the party organization. The present form of organization dates from the time of the Expropriation Laws, when national political action was unlawful. The Congress then considered the device of choosing in each locality certain trusted men ("Vertrauensmänner"), in whose hands was put the whole conduct of affairs. There were no regular dues, funds being raised by the voluntary contributions of groups and individuals. This system has worked very well and has been allowed to continue, even though the necessity for it no longer exists. But it is felt that such a system is unsatisfactory and that it is now time to form a regular party organization—such, for instance, as exists in the United States—and somewhat to centralize the control of the propaganda. About thirty propositions were introduced upon this subject. On motion of the reporter, Gierisch, it was decided to refer them all to a committee, which is to work out the draft of a new constitution within the next three months and publish it, so that it may be considered for nine months before being voted on by the Bremen Congress. The question of centralization or state autonomy is involved, the South Germans being autonomists. The commission includes nine Prussian delegates, two Bavarians, one each from Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, Alsace, Thuringia, Mecklenburg, and Hanover, three of the Executive, and Clara Zetkin, who was specially elected.

The yearly financial report of the Executive showed receipts of \$102,000, of which \$22,000 was surplus from the publication of "Vorwärts." The expenditures were \$80,700—of which \$19,500 was for general propaganda, \$13,700 for campaigns, \$8,400 for aid to victims of persecution, \$3,800 for cost of defending comrades in the courts, \$11,300 for payment of Reichstag members, \$4,000 for expenses of administration, \$21,000 loans to weak organizations, and \$32,000 for weak party papers.

The 70 Socialist papers have an aggregate circulation of 620,000.

The Socialist press has a total personnel of 121 managers, 125 editors, and 1,476 other employees. In 19 of the offices the printers work eight hours a day and in 23 others eight and a half or nine hours. (It may be noted that in Germany the standard working day for printers is at least nine hours.)

The Executive urged that the managers of party papers should at once arrange for the eight-hour day in all offices, with a free annual vacation of at least one week, and provisions for pensions in case of sickness.

Planck, in discussing the report of the Executive, put in a word for the editors, urging that they should be allowed to give their time to their proper work instead of being continually called on to lecture and serve on committees.

THE GENERAL STRIKE.

The Hanover comrades moved that the question of the general strike be put on the order of business of the next congress. The Executive thought this unwelcome; the general strike was not now a pressing question in Germany.

AN UNJUSTIFIED ATTACK.

The Texas Federation of Labor recently adopted resolutions declaring that the American Labor Union in Colorado and Idaho had "placed a boycott on the labels of the International Typographical Union, the Clear Makers' International Union, the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, and the Amalgamated Butcher Workers," and that the A. L. U. must therefore be "stamped out" in Texas.

Whether this manifesto was inspired by the A. F. of L. administration, or whether it was instigated by the Democratic politicians for the purpose of hurrying a labor organization which is pledged to Socialism, we do not know. The latter explanation seems the more probable.

But we do know that the charge made against the A. L. U. is absolutely false. That organization obliges its men to buy union-made goods, and has never "placed a boycott" on any label, even in the hottest of the fight between it and the A. F. of L. It has given special support to the printers' and cigarmakers' labels in the Rocky Mountain region, so effectively in the latter case that it was formally thanked for its services by the C. M. I. U. As for the meat workers, when they went on strike at the Chicago packing houses last summer, the A. L. U. at once offered its assistance and the millwrights and machinery erectors in the packing houses, who were affiliated with the A. L. U., went out to a man in sympathy.

There may be two sides to the disagreements between the A. F. of L. and the A. L. U. But the interests of justice and harmony in the labor movement are certainly not promoted by such fabrications as this to which the Texas Federation has lent itself.

WORKMEN'S LIVES HAVE NO VALUE.

Fifteen furnace men at the Pueblo steel mill went on strike for fresh air. Their places were filled by new men from the country who had not the furnace, the men were accustomed to go outside at certain intervals to clear their lungs of the deadly fumes which they had inhaled at the furnaces. The management of the mill decided that the workers spent too much time in safe-guarding their cheap respiratory organs from suffocation, and, therefore, set up notices forbidding the men to leave their posts or stand in the doorway while on duty. The life of the worker in absolutely worthless when it hinders in ever so small a degree, the profit-making of the mill.

It is a well-known fact that the fumes from melting iron are far more harmful than those from any other mineral. The man who works eight hours at a stretch around the furnaces, without breathing fresh air, inevitably gets the worst kind of emphysema. But, under the wage-slavery system, the death of the worker means a loss to the tool-owner, because there are always other wage-slaves to be had in the labor market for the mere cost of subsistence while actually engaged in producing wealth for their capitalist employers.—A. L. U. Journal.

FOR FREE MAINTENANCE OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

From being the most vehemently opposed of the public measures first proposed by the Social Democratic Federation some twenty-one years ago as "Practical Remedies for Pressing Needs," the proposal of free maintenance for school children is rapidly becoming the most popular. This is doubtless due as much to the economic pressure, which makes more and more evident the impossibility of decent provision being made for the children except by public collective effort, as to our agitation. However that may be, and whatever may be the cause of it, the demand for free maintenance, or at least free meals, is finding almost universal expression, and especially among the bodies representative of the organized workers, from the Trades Congress to practically every trades council and every trade-union conference in the kingdom.

In view of this fact it is important that the K. D. F., the body which first formulated the proposal, and has steadily and steadily changed its policy for the last twenty years, should not relax its efforts, but should persistently press forward its demand until complete success crowns its efforts. How this can be best secured is matter for serious consideration. The K. D. F. is now urging a demand for a special autumn session of Parliament to deal with the unemployed problem. Now the question of hungry children is intimately bound up with that of unemployed men, and the free maintenance of school children should be a primary object of the campaign by which the distress due to want of employment may be relieved. Whatever may be said for the objection that free maintenance of the children would tend to pauperize both them and their parents, it will, we should imagine, be readily conceded, that the children should not be allowed to perish for want of food in consequence of the enforced idleness of their parents. In any case, the fact that thousands are so perishing in the midst of winter is a strong argument in favor of free maintenance, and an additional reason for pressing our proposal with renewed vigor.—H. Quelch in the Social Democrat for October.

SAN FRANCISCO UNIONS START CO-OPERATIVE MEAT COMPANY.

We reported two weeks ago the organization of the less than 100 San Francisco, affiliated with the Citizens' Alliance, to enforce the "open shop" by the means of that city have decided to form a Co-operative Meat Company, to be run upon laborer's principles. If this plan is carried out on the democratic lines indicated in the prospectus, it is a real and a true active interest, instead of leaving the work and the power to a few leaders, and, if, above all, they back it up with a steadily increasing Socialist vote, very good results should follow.

THE SELF-DELUSIONS OF ECONOMIC DETERMINISM.

To this day men give themselves up to wounds and death in the struggle for foreign markets, under the belief that they are impelled by patriotism or religion. Ministers, under the illusion that they are interpreting the will of Jesus, but actually prompted by the direct economic pressure of conformity to the views of their rich capitalists, preach a doctrine of sanctity to predatory wealth, and urge acquiescence upon protesting labor. Teachers, too often find it only within the narrow limits which are prescribed by employers; while judges, in their labors of interpreting the constitution, are not infrequently brought instead to an interpretation of the wish and will of the dominant economic class.—W. J. Ghent, in "Mass and Class."

THE WORKER PAYS THE BILLS.

"Who pays the worker's bills?" somebody asks and attempts an answer by saying, "The professional or married class." Not so, mates. All the bills of any class in society, are paid by the productive workers. The workers pay their own bills and the bills of everybody else.—International Metal Worker.

The long strike of the street railway employees in Houston, Tex., which has lasted the first of June, is the most recent. Strike-breaker Parry was in the game, and so were the governing powers which the votes of the laboring people created.—Cleveland Citizen, trade-union paper.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

We have, of late, received many complaints of lost letters containing cash or stamps. This is very unpleasant, and there is but one way to avoid such losses. Send all money by check, money order or registered letter. We are not responsible for money sent any other way.

THE CONSERVATOR.

The "Conservator" edited by Horace Traubel, is a source of genuine delight to me. It is distinctly original, refreshing and inspiring, and is sure of an eager welcome wherever it finds its way.

PETER E. BURROWS:

"The Conservator" is brave and wholehearted with its long sustained and ever growing vitality it could supply a matter to an arsenal of its contemporaries.

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There is no paper I would so much like to have Socialists read as "The Conservator." We read our own literature, but we should read something else something that will bid us remember that Socialism is a means and not an end. The end of economic liberty is the liberty of the yoked and poisoned human spirit. Traubel and his "Conservator" will, better than any thing else in America, bring this liberty of the human spirit to our remembrance.

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NEW YORK "CALL."

A DAILY TRADE UNION AND SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER to be published in the interests of THE WORKING CLASS. TRADE UNIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS are invited to send two delegates each to the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE, New York, meeting every second and Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth Street, New York, or the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE, Brooklyn, meeting every fourth Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn.

WORKINGMEN, THIS IS TO BE YOUR PAPER. Organized by workingmen and controlled by the delegates to the conference and the WORKINGMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, which meets every first Monday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth Street, New York.

SHAFFER ON ROOSEVELT.

"No Politics in the Union," If You Please.

Steel Workers' President Grossly Insults the Intelligence of His Constituents by Officially Endorsing the Friend of Parry and Peabody.

Theodore J. Shaffer, President of the Amalgamated Association of Steel Workers, is a type of the sort of labor leaders that Socialists oppose, not because they decline to accept Socialism, but because they are inconsistent and insincere in their opposition to it. He is a type of the sort of labor leaders that have given the cause of Socialism a name to work for, and his political attitude is a complete negation of the labor movement and the workingmen's interests at their pleasure.

President Shaffer is one of that coterie of men high in official position in the trade-union movement whose warfare against Socialism has been, "No politics in the trade union." We well know by long experience that this cry is almost always a ruse to conceal the purposes of labor leaders who wish to use their prestige in the unions for their own political advancement. Thus we are not surprised when, five days before election, we find this same non-partisan Shaffer writing thus of Roosevelt:

"President Roosevelt is essentially a people's man. He is a man of the masses, and his whole soul goes out to ward those who have to work for wages. His entire record is a proof of this. He has studied the industrial question of our country for himself, and he clearly understands how labor can be crushed by capital. He has most emphatically declared himself on this point. He has publicly stated time and time again that, as far as he is concerned, labor must be fairly dealt with by capital, even though stringent laws have to be enacted to accomplish the object. Declarations of this kind have caused a certain class of millionaires to array themselves against him. In this we have proof that President Roosevelt is looked upon by wealthy capitalists as a friend of labor. This fact ought to prompt wage-workers to support Roosevelt. I want to say emphatically that it is the duty of the working classes to support their friends, and most certainly President Roosevelt is one of the best friends of ever had."

"I firmly believe that President Roosevelt intends to knock on the head every illegal combination of capital there is in the country."

It is well known that Shaffer is an applicant for the succession to Carroll D. Wright's job of Labor Commissioner. It is to be expected—and with regret that he will get it now, having earned it at such a cost to his constituents.

With Roosevelt's record on the "open shop" with Parry's and Kirby's praises of his anti-unionism, we are, worst of all, with his record as a silent abettor of the atrocities committed against labor in the Colorado case to have the head of a great labor organization come out in his support, not as an individual only, but as a labor leader, this is such an insult to the rank and file of the union that, if they stand for it, no one can wonder at the contempt the capitalists show for them.

SOCIALISTS DEFEAT OBNOXIOUS LAW.

Michigan Statute Imposing Tax on Nomination of Candidates Is Declared Invalid on Our Protest.

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., Nov. 4.—The Socialists here have won an important victory in the courts. The primary law prevailing in Kent County provides that nominations shall be made only in primaries and that a certain fee must be paid for every candidate's name placed on the primary ballot. The Socialists, deciding to test this law, which was intended as a check to the minority parties, made their nominations by mass convention. The election authorities refused to recognize the county clerk as nominated, and we then appealed to the courts on the ground that the requirement of fees was unconstitutional and invalid. The Supreme Court upheld this contention and issued a peremptory mandamus ordering the Election Commission to print our candidates' names on the official ballot.

As an attempt may be made in other states to introduce this fee system for the purpose of harrying parties that have no big "barrel," the comrades should take notice of this decision.

ENGLISH SOCIALIST CO-OPERATION.

The Socialists of Northampton, England, run co-operative shoe works, the profits from which go to the "war chest" or campaign fund of the Social Democratic Federation. The contribution for October amounted to nearly \$100, the largest monthly profit yet made.

CLOSING UNION OF LONGSHOREMEN.

The American and British organizations of longshoremen are planning to amalgamate. The united body will start with 150,000 members, and expects to swell many more in a short time. The union is to take in all workers on the docks, making a real industrial organization on an international scale.

EVENTS IN ITALY.

Last Sunday's General Elections and the General Strike in September.

It is impossible as yet to get any clear idea of the general elections in Italy, which took place on Nov. 6. It is clear that a powerful coalition was formed by the government, including Liberals, Conservatives, Clericals and, in general, all that are commonly described as the "forces of order" against the Socialists and Democrats. On the other hand, a large part of the support that would otherwise have come to the Socialist Party from the Democrats seems to have been alienated as a result of the general strike of a few weeks earlier, to which the Socialists gave their support, thus offending the small capitalists, from which class most of the Democrats come.

It seems, from such dispatches as have been received, that the Socialist vote has been reduced. This, however, by no means indicates a reduction of the real Socialist strength, but only a sharper drawing of the lines. The Socialist Party now stands alone and knows its enemies.

Of the general strike a writer for the London "Labor Leader" writes: "To appreciate the serious nature of the events of last month in Italy there are certain facts to be borne in mind. First, the first 40 political meetings were held under twenty-four hours' notice having been given to the state police ('Carabinieri'), armed with rifles and revolvers, the local chief of police having full power to prohibit such meetings or to attend them and limit their proceedings as he thinks fit; second, all printed matter for publication or distribution must first be inspected by the local chief of police, and over this he has a complete veto; third, at a moment's notice all postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communication is under the rigorous supervision of the state censor. All these and other powers were fully exercised against the popular movement, yet—"

the following are the bare facts. "For months past there had been small strikes in various parts of the country, all due to local conditions of the moment. Some half dozen of these strikes were called out by the local chief of police, and fired on the strikers. In every case but one for truly pitiful reasons—say, for example, the knocking off of the hat of the chief of police. Finally, one of these massacres took place at Nervi, near Genoa, and a week later, as the leaders of the Socialist Party sat in consideration of the possibility of a national strike in October in protest against the brutal interference of the government in the peaceful solution of the industrial disputes, telegrams were being received from all parts of the country announcing a general strike. This was on Friday, Sept. 16.

"The present movement had its origin at Milan, where the strike was most successful and most prolonged, lasting for five days from Saturday—longer than the parliamentary leaders claimed for it. The Camera del Lavoro (Labor Council) and during those five days the city was entirely in the hands of that body. There was no train, tram, or cab service, no electricity, no newspapers, and all the shops and most of the restaurants were closed. The Camera del Lavoro published an 'Official Bulletin of the General Strike,' and attended to the distribution of bread and to the cleanliness and order of the city. Several great mass meetings were held, at which the publicans, Socialists, and Anarchists spoke in turn, and the single violent death which took place was apparently due to a private quarrel. When the strike began, most of the military were out of town on maneuvers, and railway communications being at a standstill, they did not get back until the evening of the fifth day. As there was no news of the strike, they were only a quiet fun at their expense—they at once disappeared in search of food. The next day work was quietly resumed by order of the Camera del Lavoro.

"Meanwhile over the whole of Italy the strike was spontaneously general—among the cities, notably Turin and Genoa, at least for one day. In Rome, Naples, Bologna, Venice—scores of smaller towns and hundreds of little ones. Nowhere was there serious disorder, but Milan was the most orderly, the best organized of them all, also the most revolutionary.

"The 'Comrade' translates from an article in 'Neue Zeit' by Oda Oldberg: 'On the morning of Sept. 15 the news spread through Italy that again the Carabinieri had shot upon organized workers, killing two of them. A news item in the London 'Daily News' from Buenos Aires, dated Oct. 1, states that a man named Berni, a candidate for Congress, came the bloody deed of Castellani. Ten days had passed since the last occurrence of this kind. The effect of the news was like that of a thunderbolt. All at once it impinged itself upon the consciousness of everybody, how meagre and unavailing had been all preceding protest. Should they repeat the deed of indifference and accusation uttered at the graves, hardly closed, of the miners of Sardinia? Were the proletariat to again protest in mass meetings, feebly make a fist and leave things as they are, patiently carrying their yoke, without possessing the first elementary right of social community—the protection of life from violent outrage? All felt that the hour of words was past. The day of deeds had to be done. And without waiting for an order, they acted. Two hours after 'Il Tempo' had spread the news from Sicily among the workers of Monza the strike had been declared there. At noon the wheels ceased to go around. Seven thousand workers had gone on strike. On the evening of the same day the members of the Milan Camera del Lavoro proclaimed the general strike. On the morning of Sept. 16 all work in Milan came to a stop. The number of strikers was variously estimated at 80,000 to 100,000. On the evening of Sept. 16 the Socialist leaders of Rome decided upon an address to the Socialist Party and the executive committees of the labor organizations, advising them to follow the example of the workers of Milan and enter into a general strike as a protest against the murder of innocent proletarians. That same night twelve men were wounded at Nervi near Genoa, where the authorities had ordered the Carabinieri to open fire upon the people. On Sept. 17, at noon, the strike was declared throughout Liguria. The

street railroad workers, the gas workers and the workers of the electric power houses—had already ceased working. For three days the city of Genoa was without light, heat, and water. In Rome the strike was declared on the evening of Sept. 17. Excepting the gas workers, it comprised all the industries of the capital. The papers announced on the morning of Sept. 18 that on account of the strike they had to cease publication. Turin, Bologna, Livorno, Biella, and hundreds of smaller cities followed suit. A simultaneous stoppage of work had been rendered impossible through the suspension of telegraphic communication. On Sept. 18, after Premier Giolitti had stated that the government had no intention to take sides in peaceful strikes and that those who were responsible for the shooting of strikers would be punished, the Camera del Lavoro of Milan resolved to call upon the workers to resume work. But the strike spread to other cities—Mantua, Venice, Naples, Florence, Ravenna, and many more. It is impossible to give exact figures as to the number of strikers and the number of working days lost. Far into the smallest mountain villages, into the most remote towns, did the strike extend. In the province of Mantua, which is predominantly agricultural, about 120,000 workers left the fields. The railroad workers, with the exception of those of Siena and Naples, did not strike."

It appears that the government, either frightened by this tremendous strike, or being weary of the political interference of the alarm it had caused in certain circles, or for both reasons, sent large bodies of troops to the Socialist strongholds just before the election and undoubtedly exercised all possible pressure to keep the Socialist vote down.

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

Social Democratic Federation Energetically Pressing Its Demand for Special Session.

The House of Commons (Socialist) has been holding its first rally at the town hall Nov. 5. Geo. E. Littlefield was the speaker and from the opening to the close of his remarks he poured hot shot into the camp of the old parties. He also took up the matter that has been appearing in one of our local papers, attributed to a Catholic priest who is too cowardly to sign his name. Comrade Littlefield took up every point of the campaign, and his speaker and completely mopped the floor with him. The attendance was fairly good, more than was expected by the local. We had the American Band, who gave several concert outside and they gave several selections in the hall. Several members of the band, including Leader Leonard, are Socialists. Comrades have worked hard to make this rally a success and we feel that it was well off course at this time to introduce to know Comrade Littlefield's election was received, but I am sure by the applause that it will be the cause of lots of comment and if that is the case his object will have been accomplished."

SPOILED THE MAYOR'S BIRTHDAY PARTY.

Dr. Karl Lueger, the Mayor of Vienna, and his Catholic supporters planned a great celebration in honor of his birthday, but the Social Democrats very effectively turned it into an occasion of rebuff. "Lueger is a particularly base type of capitalist politician, depending upon the power of race prejudice to support him in his oppression of the progressive workingmen, whom he describes as 'blackguards.' The Socialists, therefore, in attacking him, make a demonstration at once for the dignity of the working class and for the solidarity of labor regardless of racial or religious lines."

On the day set for the grand parade and coronation in honor of the Bureau of the "Arbeiter Zeitung" called on all the "blackguards" to assemble near the City Hall and let the magistrate know what they thought of him. Assembled they did, to the number of 20,000, with red flags and banners, hissed Lueger heartily at the time when he had expected to be receiving complimentary addresses from his partisans and sang Socialist songs in his detestation. The result was that the projected birthday celebration was rendered impossible.

The Executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany sent the fraternal greetings of the "miserable wretches" of their land—such as the Kaiser's phrase—to their Austrian brothers.

This completely successful counter-demonstration has made a great impression. "London 'Justice' says: 'The Anti-Semite majority in the Lower Austrian Landtag are preparing a measure to hand over popular education more completely than ever to the priests, who are given a quite exceptionally privileged position with power to interfere. They have had enough power hitherto, but now it is simply scandalous. The Socialists are holding enormous mass meetings as a protest.'

WORK OF WRIGHT'S LABOR DEPARTMENT.

Cheap labor is wanted in the South. The appeal of the cotton planters to Southern Congressmen to ask government aid in securing plenty of labor has been acted upon. The Department of Labor at Washington has informed the Mississippi Congressmen that within six months over 150,000 Italian immigrants will land in America. An assurance is given that 40,000 of these will land at Southern ports and that 30,000 will have come by Nov. 1, the busiest part of the season. This is an experiment of the Department to ascertain comparatively the extent of endurance under famish conditions of the Negro and Italian, and—what is a special object of the Department. If the Italian do not work cheap enough, probably Japs and Chinese will be imported. Meanwhile the Immigration laws are pretty much of a dead letter, and the Labor Department, over which Carroll D. Wright still presides, is tumbling over itself to serve capitalists. Cleveland Citizen.

Mr. Lawson, the gentleman who is exposing "Amalgamated Copper" in the magazine, is telling truth, but the object of his solicitude, the small investor, will not escape being deceived by his bigger rival on account of it.

PARTY NEWS.

National.

The National Campaign Fund increased by \$502.11 during the week ending Nov. 3, of which \$332.44 was received as regular contributions and \$269.67 on half-day's pay fund, making a total to date of \$9,222.22.

Comrades having lists and coin cards upon which they have collected are urged to send in the amounts immediately, as the National Secretary is anxious to clear up all outstanding bills during the month of November. Not all the half-day's pay lists have been reported upon by the state secretaries and locals. A complete report of outstanding lists will be made shortly, so that accounts can be rendered by local and state secretaries.

The November "Bulletin" will contain the list of contributions to the national campaign fund since Oct. 6.

C. Christensen has resigned as National Committee member from Nebraska and the election of his successor is now in progress.

The referendum of the Socialist Party of Idaho has endorsed the action of the state convention in electing T. J. Connors as State Secretary by a vote of 141 to 70.

The National Quorum at its meeting held Nov. 7 instructed the National Secretary to call for nominations for the election by the National Committee of the National Executive Committee and the National Secretary on Dec. 1, 1904, the nominations to close Dec. 22, declarations and acceptances to close Jan. 1, 1905, the election to extend from Jan. 1 to Jan. 22.

New Hampshire.

State Secretary Wilkins of New Hampshire writes: "The Socialists of Claremont held their first rally at the town hall Nov. 5. Geo. E. Littlefield was the speaker and from the opening to the close of his remarks he poured hot shot into the camp of the old parties. He also took up the matter that has been appearing in one of our local papers, attributed to a Catholic priest who is too cowardly to sign his name. Comrade Littlefield took up every point of the campaign, and his speaker and completely mopped the floor with him. The attendance was fairly good, more than was expected by the local. We had the American Band, who gave several concert outside and they gave several selections in the hall. Several members of the band, including Leader Leonard, are Socialists. Comrades have worked hard to make this rally a success and we feel that it was well off course at this time to introduce to know Comrade Littlefield's election was received, but I am sure by the applause that it will be the cause of lots of comment and if that is the case his object will have been accomplished."

Massachusetts.

George Howarth, Jr., will speak on "The Difference Between Anarchy and Socialism," Sunday, Nov. 13, at 8 p. m., in Homestead Hall, 424 Washington Street, Boston. Admission is free.

New Jersey.

On Saturday, Nov. 5, a meeting was held in Union Hall, Riverside, Paterson. Comrade Hendley spoke in English and Comrade Wesch of New York spoke the German language. On Sunday, Nov. 6, Comrade Killingsworth of Orange addressed a meeting in Helvetia Hall. About a dollar's worth of literature was sold and \$4.00 was collected. Next Sunday, Nov. 13, there will be another meeting in Helvetia Hall. The results of the election will be announced.

Pennsylvania.

A grand rally will be held at the Philadelphia Labor Lyceum, Monday evening, Nov. 14. "Every comrade should be present, with a friend or two."

New York State.

The debate held Sunday afternoon at New Rochelle between Alvanor Lee on behalf of the Social Democratic Party and Edmund C. Rathenau, Democratic candidate in the Second Assembly District of Westchester County, undoubtedly brought many votes to the Socialist ticket. Music Hall was well filled and the majority of the audience followed with close attention. Mr. Rathenau's cause suffered much, however, from the discussion of the cooperation of the party, who stood in the rear of the hall and divided their time between tumultuous shouting for him and noisy interruptions of Comrade Lee's remarks. Mr. Rathenau personally is probably not to be held responsible for this unpleasant feature of the meeting, but it fairly represented the political methods of his party. Mr. Rathenau's own share in the debate was an elaborate exhibition of self-stepping. He began by declaring to open a debate, as agreed, and then he proceeded to attack the Socialists and the Socialist argument. He continued by entirely avoiding the discussion of Lee's argument and talking about pretty much everything but the principles and purposes of the S.D.P. There is not much satisfaction in such debates, where the opponent tries all the time to evade the question at issue; it would be much more pleasant to meet opponents who would really debate. But the meeting certainly resulted in advantage to the Social Democratic side.

State Secretary Chase addresses the comrades thus: "The battle of the ballots is over and we can now heed the lessons that it gives us. We have made a great campaign and the result is pleasing to every Socialist."

"Just while we enthuse over our vote in Illinois, Wisconsin, California, New York and many other states where we made big increases, it is well for us to stop and consider its true significance."

"The great crying need of the hour is organization."

"With a well drilled, intelligent organization of our forces we can look forward to the future with the belief that we can go marching forward to early success. Without this organization we are lost."

The vote in Massachusetts shows

that without organization and work the vote in any or all of the states may be lost to us in the future.

"I would impress upon the mind of every comrade, especially in the state of New York, the absolute necessity of building up the locals of the party and educating every member, not only in the basic principles of Socialism, but in an understanding of what is required of any comrade as a party worker."

"New York is one of the most difficult states for organization and every one of the fifty locals now in existence should immediately start a campaign of education by holding lectures and discussions to be continued all through the winter. I shall have more to say upon this matter later, but I feel that there is no time like the present in which to bring this important point home to the comrades."

"Remember that Socialism is not coming in this country without the most perfect organization of our forces. In the great battle of capitalism and Socialism which is ahead, and will be fought out in the future, we must have every man prepared to do his part."

"The vote of the Social Democratic Party last Tuesday in the state of New York was in all probability over 40,000."

"This is a big and substantial increase over any previous state or national election. Every comrade in the state has a right to feel proud of the part he has played in the achievement of this result. But the work has just begun. No Socialist should think that he has done his duty and earned the right to go to sleep. Let us to the work then and while we very properly exult over our present standing as a political party, let us also perform that which will make our organization absolutely impregnable to the assaults that will surely be made upon it in the future."

New York City.

The debate between representatives of the West Side Socialist Club and the Y. M. C. A. Literary Society last Saturday was fairly well attended, and the audience evinced a lively interest in the absence of one of the intended debaters on an invitation to the state convention. John J. Hogan was on the one side and Alvanor Lee on the other took part. In accordance with the custom of the Literary Society, Alvanor acted as judge of the debate. His decision was in favor of the affirmative or Socialist side—it being understood, if course, that he decided, not according to his own opinion on the merits of the question, but upon the arguments presented and the manner of their presentation.

John C. Chase will lecture at Columbia Hall, One Hundred and First Street and Columbus Avenue, Sunday evening, Nov. 13, on "The Meaning of the Election."

Comrades will doubtless be interested to learn of the marriage of Edward Cassidy and Miss Hall, both members of the 21st A. D. and very active workers in the movement. The wedding took place Sunday evening, in the presence of a few friends. I. D. Mayes performing the ceremony. They certainly have the congratulations and good wishes of all who know them.

The comrades of the 21st and 30th A. D. during the campaign have sold 2,288 copies of The Worker, 130 of the "Volksrecht," 396 of Debs' "Unionism and Socialism," and 357 of Hanford's "Labor War in Colorado," besides getting about 60 subscriptions for The Worker. To Comrade Tinner chiefly is due the credit of beginning and organizing this work. Comrade Meyer deserves high praise for his faithful and efficient services; he has really made a record for himself in this campaign. Mention must be made also of Comrade Hahnemann in the Jewish part of the district in a very able manner.

The regular meeting of the General Committee will be held on Saturday, Nov. 12, 8 p. m., at the club rooms of the W. E. A. No. 206 E. Eighty-sixth Street. As this is the first meeting after the election all delegates should be on hand promptly.

All candidates for public office in New York County, as well as all Presidential electoral candidates in New York County, are requested to file their tentative expense account with the Organizer at once on forms specially provided for that purpose. The law says that all such certificates must be filed within ten days after election and any candidate who refuses or neglects to file such statement is guilty of a punishable misdemeanor.

The second annual concert and ball of the Downtown Young People's Social Democratic Club is near at hand. This affair will be held on Saturday evening, Dec. 3, at the Grand American Hall, 7 and 9 Second Avenue. The New York Letter Carriers' Band of 60 pieces, with Mr. Frank E. Hoops as bandmaster, has volunteered to furnish the concert program gratis. The comrades should remember that this band last Debs' meeting, which is certainly to be appreciated. In addition to the concert a dance will be delivered by either Ben Hanford or John Spargo, and the affair will close with a grand ball. Dance music will be furnished by Local No. 310, F. of M. The General Committee has endorsed this affair, as half the net proceeds will go to Local New York and 10 per cent. to the State Committee. In order to make this concert a success it will be necessary to have the cooperation of every member and sympathizer. Tickets have been sent to all district organizations as well as to trade unions. The price of admission has been set at 25 cents a person. Comrades should push the sale of tickets everywhere, so that a large sum can be turned in for next year's campaign. It is also urged that monies for tickets be paid to the treasurer, Henry Waldinger, 64 E. Fourth Street, as soon as possible. There is considerable current expense to pay. Posters will be ready by Monday and any comrade desiring to distribute them, as well as throw away cards, should call at the Organizer's office without delay.

At the last meeting of the New York "Call" Conference held on Oct. 14, it was decided that the next regular meeting be held on Thursday evening, Nov. 17, at 64 E. Fourth Street, and thereafter on the second and fourth Thursday of each month. The

following amounts were received as contributions originally intended for one-month subscriptions for the "Call": W. Zabinsky, E. Auer, Henry Smith, Joseph Sonnenberg, Amos W. Landers, H. P. Muller, 43 cents each; total, \$2.70. Delegates are earnestly requested to attend the next meeting, as an important report from the Board of Management is to be acted upon, and there is work for every delegate to do according to his ability. Every progressive trade union and labor organization is invited to send two delegates to the Conference. The New York "Call" is to be published as a daily trade-union and Socialist newspaper. In the interests of those who follow the daily newspapers now in the field do not do justice to the workingmen in their struggle with their masters for better conditions. In the face of this well-known fact it should be clear to every reading workman that we need a daily newspaper to serve the interests of labor; such the New York "Call" is to be. All workmen should heed this call for renewed action in helping to raise the fund to the \$50,000 mark.

BROOKLYN.

Morris Hillquit will lecture on "Socialism at Home and Abroad," Sunday evening, Nov. 13, in the Silver Building, 315 Washington Street. All who are interested are cordially invited. A. L. Samuelson, Leonard D. Abbott, Alvanor Lee, and Henry L. Skolodnik are the lecturers for the four following Sundays.

Charles H. Matchett is to speak in Buffalo Hall, Buffalo Avenue and Fulton Street, Sunday evening, Nov. 13. Admission free.

The 10th A. D. meets at Comrade Holzer's house, 78 Truxton Street, Sunday, Nov. 13, 2:30 p. m.

PENNSYLVANIA.

(Continued from page 1.)

1901 we raised the figure to 240. In 1902, the year of the coal strike, we advanced to 1,080. Last year we temporarily lost a part of this big gain. But now we have reclaimed it all and a little more.

BRAIDFORD, Nov. 9.—This town gives Debs and Hanford 222 votes. In 1900 we had 28 in the whole county.

NEWS FROM OHIO.

PORTSMOUTH, O., Nov. 8.—In 1900 we had 15 votes in this city. In 1902 we increased it to 67. This year we poll 135. While we did not get our names in the papers much, we were not asleep by any means. Nor shall we be from now on.

COLUMBUS, Nov. 9.—Eugene V. Debs received 615 votes in Columbus. In 1900 we had 140.

MARSHALL, Nov. 9.—We poll about 200 votes. In 1900 we had 22 and two years ago 80.

EAST LIVERPOOL, Nov. 9.—Our vote here increases from 29 in 1902 to 65 yesterday.

BIG JUMP IN BALTIMORE.

BALTIMORE, Md., Nov. 8.—This city gives between 1,400 and 1,500 votes for the Socialist Party. In the national election four years ago the whole state of Maryland gave us only 2,288 votes. This is the result of a great deal of hard work, and it inspires the comrades for continued and increased effort.

NEW YORK CITY CAMPAIGN FUND.

All persons who still have campaign-fund lists in their possession are urged to return them at the earliest moment, with moneys collected, to Financial Secretary U. Solomon, 64 E. Fourth Street.

The receipt of the following contributions is acknowledged: Chas. Rosenthal, List 78, \$10; Berthold Koen, List 87, \$1; Henry J. Kinsolin, List 418, \$1; Gustav Falkenberg, List 125, \$3.30; Chas. Zimmerman, List 137, \$1; Jac Troller, List 303, \$1.25; Wm. Tetsch, List 177, \$1; Heinrich Wogonsky, List 290, \$4.50; Edw. P. Clarke, List 322, \$3.75; Fred. Hupp, List 357, \$1; Henry Spitzfaden, List 394, \$1; Thomas Niebohn, List 322, \$1.50; Marcus Sachs, List 401, \$1; Fritz Hoppe, List 531, \$3.10; Heman Walther, List 567, \$1.65; J. H. Kinsler, List 585, 10c; Julius Neuman, List 590, \$5.50; Henry Rathman, List 602, \$1.75; Joe Henke, List 608, \$2.50; Fred Schaefer, List 611, \$2; Carl Vollmer, List 624, \$3.00; Joseph Vogt, List 625, \$1.25; Carl Gottenevel, List 3125, \$1; L. D. Mayes, List 1900, \$2.50; F. Berghausen, List 675, \$1.65; J. Fromer, List 3270, 90c; N. A. Jettchen, List 3284, \$2.75; Otto Altmyer, List 730, \$1.50; E. B. George, List 724, \$3; George Binsler, List 728, \$2.50; Gustave Dressler, List 728, \$1.75; Theodore Guis, List 734, \$4.05; Fred. Oldenstadt, List 740, \$2.75; H. Sch., List 752, \$3; Sam Klages, on account List 763, \$1; Sam Halpern, List 1132, 75c; S. Christy, List 1917, \$2; Louis Kates, List 1840, \$1.75; Joe Karlynsky, List 1905, \$1.75; H. King, List 2009, \$2.80; Otto Wolmer, List 2203, \$2.50; W. Arons, List 2345, \$1.25; Miss A. Herman, List 2370, \$1; E. Green, List 2506, \$1.10; employers of the Reid Marble Co., collected by Ferd. A. Meyer, balance Lists Nos. 3287 and 2092, \$0.50; Fr. Muller, List 2721, \$1; C. Patenandt, List 2743, \$1; John Schmalbach, List 2834, \$3.65; A. Schram, List 2908, \$1.50; Geo. Wetz, List 2903, \$2.50; E. Friedman, List 2905, \$5; Ab. Abraham, List 2906, \$2; Quartette Club Fidel, collected by Wm. Sengsbach, List 331, \$1.90; Kraken Unterwiesingh Verein der deutsche Maschinenisten, collected by Kietz, List 850, 50c; do. do., collected by H. Reinhardt, List 860, \$1; Fr. 180, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Lists 1140-1-2-3, \$5; Fr. 153, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, collected by Berber, List 1164, 90c; Fr. 2005, \$5; Ab. Abraham, List 1200, \$2; Quartette Club Fidel, collected by Wm. Sengsbach, List 331, \$1.90; Kraken Unterwiesingh Verein der deutsche Maschinenisten, collected by Kietz, List 850, 50c; do. do., collected by H. Reinhardt, List 860, \$1; Fr. 180, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Lists 1140-1-2-3, \$5; Fr. 153, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, collected by Berber, List 1164, 90c; Fr. 2005, \$5; Ab. Abraham, List 1200, \$2; Quartette Club Fidel, collected by Wm. Sengsbach, List 331, \$1.90; Kraken Unterwiesingh Verein der deutsche Maschinenisten, collected by Kietz, List 850, 50c; do. do., collected by H. Reinhardt, List 860, \$1; Fr. 180, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Lists 1140-1-2-3, \$5; Fr. 153, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, collected by Berber, List 1164, 90c; Fr. 2005, \$5; Ab. Abraham, List 1200, \$2; Quartette Club Fidel, collected by Wm. Sengsbach, List 331, \$1.90; Kraken Unterwiesingh Verein der deutsche Maschinenisten, collected by Kietz, List 850, 50c; do. do., collected by H. Reinhardt, List 860, \$1; Fr. 180, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Lists 1140-1-2-3, \$5; Fr. 153, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, collected by Berber, List 1164, 90c; Fr. 2005, \$5; Ab. Abraham, List 1200, \$2; Quartette Club Fidel, collected by Wm. Sengsbach, List 331, \$1.90; Kraken Unterwiesingh Verein der deutsche Maschinenisten, collected by Kietz, List 850, 50c; do. do., collected by H. Reinhardt, List 860, \$1; Fr. 180, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Lists 1140-1-2-3, \$5; Fr. 153, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, collected by Berber, List 1164, 90c; Fr. 2005, \$5; Ab. Abraham, List 1200, \$2; Quartette Club Fidel, collected by Wm. Sengsbach, List 331, \$1.90; Kraken Unterwiesingh Verein der deutsche Maschinenisten, collected by Kietz, List 850, 50c; do. do., collected by H. Reinhardt, List 860, \$1; Fr. 180, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Lists 1140-1-2-3, \$5; Fr. 153, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, collected by Berber, List 1164, 90c; Fr. 2005, \$5; Ab. Abraham

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

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AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIV.—NO. 34.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 20, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

PEABODY "CALLED"

W. F. of M. Challenges His Statements.

Reverend's Friend, the Star of Colorado, Remains Silent When Called Upon to Prove His Defamatory Assertions About Deported Men.

In his campaign speeches, the Peabody of Colorado, who has been machine tried to hard to elect, and so nearly succeeded—asserted that of the union miners and sympathizers whom he had ordered deported from the state without trial or any process of law, forty-four were ex-convicts, seven of whom had been in the penitentiary within the last ninety days. The Western Federation of Miners came out with a statement branding this as an absolute lie, giving the names of the two hundred deported men, and challenged Peabody to name the ones who he alleged to be ex-convicts. The Federation posted three forfeits of \$1,000 each, to go to the widows and orphans of men killed in recent mine explosions, if the Star could prove his assertion that forty-four of the deported men were ex-convicts, if he could prove his assertion that seven of them had been in the penitentiary within ninety days, or if he could disprove the Federation's assertion that among the deported and state militia employed by him in breaking the strike there were twenty ex-convicts for every one among the entire membership of the W. F. of M. in the Cripple Creek district.

FOR EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Socialist Aldermen in Milwaukee Take Up the Fight After Adverse Court Decision—Socialist Legislators Will Help.

Following is the text of the resolutions on eight-hour work recently introduced in the City Council by the Socialist Democratic Aldermen:

Whereas, The Circuit Court of Milwaukee County has recently decided that the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee possesses no authority under the city charter to incorporate an eight-hour workday clause in contracts for public work; and

Whereas, The quality of labor performed by a workman or mechanic who is employed only a reasonable number of hours per day is superior to that of one who is obliged to work twelve or fourteen hours per day; and

Whereas, The City of Milwaukee as an employer of labor ought not to subordinate the oppressive conditions to which most private employers compel their men to submit;

Resolved, By the Common Council that the City of Milwaukee hereby request legislation as will permit the Common Council of all cities within the state and all Boards of Supervisors to require that all employees directly employed by such cities or counties, shall be employed not to exceed eight hours per calendar day, except in cases of extraordinary emergencies; and also to permit such cities and counties to require as a necessary condition for the payment of public work awarded to contractors and sub-contractors that they shall furnish proof that they have neither required nor permitted any workman, laborer or mechanic to be employed therefor for more than eight hours per calendar day, except in case of extraordinary emergencies, specifying in detail such emergencies.

As our party now has six members in the Wisconsin Legislature and as there is every prospect of our representation in the Milwaukee City Council being materially increased in the spring election, it may safely be predicted that this fight for the eight-hour day and for other labor measures will soon be crowned with success.

IMPORTANT DECISION.

Milwaukee Social Democrats Compel Observance of the Law Under Which Our Party Has Won Right to Be Represented in Election Boards.

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 9.—The Social Democrats of this city have won an important point in court, which will go far to assure the true counting of our vote in future.

The election laws of the state applying to this city provide that the Mayor shall appoint clerks and inspectors of election for each election district from the two parties having the highest vote there in the last preceding general election. According to this the Social Democrats were entitled to representation in 24 precincts, but acting Mayor Corcoran suddenly sprung a list of appointees in the city council, in which Democrats had been named where Social Democrats were required under the law. He claimed that the words "election district" in the law referred to counties instead of precincts. In spite of the protests of the Social Democratic Aldermen, the appointments were confirmed.

The Social Democrats then took the matter to court, making a test in the cases of the Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth precincts. City Attorney Runge appeared to defend the Mayor's course; but it was evident that he knew the law had been violated and only wished to gain time. He filed an affidavit alleging prejudice on the part of the three Circuit Judges in Milwaukee. To his great disappointment, it was found that Judge Beiden of Racine could come in time to try the case and he was compelled to go on with it, instead of getting a postponement till after election. The City Attorney then threw up the case and Judge Beiden ordered that, in accordance with the provisions of the law, the Mayor be required to appoint Social Democratic inspectors in the districts named.

On account of the interest of the day the matter was not pressed in the other precincts. But a precedent has been

WHAT THIS ELECTION MEANS.

By Eugene V. Debs.

Two distinct and opposing tendencies are revealed in the recent election. One the overwhelming triumph of capitalistic interests, the other the advent of the working class in national politics, as shown by the enormous increase in the Socialist Party's vote.

The Democratic party as the representative of the middle class interests has been practically eliminated, and no sort of reorganization can save it from disintegration, for the simple reason that the middle class, upon which it is mainly built, is being wiped out of existence.

The trust is doing its work in spite of the hue and cry against it. The next few years will see the climax of trustification, and it is this that will control the new political alignment, which will admit of no middle-class party or half-way policy. The truth is that it is a fight between capital and labor, which the politicians of the capitalist parties have in the past been able to obscure and confuse, but the trusts are removing all doubt, and in the near future it must narrow down to that, and there can be no escape from it.

Senator Hanna foresaw it clearly when, shortly before his death, he said: "The next great political struggle in the United States will be between the Republicans and the Socialists."

The Republicans are chagrined at this great victory. It involves a responsibility they can never meet. They have absolute power to deal with the trusts. Thoughtful men know they can do nothing. Trusts defy Republican restriction. They will increase in scope and power until they absorb everything.

The beginning of the end has been passed. The transition will be swift. Industrial depression is almost upon us. Socialism grows amazingly. Within four years it is possible the Socialists may sweep the country. Women are taking an active part in the propaganda. They are in revolt against the system which condemns them. Industrial co-operation must be the basis of the coming republic.

IOWA'S FORWARD MARCH

This Year's Vote at Least 140 per Cent Above That of 1902, Which Was a Gain of 150 per Cent Over 1900.

HITEMAN, Ia., Nov. 9.—The Socialist Party elects its whole township ticket, with 177 votes against 160 for the Republicans and 45 for the Democrats. Our straight vote is 150. Last year we had 107 in all.

DESMOINES, Nov. 12.—Our vote in Iowa will be 15,000 or more, as compared with 2,742 four years ago and 3,560 two years later. The following are some of the returns from counties, showing gains made in the last two years:

County	1902	1904
Cerro Gordo Co.	35	77
Boone Co.	209	581
Jasper Co.	62	220
Muscatine Co.	201	300
Howard Co.	8	67
Scott Co.	700	1,150
Des Moines Co.	281	450
Black Hawk Co.	87	485
Knox Co.	94	90
Clinton Co.	206	430
Dubuque Co.	784	845
Tama Co.	4	47
Pottawottomie Co.	78	420
Palo Alto Co.	8	40
Monroe Co.	275	681

Iowa Socialists are not going to sleep on their laurels. We have a good organization and it will keep at work right along.

INDIANA DOES WELL.

Only a Few Returns in as Yet, But They Show Very Encouraging Increases.

MUNCIE, Ind., Nov. 12.—In Delaware County our national ticket received 302 votes, with 74 for the S. L. P. and 35 for the Populists. Two years ago we had 58, the S. L. P. 40 and the Populists 12. Six precincts of this county give us 105, as against 21 in 1902, and the S. L. P. 12, the same as in that year. From the nucleus formed by these precincts we shall work out for a bigger gain in the county next time.

ELWOOD, Nov. 12.—This township gives Debs and Hanford 315 votes; two years ago, 161.

INDIANAPOLIS, Nov. 10.—We have about 1,500—a gain of 100 per cent.

EVANSVILLE, Nov. 10.—Vanderburg County's vote for Socialism will reach 1,800. This is a gain of nearly 500 per cent.

FROM DOWN EAST.

CONCORD, N. H., Nov. 8.—Our national ticket has 91 votes in this city, as against 20 in 1900. Our state ticket has 74, as against 30 in 1902 and 21 in 1900.

ASHLAND, N. H., Nov. 8.—Five straight Socialist votes. Last year 3.

SKOWHEGAN, Me., Nov. 11.—Present returns indicate that Debs and Hanford will poll 2,000 votes in the state. In 1900 we had 578.

SOCIALISM IN THE CANADIAN ELECTION.

The Liberal party has been returned to power in Canada on a program of state capitalism.

The Socialist Party entered Dominion politics in British Columbia this election for the first time.

In Vancouver district, John T. Mortimer received about 1,200 votes out of a total of 6,000.

In Nanaimo district, Comrade Fenton was defeated by Ralph Smith, Liberal, by only 400 votes.

In Victoria, Comrade Waters received 350 votes.

In the Yale-Cariboo and Kootenay districts, where Ernest Mills and Jas. A. Baker are the candidates, the election comes on Nov. 23 and the Socialists will without doubt poll a big vote. Both these comrades are members of the Western Federation of Miners, Comrade Baker being on the Executive Board of that organization for the British Columbia district. The New Time, Spokane.

—The trade unions of Texas are arranging combinations with the farmers' unions. There are many farmers organized in that state.

FURTHER DETAILS OF THE BIG SOCIALIST VOTE.

Every State Reporting, With the Exception of Massachusetts, Shows Large Increases—Six Socialists Enter the Wisconsin Legislature—Socialism Is Now the Topic of the Day—The Capitalist Press Is Now Compelled to Abandon Its Familiar Policy of Silence.

The 97,730 votes of the Socialist Party in 1900 have grown to half a million in 1904.

Every state, with the exception of Massachusetts and possibly of Colorado, reports an increase, Illinois leading the van with a vote which will probably prove to be nearer to 100,000 than to the 75,000 that we reported last week.

The Middle West—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska—is the field in which this year the Socialist advance is most marked. But Maine and California and Florida and Washington join in the forward march.

Nevada is one of the states that casts its first Socialist vote this year.

As for the South, we have gained a foothold. Another four years, with the development of capitalism that is sure to come, will build up a strong Socialist movement there.

A feature of the election was the almost complete extinction of the Socialist Labor Party, especially in New York, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois, where its adherents were formerly active.

Altogether the result of the Socialist campaign is most encouraging and the comrades everywhere, even in those states where the vote did not materialize as it should, have reason to feel gratified at the general advance made by the Socialist Party this year.

National Secretary Mailly makes the following estimates of the vote in states and territories not covered in reports in this week's issue of The Worker:

Alabama, 2,000; four years ago, none.
Arizona, probably 3,000—six hundred per cent. increase.
Arkansas, probably 1,500; wholesale fraud by Democratic election officers.
California, 30,000; Union Labor Party put out of business.
Colorado, 1,600; a loss, due to desire to defeat Peabody and voting Democratic ticket for that purpose.
Idaho—State Secretary estimates 5,000; no sufficient basis for judgment.
Kansas, at least 12,000; in 1900 we had 1,600 and in 1902 we had 4,000.
Kentucky, probably 4,500, as against 1,886 two years ago.
Maine—State Secretary estimates 2,500—a gain of 300 per cent. in four years.
Maryland, 2,000 to 3,000; we had but 908 in 1902.
Mississippi, South Carolina, and North Carolina, together, probably 900; this is new ground and hardly ready for Socialism.
Nebraska, 7,000 to 10,000, as against 800 four years ago and 3,000 two years ago.
Nevada, probably 500; a new field.
North Dakota, probably 3,000; four years ago 518; two years ago, 1,245.
Oklahoma, total of 3,000 indicated by partial returns. Four years ago we had 815; two years ago, 1,903.
Ohio, returns from fifteen counties give a vote of 23,571—that is, 9,000 more than the whole state gave in 1902 and five times the vote of the whole state in 1900.
Oregon, State Secretary estimates 12,000.
Texas may reach 10,000; four years ago, 1,846.
Utah, probably 5,000; four years ago, 717; two years ago, less than 3,000.
Virginia, probably 500; four years ago, 225.
Washington, State Secretary estimates 15,000; four years ago, 2,000.
West Virginia, probably 3,000; four years ago, 286.
Wyoming, probably 1,500; two years ago, 552.

THE PACIFIC COAST.

California, Oregon, and Washington seem from incomplete returns, to have more than quadrupled the vote of 1900.

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 9.—This city gives 7,572 votes for the national ticket of the Socialist Party—just 44 more than the whole state gave us four years ago.

Alameda County gives about 4,000—about four times as many as in 1900.

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Nov. 10.—Debs' vote here is 2,194, more than doubling the figures of 1900.

Pasadena gives 200; San Joaquin, 332; Sacramento, 1,055; Santa Clara, 730.

LONG BEACH, Cal., Nov. 9.—We have 104 votes for Debs and Hanford here. In 1900 we had 28.

SPOKANE, Wash., Nov. 9.—Very incomplete returns indicate that the Socialist Party has polled at least 900 votes in this city. This doubles the vote of 1902. In 1900 we had but 88 in the county.

Albion gives 11; in 1900 we had 3. Sunnyside gives 20 out of a total of 161.

BREMEN, Wash., Nov. 10.—In this greatest shipbuilding center on the Pacific Coast, not one Socialist vote was cast four years ago. This year we have 101 out of a total of 644 votes cast. Parker has 62.

PORTER, Wash., Nov. 10.—Our vote rises to 24, from 2 in 1900 and 7 in 1902. We have begun the campaign for 1908.

PORTLAND, Ore., Nov. 9.—This city gives about 2,400—a gain of 50 per cent.

WESTERN RETURNS.

Very incomplete reports show great gains in Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, New Mexico, Utah and Montana.

TWO HARBOUR, Minn., Nov. 11.—Debs has 159, a good gain.

WRENTHAM, Minn., Nov. 12.—Debs has 55 votes out of 97 cast.

BRANDED, Minn., Nov. 11.—Brainerd gives Debs 150 to 150 for Parker and 4 for Corregan. The whole of Crow Wing County gives us 351—a big increase.

In Cam Lake Debs beats Parker by 75 to 46.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 10.—Ninety-seven precincts out of 159 in this city give Debs and Hanford 3,346 votes. Our other candidates keep well up to the mark. We beat Parker in half the precincts, probably in the whole of the First, Third, Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh wards.

Verges Falls gives us 60. In Lake County we have 192, as against 8 four years ago.

The S. L. P. is dead and buried. Precincts that give Debs 1,400 give Corregan 54.

OMAHA, Neb., Nov. 10.—Douglas

County gives us 3,600 votes. Two years ago we had 1,500.

VICTORIA, Kan., Nov. 9.—In 1900 we had 25 votes here. In 1902 we rose to 110. Yesterday we polled 433 for our state ticket and 650 for the national ticket. Each of the six wards gives us three or four times as many votes as the whole city did four years ago.

ARLHENE, Kan., Nov. 11.—Eight precincts in Dickinson County give Debs 114 votes; the whole county will probably give 350. Four years ago we had 65 in the county and two years ago 301.

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M., Nov. 9.—The Socialist vote in this city is 185. In 1902 we had 135.

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah, Nov. 9.—About 3,400 votes here. In 1900 the whole state gave 717; two years later, 2,527.

ANACONDA, Mont., Nov. 9.—Deep Lodge County gives 210 votes for our national ticket, as against 121 in 1900. Our county ticket has 230 and our candidate for Governor 125. Last year, for Justice of the Supreme Court, we had 250. In this stronghold of the Copper Trust, for a workman to be known as a Socialist is to ensure his place on the blacklist. Yet we grow.

IN NEW YORK STATE.

Official Returns from Eighteen Counties Show Social Democratic Gains and S. L. P. Losses.

So far we have received official returns from eighteen of the sixty-one counties in the state of New York, which are given below in comparison with the votes cast in 1900 and in 1902:

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC VOTE.

Counties	1900	1902	1904
Albany	18	41	79
Chenango	18	41	79
Columbia	18	41	79
Delaware	7	2	24
Genesee	20	33	103
Herkimer	108	224	173
Orleans	20	11	62
Putnam	20	14	9
Rarotonga	15	43	153
Schoharie	4	5	10
Seneca	4	10	37
Steuben	47	185	236
Suffolk	35	45	147
Sullivan	4	5	25
Warren	11	50	91
Wayne	14	20	74
Westchester	238	708	896
Wilmington	6	6	31
Yates	5	4	11
Totals for eighteen counties	690	1,412	2,003

Taken in connection with what we know of the vote in Greater New York, although the official count has not yet been made in the four counties of this city, these returns indicate a Social Democratic vote of about 40,000 in the state, as compared with 12,800 in 1900 and 23,400 in 1902.

The disruption of the S. L. P. has certainly fallen below 10,000 votes and lost official standing. In New York County it has about 1,300 fewer votes than in 1900; in Kings it loses over 400; and, as will be seen, it loses in nearly all the up-state counties so far reported. In 1900 it had 12,003 in the state.

LOSSES OF THE S. L. P.

Counties	1900	1902	1904
Chenango	19	45	24
Columbia	10	7	6
Delaware	10	14	7
Genesee	28	43	38
Herkimer	55	116	40
Orleans	45	26	14
Putnam	7	7	7
Rarotonga	7	97	32
Schoharie	7	4	8
Seneca	25	23	0
Steuben	51	105	43
Suffolk	31	61	85
Sullivan	8	6	14
Warren	29	68	21
Wayne	8	29	17
Westchester	416	537	310
Wilmington	11	15	16
Yates	9	9	2
Totals for eighteen counties	758	1,227	643

HORNELLVILLE, Nov. 14.—The Social Democratic Party has 60 votes here—a gain of 41 in two years. The S. L. P. has 20—a gain of 3.

WATERVILLE, Nov. 10.—Debs has 168 and Corregan 81.

UTICA, Nov. 10.—This city gives us 214; Home gives 58; the whole of Oneida County gives 380. Last year we had 302 in Utica and 457 in the county. Two years ago the county gave us 147. We know that we have been cheated in the count. In one district where only two votes are reported we know of ten men who will swear that they voted for Debs.

SCHENECTADY, Nov. 10.—Rottenburg Junction and Scotia give 12 and 9 respectively for the Social Democratic Party; 8 and 10 for the S. L. P. SAG HARBOR, Nov. 10.—We have 40, as against 29 last time. The S. L. P. has 16.

AUBURN, Nov. 12.—Debs, 120; Corregan, 80.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Nov. 12.—Complete unofficial returns give our national ticket 700 votes in Onondaga County—571 of them in the city. In 1900 the county gave us 352 and in 1902 our vote was 367. Syracuse is at last resumed the forward march that was interrupted in 1890. Corregan, the candidate of the S. L. P., who is a resident of this city, has 336 in the county, 206 of them in Syracuse. In 1902 the S. L. P. had 456 and last year 223. The Populists have 43.

We gained in all but five of the nineteen wards. Our largest vote and best gains are in the Second, Third and Fourth. Gustave Strebel, our candidate for Congress, and Thomas Crimmins, for District Attorney, ran a little ahead.

POIT CHESTER, N. Y., Nov. 14.—We have 115 votes for Debs and the same for Pendergast, instead of 108, as reported last week. In 1902 we had 81. Harrison gives us 2 and Mamaroneck 5.

NEW YORK CITY.

Brooklyn Does Best of All the Boroughs—Increases Vote by Half—Debs' Vote in City Will Exceed 24,000.

The census of the vote in New York City has begun and in next week's issue of The Worker we shall be able to give official returns for most, if not all, of the districts.

Meanwhile, it is safe to say that the Socialist vote in the city exceeds that cast in the whole state two years ago. Brooklyn especially has distinguished itself, though every borough has done well.

BROOKLYN'S FINE SHOWING.

The vote for Debs and Hanford in Brooklyn, as nearly as now obtainable, is shown in the following table, in comparison with that cast for Hanford for governor in 1902:

Districts	1902	1904
First	50	157
Second	37	97
Third	64	81
Fourth	100	147
Fifth	103	233
Sixth	261	425
Seventh	149	262
Eighth	33	104
Ninth	91	124
Tenth	52	60
Eleventh	73	153
Twelfth	150	277
Thirteenth	208	300
Fourteenth	121	157
Fifteenth	354	613
Sixteenth	186	243
Seventeenth	52	102
Eighteenth	135	240
Nineteenth	372	493
Twentieth	1,025	1,208
Twenty-first	550	845
Totals	4,381	6,515

Two years' gain: 2,134.

The 20th A. D. still holds its leadership, but the 21st A. D. is gaining on it, having made a larger proportional increase. The most remarkable gains are in the 9th A. D., from 231 to 409, and in the 15th A. D., from 354 to 613. In 1902 the S. L. P. had 1,645 votes in Brooklyn. This year it polls 1,273.

NEW JERSEY'S VOTE.

Socialist Party at Least Doubles Its Poll of Four Years Ago in the Home of the Trusts.

The Socialist Party vote in New Jersey will probably reach 9,000. Four years ago the state gave us 4,000. Essex County gives about 2,000; Hudson, about 2,800; Mercer, nearly 400; Passaic, about 500; Union, about 500.

TRENTON, N. J., Nov. 15.—The official count of the vote in Mercer County shows 580 for Debs. In 1900 we had 315, and 325 in 1902.

PHILIPSBURG, Nov. 14.—We have 80 votes here and 9 in Lopatcong.

GUTTENBERG, Nov. 11.—The Socialist Party has 57, the S. L. P. 6, and the Populists 4.

PATERSON, Nov. 11.—Fifteen districts in this city give Debs 222, as against 107 in 1902. Haledon gives 85, as against 34 two years ago. Hawthorne gives 15, as against 5 last year. North Haledon gives 25, as against 13 last year.

NORTH VINELAND, Nov. 12.—The town of Landis gives us 106. Last year we had 54, two years ago 88, four years ago 15. In the Second precinct no Socialist ballots were given out after five o'clock—just the time when many workmen came to vote. The S. L. P. got 15 votes.

ELIZABETH, Nov. 13.—Debs and Hanford have over 300 votes in Union County, as against 350 for our candidates last year. The S. L. P. falls from 109 to 100. We gain official standing.

FORT LEE, Nov. 15.—Our vote in Bergen County is 401, as compared with 365 in 1902 and 176 in 1900. The S. L. P. has 115; in 1902 it had the same figure and in 1900 it had 40.

THE VOTE IN OHIO.

Last Year's Socialist Vote Is More Than Doubled—Big Gains in Every Part of the State.

CINCINNATI, Nov. 15.—The Socialist Party of the state of Ohio can look with satisfaction on the result of the election. The following figures show that the comrades in every part of the state did their duty. We had 18,495 votes for the Socialist ticket in 1903 and the indications are that at the election held Nov. 8 last at least 30,000 votes were cast for the same ticket in this state. The official count may give us 35,0

NEW YORK "CALL."

A DAILY TRADE UNION AND SOCIALIST PAPER, published in the interests of the WORKING CLASS, TRADE UNIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS are invited to send two delegates to the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of New York, meeting every second Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York, or the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of Brooklyn, meeting every fourth Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 949 Wilkeson avenue, Brooklyn.

WORKINGMEN, THIS IS TO BE YOUR PAPER. Organized by workmen and controlled by the delegates to the conference and the WORKINGMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, which meets every first Monday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

OFFICIAL COUNT IN NEW YORK CITY.

First Six Assembly Districts Show in excess of Sixty per Cent. in Our Vote and a Loss of Twenty per Cent. for S. L. P.

The official canvass of the vote in New York City began Wednesday of this week. The results for the first six districts are as follows:

First A. D.—For Debs, 41; for Pendergast, 41; last year, for Pendergast, 23.

Second A. D.—Debs, 102; Pendergast, 160; last year, 31.

Third A. D.—Debs, 87; Pendergast, 60; last year, 71.

Fourth A. D.—Debs, 1,143; Pendergast, 1,047; last year, 862.

Fifth A. D.—Debs, 1,077; Pendergast, 1,037; last year, 67.

Sixth A. D.—Debs, 316; Pendergast, 319; last year, 23.

Total for six districts—Debs, 1,846; Pendergast, 1,789; Matchett, last year, 1,122.

The portions of the 2d A. D. and the 4th A. D. which lie in the Ninth Congressional district gave 988 votes for Roosevelt, Social Democratic candidate for Congress—184 more than the same districts gave for Debs.

The S. L. P. candidate for President, Corcoran, polls in these six districts 271 votes; for Governor, Le Roy, 288; for De Leon last year, 328.

THE VOTE.

(Continued from page 1.)

gain of 16,468 votes, which means an increase of over 100 per cent.

Here are some of the figures:	1903.	1904.
Ashtabula.....	171	417
Columbus.....	50	224
Belmont County.....	286	672
Springfield.....	320	676
Gallia.....	30	171
Cleveland.....	1,232	7,216
Sandusky.....	76	202
Columbus.....	286	719
Cincinnati.....	3,863	6,300
Mt. Vernon.....	27	111
Painesville.....	15	101
Elyria.....	113	291
Lorain.....	20	551
Toledo.....	571	2,340
Plain.....	138	238
Massillon.....	64	225
Akron.....	1,048	817
Urberville.....	0	103
Niles.....	40	311

Two members of the Board of Education were elected at Girard. The town has only been organized a few months. We have 215 out of a total of 605.

CHESTNUT, Nov. 9.—This place gives 45 straight votes. In 1900 we had 4.

AKRON, Nov. 9.—This city gives 803 votes as against 204 in 1902 and 51 in 1900.

MARTIN'S PERRY, Nov. 9.—Belmont County polls 700 votes for Socialism. We had 400 four years ago and 128 two years ago.

CLEVELAND, Nov. 9.—With four precincts still missing, the vote for Debs and Hanford in this city is 7,310. The outlying towns give 504, making a total of 7,814, or a little more in Cuyahoga County. In 1900 the county gave 912 votes for Debs and Hanford and in 1902 it gave 2,100 for our state ticket. Cleveland is beginning to do something in the line of Socialist voting worthy of its size and its importance as an industrial center.

Reports received here give 6,300 in Cincinnati—a gain of 2,000 in two years and of 6,000 in four years; Akron, 808—a gain of 684 over last year; Lorain, 551 straight; Elyria, 290; Painesville, 100—a gain of 84 in two years.

IN CONNECTICUT.

Present indications are that the Nutmeg State will nearly double its vote for Socialism.

VERNON, Nov. 12.—Our vote falls from 101 to 149. The S. L. P. goes back from 52 to 28.

WALLINGFORD, Nov. 10.—The Socialist Party vote here has grown in four years from 12 to 70. It has attracted the notice of the local press.

HARTFORD, Nov. 10.—We have 70 votes—more than doubled.

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 10.—Party for us in Connecticut are the Socialist Party 4,253 votes. In 1902 these towns gave us 2,231. At that rate our vote in the state will reach 4,000—a gain of 1,769. The S. L. P. is out of it for good.

NORWICH, Nov. 10.—We have 32 votes, as against 25 in 1902 and none in 1900.

HUNTINGTON, Nov. 11.—Our vote rises from 29 to 70. Four years ago we had but one.

DEIRY, Nov. 9.—Our vote falls from 73 to 40.

ROUEN, Nov. 10.—The Socialist vote here rises from 39 to 50.

NEW BRITAIN, Nov. 9.—We poll 70 votes, as against 73 at the last election. The S. L. P. has 64.

WINDHAM, Nov. 9.—Twenty votes for Debs. This is a starter.

EAST WINDSOR, Nov. 9.—We had 55 at last election; now, 51.

NORWALK, Nov. 9.—Six votes for Debs and 27 for Corcoran. Our vote is the same as last year; the S. L. P. loses 5.

STAFFORD, Nov. 9.—We poll 98 votes, a loss of 9.

GROTON, Nov. 9.—This place boasts 20 Socialist votes. Never had but one before.

77 votes here. This is our first appearance in the field here.

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 9.—Debs and Hanford got 70 votes here; none in 1902.

VICKSBURG, Miss., Nov. 12.—The Socialist Party polls 483 votes in this state. We never had any before. The Populists have 1,300. In the town of McCallum our whole local ticket is elected.

NEW ORLEANS, La., Nov. 12.—This state gives Debs 817 votes. We never had a vote here before.

NEWPORT, Ky., Nov. 10.—We estimate the vote for Debs and Hanford in this state at 4,500. In 1900 we had 700 and two years later 1,880.

WEST PALM BEACH, Fla., Nov. 9.—In 1900 Dade County gave 10 votes for Debs and Hanford. This year Debs and Hanford have 33 in the Third precinct alone.

TAMPA, Fla., Nov. 9.—In 1900 we had 2 votes here for Debs and Hanford and had no state ticket in the 6th. Now we have 104 for Debs and Hanford, 71 for our state ticket and 138 for county ticket. The Populists have 51. Our vote is over 8 per cent. of the whole.

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Nov. 10.—Duval County gives 234 for Debs and Hanford, as against 31 in 1900. We have 8 per cent. of the total vote. Our vote is not as solid as it should be, and will be. Our other candidates range from 135 to 210.

BURLEY, Fla., Nov. 8.—District 13, Lee County, gives 3 Socialist votes, 9 Democratic and one Republican. In 1900 we had none.

WHEELING, W. Va., Nov. 9.—Ohio County gives us 372 votes. In 1900 we had 117.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Nov. 10.—With 27 precincts missing, the police report for the Socialist Party in St. Louis about 4,500 votes. In 1900 the Socialist vote was 2,500, while Debs had with 2,700. The increase is a very solid and substantial one, and gives the Socialist Party official standing in the city of St. Louis.

Bloomfield gives 32 straight Socialist votes; in 1900 we had 4 straight.

Ferguson gives Debs and Hanford 22; four years ago Debs and Hanford received 4.

ST. CLAIR, Nov. 11.—In 1900 we had 22 votes; now 48.

FLINT, Mich., Nov. 9.—This city gives 240 votes for the Socialist Party. Two years ago we had 100 and four years ago 43. General County as a whole rises from 11 in 1900 and 123 in 1902 to 295 this year. It is likely that the official count will add 20 or 30 to these figures.

DIVIDEN, Nov. 8.—This little place casts 18 Socialist votes. In 1900 we had 7 in 1902 we had 15.

PLYMOUTH, Nov. 10.—Debs polls 30 votes here. In 1902 we had 17. The work of preparing for the election of 1904 has begun.

MICHIGAN'S PROGRESS.

SAGINAW, Nov. 11.—This city polls 650 votes for Debs and Hanford; the whole of Saginaw County gives 988. Four years ago Debs and Hanford had almost 400 in the county.

The village and township of St. Charles, in the same county, out of 617 ballots cast, gives 110 straight for Socialism, with 9 "splints" for Debs and Hanford. The Democrats have but 82 straight with 6 more for Parker. The S. L. P. has 8. The largest Socialist vote ever polled there before was 35, two years ago. This is a mining town. The town of Colorado has been taught in Michigan by deported miners.

ST. CLAIR, Nov. 11.—In 1900 we had 22 votes; now 48.

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TO THOSE WHO WISH TO STUDY SOCIALISM.

In the issue of Dec 4, two weeks from to-day, The Worker will begin the publication of a series of articles, which will run through three or four months, in systematic explanation of the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism. The writer of these articles will do his best to treat the subject in simple language and in such a manner that any reader who really desires to learn may understand it. Where he fails, The Worker will be very glad to have readers ask questions about points not made plain and will try to clear them up.

This series of articles will serve well as a basis for Socialist study circles which are now being formed in many places for the education of new party members.

Thorough Socialist education is recognized by all experienced comrades to be the crying need of the hour. We have a vast number of new voters who are not well grounded in the principles of Socialism, but who are eager to learn. Let the active comrades enroll as many as possible of them as subscribers for The Worker within the next two weeks.

PARTY NEWS.

New York State.

State Secretary Chase addresses the Social Democrats of the state in the following words:

"Comrades, the battle is over and we have in all probability received more than 40,000 votes in the state of New York. We have every reason in the world to feel exultant and satisfied, when we consider the fact that the vote of last year was considerably more than it would have been under usual political conditions. The vote of last year was probably 8,000 to 10,000 more than it would have been had it been a gubernatorial election. We had a gain that many votes this year to hold our own. We have done this and added nearly as many more, which really makes an increase in our vote nearly 100 per cent. We may justly feel, therefore, that the vote of New York state is as important as in other states and perhaps more so. This election, however, teaches us many lessons and we must profit by them. A study of the election returns tells us that our vote has increased in many places where we have no organization, to a wonderful extent. But we also learn that the best and most satisfactory increase has come from those places where we have had active party workers, and good organizations. We can now realize that we must perfect and solidify our local organizations and educate the membership, first, in the fundamental principles of Socialism and, second, in the duties of every comrade as a party worker.

"Socialism is not only a science that must be understood, but a revolution that must be guided. We shall be called upon in the near future to do battle in the political arena with all the machinery of a great political party and the power of government that that party possesses arrayed against us. In this struggle every comrade must be a soldier and an intelligent and brave one.

"The Republican party has just won the greatest political victory in the history of this republic and it has been accomplished, first of all, by the aid of a superb organization and, in the second place, by the aid of the class-conscious capitalist class. This great organization will be maintained in the future and the capitalist class will as surely continue to use that political organization to perpetuate its reign.

We have to look forward, then, to a condition of affairs where the Socialist Democratic Party will have to meet and go through a struggle that will put its solidity and its future existence, even to a test. We must be prepared to prevent our forces from being disrupted or stampeded. The people of this country on the eighth day of November gave a well merited and just rebuke to that blundering and foolish organization called the Democratic party. The people have unmistakably said that they prefer to have a party in power that knows exactly what it wants and stands for it without fear or equivocation, than one that is all bluff and blunder and without a policy or program. This election proves that there is no room in American politics for two capitalist parties. When another year or two shall have gone into the great past, the people will realize that they have need of a political party organized for the express purpose of overthrowing the capitalist class and the party they have recently elected to protect that class. Then will come our time. We must be ready to meet the opportunity unflinchingly.

"There are in which we can prepare ourselves for the work before us, but I desire to suggest at this time to every local in the state and to urge upon the necessity of holding a series of winter lectures for the double purpose of propagating the principles of Socialism among the people and of educating the members of the organization. There are at least twenty-five local in the state which could hold such meetings twice a month through the winter, and several others that could hold meetings at least once a month. If those local that are strong enough to carry on such work this winter will take up the idea we shall be able to keep a lecturer and organizer constantly at work in the state and do a wonderful amount of work that must be done. These meetings could be made self-supporting if handled in the proper manner. Tickets can be sold and money enough realized from this source, with the sale of literature, to pay the hall rent and speaker. If the comrades will take hold of the matter seriously.

"While it is true that we are all tired out from the work of the campaign just passed, I feel that we should at once begin to consider the future. For this reason I write this communication and ask every local to act upon the matter and inform me at the earliest possible moment how many such lectures can be handled during the winter. It is absolutely necessary that we know at once, so that we may make all arrangements and secure good speakers.

"I should like to start these lectures at once.

New York City.

Ella Reeve Cohen will lecture on "The Organic Forces of Socialism," Sunday evening, Nov. 20, in Colonial Hall, One Hundred and First street and Columbus avenue.

On Saturday evening, Nov. 19, the New York Socialist Literary Society celebrates its tenth anniversary with a banquet and dance at 151 Clinton street. This society has done a very useful work during the last decade for the education of the working people on the East Side, and its services are by no means at an end.

Peter E. Burrows will lecture at the West Side Headquarters, 333 Eighth avenue, Sunday evening, Nov. 20, at 8 o'clock, on "The Working Class Movement."

Under the auspices of the Down Town Young People's Social Democratic Club, a lecture and general entertainment will be held Sunday, Nov. 20, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street. This is one of a series of Sunday evening lectures at the Lyceum for Volkbildung. J. Spore will lecture on "Science and Socialism." In addition to this one or two club members will recite appropriate poems. Miss Norval Rafter has volunteered to play several selections on her violin. A piano solo and music by the House Orchestra will add materially to the evening's entertainment. The lecture to be delivered is one that will interest both young and old, and all comrades are requested to attend. Especially are the members of the three Young People's Clubs invited to attend. The program will begin at 8 p. m. sharp. Every third Sunday in the month has been set aside for an English lecture. Do not fail to bring your friends.

The second annual concert and ball of the Down Town Young People's Social Democratic Club will be held on Saturday evening, Dec. 3, at the Grand American Hall, 7 and 9 Second avenue. The New York Letter Carriers' Band has volunteered to furnish the concert program. An address will be delivered by either Ben Hanford or John Spargo, and the affair will close with a grand ball. Dance music will be furnished by Local No. 310, A. F. of M. The general committee has endorsed this affair as half the net proceeds will go to Local New York and 10 per cent. to the State Committee. Tickets have been sent to all district organizations as well as to trade unions. The price of admission has been set at 25 cents a person. Comrades should push the sale of tickets everywhere, so that a large sum can be turned in for next year's campaign.

At the last meeting of the City Executive a proposal was made to have the local assume charge of school for teaching of Socialist speakers and teachers and Litchfield, Ohlert and Egerton were chosen to committee to investigate and report at next meeting.

At the last meeting of the General Committee the Executive was instructed to send The Worker for six months to all enrolled Socialists who are not subscribers. The Organizer was instructed to make effort to organize Italians in East Side Districts and to assist in strengthening the party organization in the 9th, 12th and 16th.

Recommendation was made to State Committee to engage John W. Brown or some other suitable speaker as special lecturer and organizer for the particular purpose of speaking to the unions, local to bear its share of the expense.

The 35th A. D. Br. 2 took in two new members at its last meeting.

BROOKLYN.

All comrades who still hold campaign fund lists are requested to report to Secretary Schaefer at once.

A. L. Rasmussen will be the speaker in the Silver Building, 315 Washington street, on Sunday evening, Nov. 20, taking as his subject "Capitalism, Cause, Effect, and Cure."

Local reports show our vote in the 7th A. D. to be 317 instead of 282 as elsewhere stated.

An attempt is being made by several district organizations to arrange for a public reading by Marian Craig Westworth. This plan should by all means be carried through to success.

Comrade Vanderpoort sent a straightforward and forcible reply to the stupidly malicious editorial against Socialism which the Brooklyn "Eagle" published on Sunday. It is hardly probable that the "Eagle" will print the reply. It has its own peculiar ideas of fair play—all on one side.

QUEENS.

Local Queens Executive Committee held its regular meeting on Nov. 11 at 63 Myrtle avenue, Greenburgh, County. Organized Hahn occupied this chair. Branches reported as follows: College Point, Corona, Woodside, Long Island City, Maspeth, Winfield (Bohemia), Long Island City Bohemian, Westchester Heights, Glendale, Bayside, Woodside, and Jamaica, progress on which the picnic committee was requested to make a final report at next meeting. The report of the campaign committee was also laid over to next meeting. The motion to have the next meeting at Wyckoff Heights was rescinded and it was decided to have it at Fahlhuch's Hall, Grand street, opposite Columbia avenue, Maspeth, on the second Monday in December

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

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The Worker.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

OUR TRIUMPH IN ITALY.

General Elections Bring Great Socialist Gains.

Vote of the Socialist Party Grows from 162,000 to 361,000 in Four Years — Our Representation in Parliament Increased, in spite of Strong Coalition.

The European mails bring us the assurance that the Socialists of Italy won a decided victory at the general elections held on Nov. 6 and Nov. 13, which the American dailies have been representing as a triumph for our opponents.

The Socialist vote is about doubled in Italy as well as in the United States. At the last previous general elections in June, 1900, we had 162,000 votes there. This month our party has polled 361,000.

Definite reports are not yet at hand in regard to the results of the supplementary election on Nov. 13. At the first balloting, however, on Nov. 6, the Socialist Party elected twenty-four representatives in Parliament—our candidate in each case having an absolute majority. In twenty-eight of the districts where no candidate had a majority and where a second ballot had to be taken, the Socialist ranked either first or second and so entered the supplementary election on Nov. 13.

In 1900 we elected twenty-three men on first ballot and ten more at the supplementary election. It seems certain that our delegation in Parliament has now been materially increased.

The increase in the number of our representatives is not proportionate to the growth of our popular vote, partly because a considerable part of our gain was in cities where our party already led, and still more because of the powerful coalition of Liberals, Conservatives, Catholics, and other factions in a desperate attempt to exercise the "red specter" of Socialism. In other words, the lines were more sharply drawn this year than ever before, and our victory is so much the more striking for that reason.

It was very generally feared that the general strike in September would have a demoralizing effect upon the Socialist movement in some parts of the country. Just the reverse seems to have been the case. As faller and clearer reports of that strike come to hand, it becomes evident that it was carried out in a very orderly and effective way and accomplished its purpose, both in awakening the working people to a consciousness of their power and in embarrassing and discrediting the new government coalition.

IN MILWAUKEE.

Socialists Fight for Municipal Ownership.

Of Three Parties Represented in City Council, Only the Social Democrats Vote as a Unit Against Continuance of Contract System.

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 10.—The question of establishing a municipal electric light plant instead of continuing to pay profits to a contracting company was up for decision in the City Council last Tuesday. It required, under the charter, a three-quarters vote to carry it—that is, twelve of the forty-three Aldermen could block it. It was defeated.

Of the three parties represented in the Council, the Social Democrats alone voted solidly for the proposition, though both the old parties were solemnly pledged to its support. Ten Democrats and six Republicans voted against it, an so compassed its defeat.

Four Republican and Democratic Aldermen doubted the issue by failing to attend the session.

Thus the street railway company renews its "cinch" on the lighting system. But another city election is coming. The Socialist vote grows fast in Milwaukee, and it grows steadily, too. Every one of the city, state and national elections held in the last seven years has shown an increase in our vote. The time is not far off when a majority of the capitalist misrepresentatives in the City Council will have to give place to Socialist representatives of the working class—and then it will be the franchise grab and not the public-ownership propositions that will be blocked.

CIVIC HUMBUG.

Socialist Progress Stirs Up Civic Federation.

Posing as the Defender of the Trade Unions Against All Enemies, It Mildly Reproves Parry and Begins a Campaign of Falsehood Against Socialism.

Following close upon the diatribe against Socialism pronounced by President Elliot of Harvard University—the man who held up the scab for admiration as "the true type of the American hero"—the Civic Federation has taken up the task of combating the Socialist movement by its own peculiar methods, which are, of course, the methods of brazen falsehood.

The call for the annual meeting of the Civic Federation, which was issued last Saturday, is an interesting and amusing document. The very eminent gentlemen who compose that body have awakened to the fact that the trade unions need friends and have volunteered their services in that capacity. They "view with alarm" the policy of the Civic Federation, the support and the rest of the capitalist "union smashers," realizing that such open attacks do more to strengthen the labor movement and arouse its fighting spirit than any number of labor agitators could do. The Civic Federation people know that such methods are unwise. They know that a policy of pretended friendship and systematic secret corruption would be far safer. But they have no means of restraining their fellow capitalists, and can only plead with them to "be good."

But under its mask of friendship for the unions the Civic Federation makes its real business to inaugurate a campaign against Socialism. "The Socialists are the worst enemies of the unions," it cries, and repeats the musty, old, oft-exploited lie that the Socialists wish to see the condition of the workers grow worse in order to hasten the revolutionary crisis.

Doubtless all the power of the Civic Federation—its money and the social standing of its leaders—will be used vigorously in the near future to disseminate this false statement in the hope of scaring the working people away from the Socialist Party. The attack will have to be met and the falsehood exposed.

The following letter explains itself:

To the Secretary of the Civic Federation, New York City:

Sir:—I have just received your fourth annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the Civic Federation, to be held in this city on Dec. 13. I quote the following:

Another for simultaneously assimilate organized labor. That is Socialism. Although Socialism is the avowed foe of capital, it regards as an aid to its cause the radical type of employers' organizations, because of their common hatred of unions. Socialism sees in unions a means of bettering the condition of the masses that must necessarily precede the confiscation of all the machinery of production and distribution. Before Socialism can deliver its assault upon capital it must remove from its way the self-improving organization of the wage earners.

The conservative forces that oppose Socialism should equally seek to convert to a policy of business negotiation the employers' organizations that are aiding the propaganda of Socialism by their heated desire to smash the unions. At the same time, every influence that tends to educate and uplift the movement represented by organized labor should be encouraged. Despite the acknowledged faults, ranging from economic errors to crimes by individual members and a few unions, the general impetus of that movement is unquestionably for the social, moral, and physical benefit of the race.

"Your organization, sir, professes to seek a basis for social and industrial peace. Do you think that this purpose is to be served by the publication of such unqualified falsehoods as that 'the trade unionists are running only three or four days in the week and that strikes and other methods of expressing discontent are evident.'"

In an editorial article, after surveying the condition of the various ruling classes in Russia, "Vorwärts" concludes: "There is certainly one class in which we can trust, who have reached a position where their condition cannot be bettered through any little strike or industrial revolution, but only through a fundamental change of the Russian social organization, through at least the introduction of a constitutional government. This class alone can rescue Russia from the influence of the little clique who are sworn to exhaust all the strength of the country in an exploiting war. This class from which alone we can expect anything is the laboring class. In just so far as this class can express itself is there hope for Russia."

PROSPECTS OF UNITY IN FRANCE.

The International Socialist Bureau will take up the question of unity in France at its next meeting, which will be held in Brussels in December or January. It will also consider at that meeting the question of a better system of representation in the international congresses.

Meanwhile, the Socialist Party of France (Guesdists) and the French Socialist Party (Jaurèsists) have each elected fifteen representatives to act together as a commission to inquire into the joint action of the two parties. This action greatly increases the ground for hope that the present unfortunate division will soon disappear.

ETHICS OF THE MASTERS.

The supreme ethic of the trading class is that of contract. It is an ethic which consists of two parts—a conviction of the right to make any bargain which the other party can be induced to agree to, and a conviction of the duty of keeping the agreement when made. . . . It is an ethic which is held valid despite the fraud and deception which are practiced throughout the processes of trade; and as a general thing, only the grocer and more patient forms of fraud, against which specific laws have been aimed, justify, to the trader mind, the breaking of an agreement. . . . Trading-class morality actually recognizes an ethic of deception. It is what might be called a silent ethic, for it is not, as a rule, openly or brazenly announced. But it is none the less generally held, and the overwhelming mass of trading-class practices are in accord with it. "I must live," is its inner expression; and its outer expression, which has long been embodied in law, is "let the buyer beware."—W. J. Ghent in "Mass and Class."

—The ordinance providing for an eight-hour day in public works has been held valid by a local court in Detroit.

—The receipt of a sample copy of The Worker is an invitation to subscribe.

THE PROGRESSIVE STAGE SOCIETY.

"The Scab," a Socialist Play by Elia Barker, and "Miner and Soldier," from the French of Tols Tolstoy, Given Sunday at Carnegie Lyceum.

The first productions by the Progressive Stage Society will be given this Sunday afternoon, Nov. 27, 3 p. m., at Carnegie Lyceum, Fifty-seventh street and Seventh avenue, New York City.

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THE PLUTOCRAT'S THANKSGIVING.

I thank thee, Lord, for all I'm worth. For all the bonities of earth. For all my plenitude of mirth. For pocketbooks of mammoth girth. For travel, lands, and gems.

I thank thee for my bonds and stocks. For all my cargoes at the docks. For houses; yea, for rented blocks; Lord, thou hast kept me from shocks Of corporation loss.

I thank thee, Lord, yea, Lord, I must For all the blessings of the TRUST; Economy is surely just. And all that keeps the yellow dust Within a narrow bound.

O Lord, have mercy on the poor. And keep all vagrants from MY door; THOU mayest for them have much to store; They're not particular, I'm sure. They only ask to live.

There'll be a different state of things When death the heaven-gate opens flings. There workmen hob-nob with kings And millionaires with peasant kings. O why can't heaven be here?

Before I die I shall declare Some generous purpose to my heir. And bid him for the poor to care. New Lord, accept my grateful prayer. But damn it, there's no Debs.

—J. Ackland, in "Workday Poems."

UP AGAINST IT. WHAT WILL YOU DO?

With the army of the unemployed, the organized strike-breakers the employers have defeated nearly every strike of late, and have forced a reduction in wages on the most powerfully organized trade unions. At the present time, when the trade union movement has reached its highest state of perfection, the mine workers and the shipbuilders and other workers have accepted a reduction, while the butchers, after a hard struggle, had to succumb in order to save the nation. True the strike of years are snatched from us in a few months. True the State Twine, trade union paper.

HOW SOCIALISM PROGRESSES.

More Figures Showing the Great Increase in Our Vote All Over the Country.

Hundreds or Even Thousands of Socialist Votes in States and Territories Where We Had No Foothold Four Years Ago—Our Gains Not Confined to Any One Section—Large Industrial Centers Still Lead, of Course.

The reports or estimates which we give below of the Socialist vote cast on Nov. 8 in the various states and territories are mostly supplied by National Secretary Malloy, who has shown the same energy and efficiency in the work of gathering the returns that he showed in conducting the national campaign.

It will be observed that, while the large industrial states of course lead the way, the increase of our vote is general. Even in the Solid South and in Western territories where we had absolutely no foothold four years ago, we now have hundreds or even thousands of votes for Socialism. This is a most pleasing feature of the returns.

ARIZONA.

Partial returns from five counties give 743 votes. There was no ticket in 1900. Two years ago we had 519. The total vote will be between 30,000 and 35,000. Los Angeles County cast 3,515 in 1904 and 965 in 1900; San Francisco (city) 7,231, in 1902 there were 1,003; Alameda County 3,251, in 1900 there were 825; Sacramento County had 131 in 1900; and 1,036 this year.

CALIFORNIA.

Complete returns from nineteen counties give 140,122 votes. Partial returns from eight other counties give 8,821, bringing the total to 252,943. There are thirty counties to hear from, and the total vote will be between 30,000 and 35,000. Los Angeles County cast 3,515 in 1904 and 965 in 1900; San Francisco (city) 7,231, in 1902 there were 1,003; Alameda County 3,251, in 1900 there were 825; Sacramento County had 131 in 1900; and 1,036 this year.

CONNECTICUT.

Partial returns from four counties give 3,036 votes, with two counties to hear from. The 1900 vote was 1,029 and the returns for this year justify an estimate of 4,500. Hartford increased from 233 in the county in 1900 to 608 in the city in 1904. New Haven County from 546 in 1900 to 2,060 in the city in 1904.

The "Evening Post" puts the total Socialist vote in Connecticut at 4,470, an increase of 1,029 in 1900. The S. L. P. is given 581; four years ago, 906.

DELAWARE.

In 1900 there were only 57 votes in the entire state, and this year New Castle County alone gives 140 votes. This makes it reasonable to estimate 200 votes for the state.

FLORIDA.

Seven counties report 508 votes. Partial returns from twelve other counties give 404, bringing the total to 1,112. This leaves twenty-six counties to hear from. Tampa gives 104 votes against 2 in 1900, and other places show corresponding gains. The total will reach nearly 1,500. In 1900 we had 903.

GEORGIA.

Four counties give 97 and partial returns from six other counties bring the total to 134. There are 127 counties to hear from and the total vote will be in the neighborhood of 600. Many counties write that the old parties in various places stole our ballots. This is our first appearance in the field.

IDAHO.

Partial returns from fourteen counties give 1,133 votes. Seven counties to hear from. All reports show good increase, and it is safe to place the state vote at something near 5,000. In 1900 we were not yet in the field here. Two years ago we had 1,800 votes.

ILLINOIS.

Sixteen counties give 8,573 votes and partial returns from twenty-eight other counties give 48,536 additional, making the total so far reported 54,109. With fifty-eight counties to hear from it is probable the vote will go to 100,000. Cook County, including the city of Chicago, elected two representatives to the state legislature, J. A. Ambros, socialist, and Andrew Olsen, stationary engineer, from the Ninth District. Chicago gives 44,331 votes for Debs, showing the largest increase, both actual and relative, of any city in the country. Rock Island, Moline, Joliet, Bloomington, Peoria, Carleton and Quincy show great increases.

INDIANA.

Complete returns from twenty-six counties give 6,278 votes and partial returns from fourteen other counties are 3,007, making the total vote 9,285. This leaves fifty-two other counties to hear from, and in all probability the vote will be more than 15,000. Vanderburgh County, including Evansville, still leads in the increase with 1,800, against 230 in 1900. Marion County reports an increase of 100 per cent.

IOWA.

Complete returns from sixty counties give 12,108, an increase of 100 per cent.

NEW YORK'S SOCIALIST VOTE.

Official Returns for Thirty-four Counties Indicate Over 40,000 for Debs and Hanford.

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The De Leonite S. L. P. polled 12,602 votes for its national ticket. In 1902, sharing in the general increase, it rose to 15,890. In 1903, as the Socialist voters grew more enlightened, and in spite of the opportunity offered by the infamous nomination of Denis O'Brien, it fell to 10,877. This year, if the other twenty-seven counties give a like proportion to those reported, it will fall below the Hunt of ten thousand votes required to give a party official standing.

In the tables below we give the vote for candidates for President in 1900 and 1904, for Governor in 1902, and for Judge of the Court of Appeals in 1903—the highest office in each case.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GAINS IN NEW YORK STATE.

Counties.	1900.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Albany	12	15	10	80
Cattaraugus	22	17	120	264
Cayuga	56	30	106	171
Chemung	42	10	539	101
Chemung	20	30	378	
Chenango	18	41	87	79
Columbia	5	5	25	20
Dutchess	7	2	32	24
Essex	20	14	118	102
Franklin	2	50	112	128
Genesee	26	33	125	103
Herkimer	108	234	280	173
Jefferson	174	368	521	455
Lewis	8	7	28	34
New York	6,193	10,885	12,301	10,472
Ontario	10	10	57	33
Oranget	142	250	344	
Orleans	20	11	77	52
Oswego	11	10	91	56
Pulaski	23	14	12	9
Saratoga	43	85	153	
Schenectady	159	452	431	
Schoharie	4	5	13	10
Schuyler	2	2	0	12
Seneca	4	10	63	37
Steuben	47	185	226	236
Suffolk	35	45	150	147
Sullivan	4	5	22	25
Warren	11	50	47	91
Washington	24	117	100	112
Wayne	14	20	00	74
Westchester	225	700	761	800
Wyoming	6	6	26	31
Yates	4	4	15	11

DELEONITE LOSSES IN NEW YORK STATE.

Counties.	1900.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Albany	12	45	27	27
Cattaraugus	17	53	34	44
Cayuga	171	192	69	80
Chemung	43	194	106	108
Chemung	19	40	47	42
Chenango	10	45	33	21
Columbia	10	7	5	6
Dutchess	10	14	7	7
Essex	20	40	48	42
Franklin	2	1061	980	892
Genesee	26	33	125	103
Herkimer	108	234	280	173
Jefferson	174	368	521	455
Lewis	8	7	28	34
New York	4,867	8,820	4,033	3,472
Ontario	10	10	57	33
Oranget	142	250	344	
Orleans	20	11	77	52
Oswego	11	10	91	56
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NEVADA.

First time a ticket was in the field. Partial returns from three counties give 515 votes, leaving eleven counties to hear from. The total vote will be about 750. Washoe County, including the city of Reno, casts 365 votes, and Esmeralda County, miles away from any railroad, elects

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GAINS IN NEW YORK STATE.

returns from five counties only. There was no ticket in 18 years ago had 519. Territorial Ryan estimates the at 3,000. As there are eight from which no returns have been received, this is probably not ex-

ARKANSAS.

Five frauds are reported from and as a consequence returns are partial. Partial returns from four give 210 votes. This leaves six counties to hear from, but will probably not exceed 1,200. number as usual in the Reception. Four years ago we had 27 votes.

CALIFORNIA.

Five returns from nineteen give 14,812 votes. Partial returns from eight other counties give 6,000, the total to 20,812. thirty counties to hear from. total vote will be between 40-50,000. Los Angeles County in 1904 and 1905 in 1900; San (city) 7,291; in 1902 there were 8,826; County 2,471; in 1903; Sacramento County in 1900; and 1,000 this year.

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NEW YORK "CALL."

A DAILY TRADE UNION AND SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER to be published in the interests of the working class. TRADE UNIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS are invited to send two delegates each to the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of New York, meeting every second Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York, or the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of Brooklyn, meeting every fourth Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 490 Willetsburg avenue, Brooklyn.

WORKINGMEN, THIS IS TO BE YOUR PAPER. Organized by workingmen and controlled by the delegates to the conference and the WORKINGMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, which meets every first Monday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

SOCIALIST PROGRESS.

(Continued from page 1.)

A District Attorney and Superintendent of Public Schools as well as the Donahoe of Goldfield Township, Goldfield casts 205 votes.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Partial returns from five of the ten counties give 397 votes. This is an increase of about 50 per cent. over 1920, and this basis the total would be more than 1,000. In 1920 we had 700 and in 1922 we had 1,037.

NEW JERSEY.

Returns in full from eight counties give 5,400 votes and partial returns from three other counties, giving 2,525 votes, bring the total to 7,925. With ten counties to hear from, it is probable that the vote will reach 10,000. Newark increased from 992 in 1920 to 2,357 this year, and Hudson County, including Jersey City, from 1,378 to 8,000.

Our vote in Passaic County is better than was expected. Debs and Sanford receive 1,017 votes, and Kearns, for Governor, 939. Last year we had 830; four years ago 537. We win official standing. The S. L. P. has 441, as against 258 last year and 349 in 1920.

NEW MEXICO.

In the field for the first time and cast 205 votes in three counties. As there are seventeen counties to hear from, and as good work has been done in the territory, the total vote is likely to reach 500. Two precincts in Albuquerque give 183 votes.

NEBRASKA.

LINCOLN, Nov. 21.—The official count gives the Socialist Party 7,390 votes in this state. In 1920 we had 623, and in 1922 we polled 8,157. Our best stronghold is in Douglas County, including the city of Omaha, which gives us 8,546 votes, as against 850 four years ago.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Incomplete returns from three counties give 188 votes justifying an estimate of 250 for the state. Spencer, which cast 22 votes in 1920, cast no vote, because no tickets were received by them. The estimated strength there is 100 votes.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Returns are slow in coming in. To date only eight counties have reported, and they are all incomplete. The vote so far reported is 485, but with thirteen counties to hear from the total will be near 3,000. Four years ago we had 518 and two years ago, 1,245.

OHIO.

Twenty-six counties, complete returns, give 26,371, and partial returns from sixteen other counties give 3,149, bringing the total to 29,520. As there are forty-six more counties to hear from the vote will probably pass the 35,000 mark. Cuyahoga County, including Cleveland, shows the greatest number of votes, 7,823; Hamilton County, including Cincinnati, is next with 7,071; Lucas County, including Toledo, 2,425; Mahoning County, including Youngstown, 1,960; and Montgomery County, including Dayton, 1,168. Other counties show great increases.

OKLAHOMA.

The vote in full for seven counties is 1,223 and partial returns from twelve other counties, giving 423, bring the total to 1,647. There are seven more counties to hear from, and the reports received justify an estimate of 1,000. In 1920 this territory gave 815 votes for the Socialist Party and in 1922 it gave 1,063.

OREGON.

Twelve counties report 4,820 votes. Incomplete returns from seven other counties give 207, bringing the total to 5,027. With twenty-five counties to hear from it is estimated the total vote will be between 25,000 and 30,000. The city of Reading increased from 189 in 1920 to 1,153 in 1924. Erie gave 1,002, as against 482 in 1920, and Mercer County, including the city of Sharon, increased from 135 in 1920 to 960 in 1924. Philadelphia gave 3,140, as against 1,297 in 1920.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Twenty-nine counties report 13,929, and incomplete returns from thirteen other counties, giving 7,448, bring the total to 21,377. With twenty-five counties to hear from it is estimated the total vote will be between 25,000 and 30,000. The city of Reading increased from 189 in 1920 to 1,153 in 1924. Erie gave 1,002, as against 482 in 1920, and Mercer County, including the city of Sharon, increased from 135 in 1920 to 960 in 1924. Philadelphia gave 3,140, as against 1,297 in 1920.

RHODE ISLAND.

No presidential ticket in 1920. In 1924 the vote for Debs was 309. This year it is 789 for Debs. The Socialist Labor vote declined from 948 last year to 444 this year.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Seven counties, reported in full, give 1,145, and partial returns from three other counties bring the total to 1,400. There are forty-three counties to hear from and the vote will reach 3,000. In 1920 we had 150 votes. In 1922 this was 2,728.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

A. G. Mically of Columbia reports the total state vote as 36. This is the

PARTY NEWS.

National.

The National Secretary's financial report for October shows receipts of \$1,379.25 for dues, \$4,000.56 for the campaign fund, \$1,571.92 from sale of literature, \$753.53 from Debs' and Sanford's tours, and other items giving a total of \$8,508.88. Expenses were \$8,905.04. The balance on Nov. 1 was \$509.23.

Dues were paid as follows: From organized states—Alabama, \$5; Arkansas, \$5; California, \$10; Colorado, \$4; Connecticut, \$40; Florida, \$15; Idaho, \$14.35; Illinois, \$120; Indiana, \$45; Iowa, \$25; Kansas, \$50; Kentucky, \$15; Maine, \$10; Massachusetts, \$85; Michigan, \$30; Minnesota, \$30; Missouri, \$60; Montana, \$10; Nebraska, \$10; New Jersey, \$50; New York, \$100; North Dakota, \$16.25; Ohio, \$50; Oklahoma, \$7; Oregon, \$22.50; Pennsylvania, \$100; Rhode Island, \$10; South Dakota, \$28; Texas, \$22.50; Wisconsin, \$54.15; West Virginia, \$12.50; Wyoming, \$15.10.

From localities in unorganized states—District of Columbia, \$2; Georgia, \$3.50; Indian Territory, \$7.80; Maryland, \$18.00; Mississippi, \$50; New Mexico, \$7; North Carolina, \$4.50; Tennessee, \$10.60; Utah, \$8.80; Virginia, \$2. The principal items of expense were: Printing, \$3,120.63; lithographs, literature, and buttons, \$1,313.44; express, \$990.00; organization and agitation, \$702.38; postage, \$721.20; salaries, \$585; office help, \$453.

The dues payments would indicate a membership of 27,083; but it may be that the true figure is not above 25,000, as a considerable number may have paid up arrears of one or two months.

The National Secretary has submitted to the National Committee a letter from Turner of Missouri, in the form of a complaint against W. E. Clark, one of the assistants in the national office, charging that Mallory had sent out, some thirteen months ago, a circular letter to some twenty-five of his friends in the party, attacking Mills, Turner, and others, and urging the defeat of candidates for the National Committee who might be favorable to Mills, which letter, it is alleged, Clark showed to certain comrades in Kansas City, and that the purpose of Clark's visit to that city was to get certain comrades to use their influence to defeat Turner in Missouri. The charge is based on a statement made by Garnet Futovsky. Mallory submits a statement in reply, denying that Clark was sent into Missouri to influence the election of National Committee members, stating that Clark was there on a visit to his family, calling attention to the fact that Clark was then a member of the party organization in Missouri and had a right to interest himself in that election as an individual comrade; he denies that at any time he has directly or indirectly endeavored to secure his own continuance in office as National Secretary or to influence elections to the National Committee; he does not deny that he has expressed his opinion, in both personal and official correspondence as to the positions taken by various comrades, Turner among them; he insists upon his right and duty to do so, as a member of the Socialist Party. This matter was considered at length by the National Quorum on April 29, and it was then decided that Turner had no case. Turner now brings it before the National Committee. The correspondence will not doubt be printed in full in the "Official Bulletin," of which every comrade should get a copy.

Receipts for the National Campaign Fund during the two weeks from Nov. 5 to 19 inclusive were \$42,15, of which amount \$32,94 came through half-day's pay contributions, making a total of \$8564.37.

It is now a good time for locals to take up the question of furnishing Socialist plate matter to local newspapers. This can be done cheaply if a sufficient number of papers can be secured to use the matter. Full information as to cost, etc., will be readily furnished by the National Secretary upon application.

The eighth congress of the Polish Socialist Alliance of the United States, held recently at Philadelphia, adopted resolutions extending greetings to the Socialist Party, the assurance of the Alliance's readiness actively to second the work of organizing the Polish workingmen of America into the Socialist Party, and congratulations upon the advance made in the November election.

The National Secretary desires to extend thanks through the Socialist press to all comrades who enabled an early estimate of the national vote to be made by sending in returns by wire and postal card. For obvious reasons individual acknowledgment is impossible and the use of the press becomes necessary.

Following upon the election, there has been a decided slump in the receipts of the national office, with the result that a number of outstanding bills cannot be met promptly. Comrades can be of assistance in relieving this state of affairs by paying their dues, and by sending in whatever has been collected on the campaign fund lists and not yet remitted to the National Secretary.

New Hampshire. Comrade Clark of Dover writes: Dr. Howard A. Gibbs of Worcester, Mass., spoke in Socialist Hall, on Nov. 19. He was at his best and he presented thoughts on the class struggle that found lodgment, and with surety grew. His effort was rewarded by several applications for membership.

Massachusetts. Wm. H. White, member of the Socialist Party in Stoughton, Mass., took part in the Republican primaries and was expelled from membership in the Socialist Party therefor. Our party cannot stand with him for union or confusion. If a man is a Socialist he cannot be a Republican or a Democrat at the same time. People who wish to "straddle" should keep out of the Socialist Party.

The State Executive Committee at its last regular meeting decided to call an Advisory Conference of the Socialist Party clubs of Massachusetts on Sunday evening, Dec. 15, 1 p. m., in Boston, at Phoenix Hall, 724 Washington street. Each club is asked to send two of its best workers as delegates. The object of the meeting is to formulate some plan for better education and organization and confer with the

General and Executive Committees as to what is best for the Socialist movement in Massachusetts.

The Massachusetts State Executive Committee, looking toward an improvement in the party organization in that state, has asked Franklin H. Wentworth of Hanson to consider the position of State Organizer.

Squire E. Putney will speak at Homestead Hall, 724 Washington street, Boston, Sunday evening, Nov. 27. Subject: "Lessons of the Last Election."

Marion Craig Wentworth is to read Mother's great play, "Monna Vanna," at St. Albans Hall, Boylston street, Boston, on Wednesday evening, Nov. 30. She has placed a number of special tickets in the hands of Antoinette Konikow, 330 Shawmut avenue, whereby Socialists may attend at half price.

Connecticut.

The regularly authorized watchers of the Socialist Party in Bridgeport were denied admittance to the Second District polling place at the counting of the ballots, after three attempts to enter and after having had the opinion of the Town Clerk that they had a perfect legal right to be present. The police acted on the orders of the Moderator, who was sent for and demanded made to him personally. This is a clear violation of the election laws and the Bridgeport comrades notified the State Committee at once, who ordered that action be taken against the Moderator, and also filed a protest with the Town Clerk of Bridgeport against the action and the count and demanded a recount. Legal advice has been obtained and a warrant will be sworn out for the Moderator's arrest. The Bridgeport Socialists have been discriminated against at all elections by the politicians and officers of the police, and have determined to prosecute every case in the future where it will be necessary to secure their rights. A heavy fine and term in state's prison is the penalty for this violation of election laws and with a chance of conviction hanging over these corrupt politicians they are likely to treat us with much more respect.

New Jersey.

Branch 7 of Newark, after one of the most successful open-air campaigns ever carried on in that city, will open the winter campaign on Monday night, with the first of a series of hall meetings. The meetings will be held in Harmony Hall, 683 Broad street, one of the most beautiful halls in Newark.

The speaker for Nov. 28 is Morris Hillquit, who has been making a tour of the state, speaking and active part as delegate to many national conventions, and recently to the International Congress at Amsterdam, well qualified him to speak on his topic: "Socialism at Home and Abroad." It will be the aim in this series of meetings to have the lectures of such a character as both to educate more fully those already Socialists, and to make plain to those yet without such education the meaning of the movement and the surroundings to which no one can take exception.

The comrades of Newark and vicinity are therefore requested to aid the meetings by being themselves present and each trying to induce at least one non-Socialist to attend. At all the meetings either Organizer Goebl or the Literature Committee will be glad to take new subscriptions or renewals for The Worker and other papers.

Last Sunday afternoon a meeting was held in Newark at the Newark Branch of the party, at which a collection brought in \$2.54. On Tuesday, Nov. 26, there will be a public meeting in the largest room of the Helvetia Hall. All comrades and readers of The Worker are requested to come and invite their friends.

At the last meeting of the State Committee a communication from Local Deaver read and filed. A new branch was "entered" in Plainfield and Bayonne. Reports show good increase of vote and also many crooked transactions by the election authorities to prevent a still better vote. Subscription blanks will be issued to raise funds for the winter campaign. It was decided to recommend the re-election of Comrade Mallory as National Secretary. A referendum will be held for the election of state officers for the ensuing year.

Pennsylvania. Gaylord White will speak in Philadelphia at Labor Lyceum, Sixth and Brown streets, on Sunday evening, Nov. 24, on "The Significance of the Large Socialist Vote."

The Socialist Club of Allegheny County have established headquarters at 3 Diamond Square, Pittsburgh, and will have lectures every Sunday.

Virginia. Local Newport News has decided to organize a German branch. A meeting for that purpose will be held on Sunday, Nov. 27, at the G. U. Hall, corner Thirty-second street and Washington avenue. It is hoped that the German branch can be formed which will add greatly to the strength of Socialism in Virginia.

Illinois. The movement for a Socialist daily paper in Chicago is taking form. The "Socialist" last week published a striking call for action. The method adopted to ask every subscriber of the existing weekly to get ten pledges for \$3 each, to be paid in monthly installments of 25 cents, as subscriptions for the daily for one year. As soon as enough pledges have come in to make it plain that the people want the daily, a working plan of publication will be sent out with requests for stock subscriptions sufficient to meet the first cost of starting publication. Already nearly two thousand dollars have been pledged towards these first expenses by comrades.

At the last meeting of Local Cook County 207 applicants were admitted to party membership and three new branches chartered.

Several locals report a good increase in party membership since Election Day. The Iowa "Socialist" is certain that a large proportion of our votes were not counted. Local Osawatomie writes: "We had men in each ward and in some we had to fight like tigers to get justice. In the ward where we had the most votes we were shown out, and they were not marked properly." Local Port Dodge writes: "We were first credited with two votes, and when we made a complaint, they concluded to

give us thirty from three wards. No report from the first, where I personally went to see the count. Being credited with nine votes in the fourth, and to my knowledge no fewer than twenty-five voted for Debs. We had no watchers at the polls. There's the trouble—no watchers.

A Sheldon comrade writes: "Several prohibitionists say that wish they had voted for Debs. They realize that only failure perches on a ballot for Prohibition only, and that the wage earners are ready to do things."

New York State.

Local Peekskill has taken on new life. One new member has come in, with more to follow soon. The last meeting of the local was the best and largest attended for a year. The comrades decided to make a huge fight away for the description of The Worker, recognizing its value in making class-conscious, uncompromising Socialists and keeping all interested in the party organization. Beginning in January the local will take two lectures a month for three months, as they are sent out by the State Committee. The lectures will be held in Labor Hall regularly, on the second and fourth Wednesdays in the month. From now on, writes Comrade Heller, you will hear often from Local Peekskill as doing her part in the Socialist movement.

L. D. Abbott of New York spoke to a large and attentive audience in the First Unitarian Church of Albany, Sunday evening, Nov. 20, on "The Religion of Socialism." His remarks were several times applauded, even though he spoke Socialism "straight from the shoulder." Much interest was shown by his hearers and he was requested to make a tour of the state, speaking and active part as delegate to many national conventions, and recently to the International Congress at Amsterdam, well qualified him to speak on his topic: "Socialism at Home and Abroad." It will be the aim in this series of meetings to have the lectures of such a character as both to educate more fully those already Socialists, and to make plain to those yet without such education the meaning of the movement and the surroundings to which no one can take exception.

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the affair and they will be taken care of by the committee. The danger can be taken down after the concert if desired. The executive boards of the different unions should not fail to comply with this request. Tickets at twenty-five cents a person can be bought at the office of The Worker, 184 William street; Socialist Literary Society, 233 E. Broadway; Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street; Workingmen's Educational Association, 200 E. Eighty-sixth street; headquarters, 533 Eighth avenue.

BROOKLYN.

Leonard D. Abbott will lecture in the Silver Building, 315 Washington street, Brooklyn, Sunday evening, Nov. 27, on "The Religion of Socialism."

The second annual euchre and reception of the Socialist Democratic Club will be held in Buffalo Hall, Buffalo avenue and Fulton street, on Sunday evening, Dec. 8. Admission costs 25 cents. The proceeds are to go to the lecture fund.

The 16th, 17th, and 18th A. D. will meet at Comrade Heller's house, 73 Truxton street, on Sunday, Nov. 27.

A Young Men's Social Democratic Club was organized in the Sixteenth Ward on Nov. 8, with the object of educating the young people of the ward in the principles of Socialism and naturalizing those who are not citizens. Meetings of the club will be held every Wednesday evening at 47 Gram avenue, and readers of The Worker are invited to join.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLIGHT

By John Spargo.

As was to be expected, the utter rout of the Democratic Party in the recent election has renewed the struggle between the so-called "radical democrats" and their conservative associates. The reorganizers are once more busy. Heintz and Watson and Bryan are clamoring for a chance to manifest their genius, the potency of which they at least do not question. "We told you so!" they cry with glee: "Democracy to win must be democratic." We must reorganize and throw off the incubus of Clevelandism, D. B. Hillman, Behrman, McCarran, and in a word, we must throw off the plutocratic yoke and adopt a truly radical policy.

But while they cry the same thing, the reorganizers are not as united as might appear from that fact. "You cannot join up," says Mr. Watson to the silver-tongued Nebraska man, "you deliberately and openly class the hands you declared to be foul and unclean. You lowered the standard of the common people and became standard-bearer of McCarrenism and plutocracy. You have lowered your political soul for the next four years, by adopting the St. Louis platform and policy."

It is an interesting and alluring study, this contemplation of the future of the Democratic Party.

What if the radical malcontents should once more assume the reins in 1908? Is it likely that they can succeed? Nothing seems to us more unlikely than that. To begin with, it is quite certain that no policy can procure success which fails to unite the various elements of the party into a coherent, organic whole. And no radical platform will be accepted by the element which placed Parker in the saddle. It is clearly apparent from the utterances of Messrs. Bryan and Watson that neither of them is able to conceive of any "radical" platform, which does not consist of planks stolen from the platform of the Bryan campaign.

At a well-attended meeting held at 107 E. Fourth street on Nov. 12, the Uptown and Downtown Branches of the Hungarian Socialist Club decided to affiliate with the Socialist Democratic Party. The club has, heretofore, remained neutral as between the Socialist Democratic Party and the S. L. P., but for some months the question of affiliation has been exhaustively discussed, with the result stated. Steps are now being taken to organize the two bodies as Hungarian-speaking branches of the S. L. P. and the 28th A. D.

The 10th A. D. will hereafter meet on the first and third Friday of each month in Lafayette Hall, 8-10 Avenue D. At the last meeting it was decided to have a lecture every month. On Friday, Dec. 2, a mass meeting will be held in Lafayette Hall for the purpose of organizing a club. Good speakers will address the meeting. All Socialists and sympathizers are invited.

A well-attended joint meeting of the branches of the 20th A. D. was held Nov. 18. The literature agent reported that several thousand pieces of literature have been distributed during the year and several hundred books of various kinds sold. The question of combatting the "Hiss Lids," the Bohemian newspaper, was discussed and it was decided to have leaders protest in the Bohemian language against the attack on the party and the S. L. P. A resolution was adopted to ask every member of the working class and especially toward Socialism. Although "Hiss Lids" article is late referred to Debs as "our comrade." This trick of a subsidized Tammany organ is well understood and is condemned by the 20th A. D.

A regular meeting of the General Committee of the New York State Socialist Party was held on Nov. 23, at 8 p. m. sharp, at the clubrooms of the W. E. A., 200 E. Eighty-sixth street. As usual, very important business was transacted at this meeting and the presence of every delegate is earnestly requested. To those delegates who have missed the last two meetings it may be said that if they are not present at this meeting their seats will be declared vacant and their districts requested to send new delegates in their place.

Courtesy Lemon will give the Socialist view of the election returns, in a symposium on the result of the presidential election, at the Manhattan Liberal Club, 230 E. Fifth street, Friday evening, Nov. 25, when six speakers, representing all parties, will discuss the question, "Why Did the American People Do It?"

The Collector of the annual dinner, held at Peck's restaurant on Nov. 19, was well attended and, in every respect, most successful. Some account of it will be given next week.

On Saturday, Dec. 3, the comrades, young and old, will flock to Grand American Hall, 7 and 9 Second avenue, to the concert and ball of the Down Town Young People's Social Democratic Club. The concert program will be rendered by the New York Letter Carriers' Band of fifty pieces under the direction of Mr. Frank E. Houts. The program will be published in next week's edition of The Worker. A first class band of Local 510, A. F. of M., will furnish the dance music. John Spargo will deliver a short address to arouse enthusiasm. Comrade Spargo will address the audience on the subject, "Tough Acted." In order to decorate the large hall the trade unions and labor organizations are asked to loan their banners and flags that evening. They can be brought to the hall between 10 and 12 p. m. on the evening of

the affair and they will be taken care of by the committee. The danger can be taken down after the concert if desired. The executive boards of the different unions should not fail to comply with this request. Tickets at twenty-five cents a person can be bought at the office of The Worker, 184 William street; Socialist Literary Society, 233 E. Broadway; Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street; Workingmen's Educational Association, 200 E. Eighty-sixth street; headquarters, 533 Eighth avenue.

AN APPEAL TO SOCIALISTS. To the Socialists of the city of New York and vicinity. Comrades—The Socialist movement in this country has reached a state where its influences are felt in every phase of life and the spirit of our movement is gradually pervading art and literature.

One of the most powerful factors in the diffusion of modern thought, the stage, has up to the present time been entirely neglected and dramatic art is subjected to the lowest demands of commercialism.

With the object of producing modern works of literary merit, the Progressive Stage Society was organized and elsewhere in this issue of The Worker announcement will be made of our first performance on Sunday, Nov. 27, with full particulars.

I earnestly appeal to you, comrades, to join our movement; financial obligations are only nominal, while the intellectual benefits derived are of a high order. With a Socialist vote of 25,000 in this city we ought to be able to and we must have a modern theatre of the proletariat and those who sympathize with it.

It now depends upon you whether the Progressive Stage shall live. If our first audience is large enough to

SECOND ANNUAL CONCERT AND BALL

ARRANGED BY THE DOWN TOWN YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB, TO BE HELD SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1924, at 8 P. M., AT—

GRAND AMERICAN HALL, 7 and 9 SECOND AVENUE. CONCERT BY NEW YORK LETTER CARRIERS' BAND SIXTY PIECES. Frank E. Houts, Bandmaster. Address by JOHN SPARGO.

Dance music by Local 310, A. F. of M. Fifty per cent. of the net proceeds will be turned over to Local New York and ten per cent. to the State Committee, Social Democratic Party.

TICKET, 25c. A PERSON. For sale at office of The Worker, 184 William street; Socialist Literary Society, 233 E. Broadway; Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street; W. E. A., 200 East Eighty-sixth street; Headquarters, 533 Eighth avenue.

carry the expenses of a theatrical performance, then we shall continue our difficult undertaking. For freedom, economic and artistic, JULIUS HOPP, President.

THE WORKMAN.

This is the work of my hands: To be but a cog in the wheel— A strand in the cable that hauls— To do and to do not to feel, To toil till the last curtain falls. Yet ever the toiler is blest Who sees the fair vision unfold— Interprets the dream half-expressed— Feels the work of his hands with his soul!

This is the work of my hands: These monsters that furrer the deep And baffle the power of the sea Were given the alchemy to leap, Were bolted and forged by me, These webs of miraculous steel, Out-spun from the shars to the shore, My nerve and endurance reveal— I rolled them, and were them, and bore.

This is the work of my hands: To drudge, but in spirit be free— Eat bread by the sweat of my brow In accord with the ancient decree— Get labor with courage undimmed— Know that, though meager the gain, White toils shall always a share— In spite of distrust and disdain We are doing, and under the law.

This is the work of my hands: To cherish the law of the land, The shield that we're wrung from our foe— Enforce the right we demand By the honor and faith we bestow. For brother am I to all, The helpless ones and the great; Together we rise or we fall, Free workers within a free state— Robert Bridges, in Collier's Weekly.

WELL DONE, DOVER! (DOVER, N. J., Nov. 8.—The Socialist Party polls 127 votes here. In 1920 we had 4 and in 1922 we had 29.)

A grizzled, singing rover, I'll chant my lay to thee, Thine happy town of Dover, Stronghold of Liberty.

Trustadists land of Jersey, There's yet some hope for thee— Let me cry you merry, For Dover's sake, you see.

I do not sit in clover, And yet I am not sad— The news that came from Dover Has made me wondrous glad.

Oh! Alton, touched by Grover, Went down in dire defeat— Their friends don't hail from Dover, Whose boys are hard to beat.

I've heard a strange loud humming, A joyous song to me: "Look! Socialism's coming; Columbia shall be free!"

Because I lived in Dover, Some time old years ago, I sing a timeworn rover, Fair town, this song to thee.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

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The Worker

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

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NEW YORK, DECEMBER 4, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW KNOCKED OUT.

A Truly Non-Partisan Decision Against Labor.

New York's Highest Court, by Voice of Two Democratic and Three Republican Judges, Declares That Contractors May Work Their Men as Long as They Please—Three of These Judges Elected by Democratic Publication Fusion.

ALBANY, Nov. 29.—The Court of Appeals today decided that the Eight-Hour Law as a whole is unconstitutional. This statute (Chapter 415 of the Laws of 1907) made it unlawful for any contractor on public work to keep his men at work more than eight hours a day. It had already been enacted, a year and a half ago, by a decision, agreed to by the whole court, declaring its penal clause unconstitutional. The present decision wipes it from the statute books entirely.

Chief Judge Cullen (Dem.), with the concurrence of Judges Werner and Cullen, and Judge O'Brien (Rep.), with the concurrence of Judges Martin (Rep.) and Vann (Rep.), gave the two opinions sustaining the decision against the law. Judge Gray (Dem.) was not sitting. Only Judge Haight (Rep.) favored the labor law.

The decision is a remarkable illustration of the "non-partisanship of the judiciary" when it comes to a question between Capital and Labor. Two Democratic and three Republican judges agree. Of these, Denis O'Brien was re-nominated in 1903 by both old parties, and elected this year the two parties fused in support of Judge Werner and Cullen, forgetting all their real or pretended opposition in order to make sure of having "impartial" capitalist judges on the bench to knock out labor laws.

The decision is the hardest blow that the New York courts have struck at Labor since the Prevailing Rate of Wages Law was declared unconstitutional by Judge O'Brien, with both Republican and Democratic support, in 1901. It puts it entirely out of the power of city, county, or state officers to impose any conditions on contractors for the protection of the interests of the men who do the work.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY.

An Act to Release Employers from Responsibility for Injuries to Workmen. Would Be Better Title for Law as Applied by Capitalist Judges.

Justice Rowell of the New York Supreme Court, sitting in Brooklyn, gave a decision Monday in a damage suit brought against an employer, the firm of Milliken Bros., architectural iron manufacturers by the family of John Brody, a workman killed in their service on July 15, which indicates that the so-called Employers' Liability Law of this state might be more correctly designated "An Act to Release Employers from Responsibility for Injuries to Workmen"—at least, as it is interpreted and applied by the judges selected by capitalists, nominated by the old parties, and elected by unthinking workingmen voters.

It was shown that Brody's death resulted from the negligence of the foreman—who, naturally (under capitalist law) was "reverted" in "crushing" the work and proving his negligence to the bosses by making big profits for them in guarding the lives of common workmen, who are plentiful and cheap.

Now the law says that employers shall be responsible for injuries to employees resulting from the acts of their "superintendents." But, notwithstanding the fact that this foreman had authority from the firm to direct the work and to discharge men for refusing to obey his orders (even at the risk of their lives), the learned justice decides that he is not a "superintendent" in the meaning of the law and that, therefore, poor Brody's dependent family have no case against the employer in whose service and for whose profit he died.

THE CAPITALIST EDITOR.

To those who still pin their faith to the editorial utterances of the daily press we commend the following from an address delivered in San Francisco, Aug. 1, by Mr. Hammond Lamont, managing editor of the New York "Evening Post":

"The late Colonel Patrick Henry Winston of Spokane, eager to mold the public mind, bought an interest in the Spokane 'Chronicle' and became editor. At the end of two months he remarked, 'Mr. Lee, for a year I have been editor-in-chief, sir—of the Spokane 'Chronicle'—and in all that period I have expressed my free and unbiased opinion on no subject of the slightest consequence.'"

SINCERITY OF CLASS BELIEF.

The beliefs which a class holds as a result of its economic relations are generally sincere beliefs, and are held, in the main, unconsciously of their determining cause. There is a spiritual alchemy which transmutes the base metal of self-interest into the gold of conscience; the transmutation is real, and the resulting frame of mind is not hypocrisy, but conscience. It is a class conscience, and therefore partial and imperfect, having little to do with absolute ethics. But partial and imperfect as it is, it is generally sincere. It is most obviously so among those of the two extreme classes who battle for advantage from such partial basis.

For the sake of such sincere beliefs, the class-consciousness of the economic class—W. J. Ghent is "Mass and Class."

WAS IT NOT "FIT TO PRINT?"

Why Did "Times" Reject This Letter.

John Spargo Called That Paper's Attention to Falsehoods in Civic Federation's Call It Had Published, But Letter Was Rejected "with Regret."

That highly moral, just, frank, truthful, and in every way respectable paper, the New York "Times"—a paper that does not soil the breakfast cloth, as it calls itself, professing to print "all the news that is fit to print"—returned the following communication (correcting an error in its own news columns) to the writer, with a printed slip expressing its "regret" at not being able to make use of it:

"The Civic Federation.

Organized Labor and Socialism.

To the Editor of the New York "Times":

"The statement of the National Civic Federation concerning the attitude of the Socialists in many districts, published in your column today, is so utterly and maliciously untrue, that, as a Socialist, I am impelled to reply."

"Says the statement of the National Civic Federation:

"Another few simultaneously assembled organized labor. That for Socialism. Although Socialism is the avowed foe also of capital, it regards as an aid to its cause the radical type of employers' organizations, because of their common hatred of unionism. Socialism sees in unionism a means of bettering the condition of the masses that must postpone indefinitely the conquest of all the machinery of production and distribution. Before Socialism can deliver its assault upon all capital it must remove from under the self-improving organization of the wage earners."

"Notwithstanding the fact that the National Civic Federation has in its membership such distinguished leaders of religion, thought as Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Potter, Truth is not apparently regarded as a favored agent of its propaganda. The above quoted statement is absolutely and ridiculously untrue in its every part, as I should take great pleasure in proving should the Secretary or any accredited representative of the National Civic Federation be willing to meet me in public debate upon the question."

"The attitude of the Socialist Party to the trade union can be best expressed in the following sentences, taken from the declaration of the party at its last convention, held in Chicago in May of this year:

"The trades and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and is necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is a weapon to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalist system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but cannot abolish it. . . . The workers must fortify and permanently secure by their political power what they have won from their exploiters in the economic struggle. . . . Trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to join with this movement."

"No other political party, nor even the National Civic Federation, has ever made such an unequivocal and emphatic declaration of friendship for organized labor as this. Certainly the National Civic Federation, of which Messrs. Andrew Carnegie and August Belmont are influential members, has not done so."

"Nor have the Socialists contented themselves with verbal declarations of their belief in and sympathy with organized labor. They have backed their words by eloquent deeds. When the coal miners of the anthracite region were on strike two years ago, it used the party name and other party machinery to raise funds to help sustain the miners and their families. I myself spoke at some meetings and presided over others in New York and elsewhere, arranged by the Socialists for the purpose of assisting the strikers. I spent long weeks in the very center of the strike and never once heard of any such assistance coming from the National Civic Federation."

"Much the same might be said concerning the strike of the textile workers in Philadelphia in the summer of 1903, and the late struggle of the miners in Colorado. In each case, and scores of others could be cited at spare pursuit, the Socialists proved by their moral and material support, representing considerable sacrifices on their part, the genuineness of their declarations in favor of organized labor. Most respectfully, I challenge Mr. Ralph Easton, Secretary of the National Civic Federation, to show a single instance of such practical support on the part of that body."

"The Socialists are not opposed to trade unionism. They are opposed to the National Civic Federation and to the policy which leads such responsible trade unionists as Messrs. Cioffaglia and Mitchell to ally themselves with it. They take that stand in the interest of the trade-union movement itself, knowing well that whatever injuries or benefits trade unionism produces the same results for the Socialist movement—which is its inevitable counterpart. Whether we are right or wrong in our estimate of the National Civic Federation is a matter for reasonable argument, but there can be no question as to the falseness and injustice of the statement of the latter body concerning our attitude toward the trade union. I only regret that my knowledge of the Federation and its officials pre-

cludes me from ascribing the statement to ignorance rather than to malice.

"JOHN SPARGO."

"Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y., Nov. 29.

The moral is: The most eminent and sanctified members and hangers-on of the capitalist class will not scruple at any lie when they see their class privileges in danger. Newspapers owned by capitalists and run for profits must and will print the capitalists' lies and suppress all protest. Those who wish to see truth told about the rights and wrongs of the working people must depend upon the Socialist press, because it is owned by workingmen and is not run for profit.

"THE ITALIAN VICTORY.

In Straight Fight, Socialists Number 301,000 Votes and Elect Twenty-eight Members, as Against 168,000 Votes and Thirty-three Members with Radical Support Four Years Ago.

As a result of the first and second elections held in Italy on Nov. 6 and 13, the Socialist Party sends to Parliament twenty-eight members, in place of the thirty-five we had before. Of these, twenty-five were elected on first ballot—that is, last time absolute majority over all opponents—and the forty over all opponents, in which only the two highest are voted for when no one has a majority in the first count. At the previous election, we won twenty-five seats on first ballot and ten on second. Our popular vote is nearly doubled.

Moreover, whereas the Socialist candidates had the support of the Radicals and Republicans in many districts in the election of 1900, this year we stood alone and, on second ballot, met a solid coalition.

In spite of the somewhat reduced numbers of our representatives, therefore, the Socialist delegation in Parliament occupies a stronger position than ever before, because our deputies know and our opponents know that our men have behind them 301,000 out-and-out Socialists, last year 108,000 voters, most of them Socialists, but many of them only sympathizers.

FOR BRITISH UNEMPLOYED.

The demand of the British Social Democratic Federation for a special session of Parliament to deal with the question of the unemployed is attracting much attention. Of the municipal and district councils and boards addressed on the subject, 131 acknowledged the receipt of the communication but have taken no action, 110 formally joined in the demand, and two opposed it.

ANOTHER VICTORY IN GERMANY.

In the recent municipal election at Offenbach, a small city near Frankfurt, the Social Democratic Party succeeded in putting thirteen of its candidates into the council. This gives us a clear majority. All the other parties united to oppose Socialism, and got beaten at that.

A SOCIALIST SCHOOL.

Under the auspices of Local New York, a Socialist school will be conducted between Jan. 1 and May 30, 1905, especially for the instruction of speakers. Courses will be given by Algermon Lee, Morris Hillquit, Henry L. Stobodan, John C. Chase, and John Spargo in History, Philosophy, and Economics of Socialism, History of Trade Unionism, Application of Socialism to Social Problems. As a guarantee of good faith, a nominal enrollment fee of \$1 will be charged. Those who wish to enroll as pupils should address John Spargo, 33 Belmont Terrace, Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York. Fuller details will be given next week.

AN IMPORTANT AFFAIR.

The concert and ball of the Down Town Young People's Club, to be held at Grand American Hall, 7 Second Avenue, on Saturday evening, Dec. 3, should be supported by all New York comrades, and for two reasons—first, to help and encourage the young Social Democrats; second, because half the net proceeds will go to Local New York and the other half to the State Committee. The Letter Carriers' Band will be featured in the program, and John Spargo will speak. A good time is assured. Tickets, 25 cents a person, at all Socialist headquarters.

HOW ABOUT "DIVIDING UP."

A significant confession of capitalism is noted by Seymour Redman when he points out that "in giving the items incident to the defeat at the stockyards, the Chicago 'Chronicle' says that the estimated loss of the packers was seven millions and the estimated loss to the workers in wages was four millions. Thus, according to the 'Chronicle,' for every seven million dollars worth of wealth created by the employees of the stockyards who are now on strike, they have received but four million in return for their effort. In other words, every man in the stockyards earns eleven dollars, the packers give him four dollars and keep the other seven for themselves."

TRUE BASIS OF CLASS DISTINCTIONS.

The test of relative income falls utterly to furnish a standard for distinguishing classes. No common characteristics, no common body of instincts and beliefs, are developed among men by parity of income alone. It is the difference in methods of making a living that divides the mass into economic sections, those individuals of like tasks and interests developing common characteristics and reacting, as the psychologist would say, in like ways to the same stimuli.—W. J. Ghent in "Mass and Class."

—Arbitration is a failure only because there is really nothing to arbitrate. The real question is, shall the capitalist class or the working class own the earth?

SOCIALISM IN THE DRAMA.

Progressive Stage Scores a Success.

Two Strong and Well Attended Socialist Plays at Carnegie Lyceum Applauded by a Good Sized Audience.

The first productions of the Progressive Stage Society, an organization with the purpose of producing social dramas of progressive tendencies, were given at Carnegie Lyceum, New York City, last Sunday.

The occasion was a most gratifying success. The theatre was well filled; the two plays—"The Scab" by Elmer Barker and "Miner and Soldier," by Tola Dorian and J. Malloye, both strong Socialist dramas in one act—were of extraordinary merit; the acting was, on the whole, excellent, being for the most part the work of experienced actors; and the audience was enthusiastic.

The obstacles to be overcome by a movement of this magnitude as that undertaken by this society and the difficulties met with in putting on the first productions were immense, but the result was a success which compelled the respectful notice of the daily press and assures the future of the society.

After three curtain calls for the actors in "The Scab," the author was called to the stage by repeated cries, and applause.

When the applause had subsided after the performance of the second play, the audience called out Julius Hopp, the President and founder of the society, to whose indefatigable energy the society owes its existence and success.

"The Times" on the following day gave a respectful half-column report, with large headlines, beginning "The Progressive Stage Through the Drama." "The Evening World" has the following editorial:

"New York theatrical managers are prone to regard the stage as a necessary evil without which it would be impossible to sustain the home-office. They have ignored the fact that the stage is a powerful factor in the education of the people, and on the other hand, rather than stage some of the most beautiful theories of art and the true life of which it is possible for man to conceive. The managers of the theatre are the actual performers of the drama, and the theatre is the drama and the drama is the theatre."

"Sometimes because the crimps of the extremists for cash or for culture will appear a little group of people willing to the idea that the stage can be made educational while still entertaining. The practical work of such a group is now attracting attention in New York."

"It happens that the Progressive Stage Society is doing a mission; that in its plays spreads such doctrine of Socialism as many people question. That fact does not affect the argument that the same force that of stage representation—which teaches one thing may and must teach another. It will reach whatever a sufficient public demand."

"For the play which is vitally in its leadership there is always available a public which it should not take pains of newspaper debate to bring forth."

It is pleasing to see that, while alarmed at the prospect of Socialist propaganda through the stage, the "World" is forced to admit the efficiency and artistic merit of the society's work. It is now "up to" all Socialists to see that "a sufficient public demand" the continued production of socialistic dramas.

Next week The Worker will contain a detailed account and comprehensive criticism of the two plays and the manner in which they were acted. This is unavoidably crowded out of this issue on account of lack of space.

This Sunday, Dec. 4, at 3 p. m., a discussion of the plays will be held by the society at the rooms of the Professional Women's League, 108 W. Forty-fifth Street. At this meeting visitors will be welcomed and new members received.

LET THE WORKERS TRUST THEMSELVES.

Progress has risen only when the working class has discarded, or refused to be guided by, the ideas, the customs, the religions, and the canons of taste, drilled into their minds by the capitalist class. As a brief to the workers, the Socialist class has been trained and educated to submit to capitalism. The mind must be free before the body can be free. The chain by which the masses have been bound is not on wrist or ankle; it is an invisible chain, wound subtly about the chambers of the mind. It is not kings, nor priests, nor landlords, nor capitalists who anywhere really enslave the people; it is their own ignorance. Do you believe the working class of the United States would go on frantically for the production of everything and having nothing; its lives darkened by overwork and worry; its children starved and underclothed; go on as it does carrying society on its back like a beast of burden, if its mind were not darkened by ignorance? Why does the worker bow in subservience to the idle? Why does he cringe and shuffle in the presence of the class which fattens on him? Is it because he has been made a coward by capitalist training. All the contempt, all the sneers, all the religious, that have received the sanction of the ruling class have been those which were calculated to keep the worker in subjection. He has been trained to quake and cower at the partial of the garden his own hands have made. The whole force and influence of his education makes him give place to the man who assumes to be his better. But what is the basis of this assumption based on the arrogance of class? It is not a better man the worker is bowing to. He bows down not to a man, but to a class. He bows down to a phantom; a creation of his own darkened mind.—Franklin H. Westworth.

The Democratic party is kicking its last kicks. It is like alcohol. It kills everything that is living and preserves all that is dead.—John Egan.

NEW YORK'S VOTE.

Socialist Strength Is Steadily Increasing.

Official Returns in from Seven More Counties—Tend to Confirm Estimate of Forty Thousand—S. L. P. Losses Almost Everywhere—Full Results Will Be Known Next Week.

Official returns of the Socialist vote have been received from seven more counties in the state of New York, making forty-two out of the sixty-one. These fuller returns bear out the estimate of the vote for Debs and Hanford in the whole state at 40,000, or a little more, as against 12,800 four years ago, 23,400 two years ago, and 33,300 last year.

In these forty-two counties the S. L. P. has lost 1,135 from last year's figures, which makes it all but certain that it has lost its place on the official ballot.

We expect to be able to give next week the result for the whole state as officially declared by the Board of Canvassers at Albany, which begins its work on Monday.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GAINS.

Counties. 1900. 1902. 1903. 1904.

Albany 63 123 900 320

Bronx 10 21 104 108

Essex 44 63 47 74

Fulton 111 445 403 413

Kings 2,575 4,381 5,217 6,024

Rockland 40 88 63

Tompkins 34 103 88

Revised last week.

35 counties. 1,188 13,820 18,303 23,027

Totals, 42 counties.

1900. 1902. 1903. 1904.

Gains. 9,000 18,662 24,942 30,770

Gain, per cent. 107 322 21.

Increase in four years—20,783, or 208 per cent.

S. L. P. LOSSES.

Counties. 1900. 1902. 1903. 1904.

Albany 288 441 278 146

Bronx 61 42 29

Knox 14 29 41 17

Fulton 179 172 169 130

Kings 1,711 2,800 1,045 1,353

Rockland 23 24 10

Tompkins 19 43 14

Revised last week.

35 counties. 5,083 9,200 9,312 5,678

Totals, 42 counties.

1900. 1902. 1903. 1904.

Loss in four years—588, or 10 per cent.

THE BROOKLYN VOTE.

The Official Canvass Is Completed and Shows a Gain of 27 per Cent. Over Last Year.

The official canvass for Kings County (Brooklyn) is now complete and the results, so far as concerns the Socialist vote, are shown in the following tables. The figures given are those of the vote for Governor in 1902, for Judge of the Court of Appeals in 1903, and for President this year—the head of the ticket in each case.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GAINS.

Districts. 1902. 1903. 1904.

First 50 112 153

Second 57 72 108

Third 64 67 90

Fourth 100 120 143

Fifth 103 212 244

Sixth 201 305 419

Seventh 149 243 418

Eighth 36 64 107

Ninth 92 95 125

Tenth 62 95 103

Eleventh 71 105 155

Twelfth 180 178 250

Thirteenth 246 301 390

Fourteenth 126 144 167

Fifteenth 354 450 581

Sixteenth 198 219 251

Seventeenth 52 66 96

Eighteenth 135 108 231

Nineteenth 372 430 490

Twentieth 1,025 1,081 1,103

Twenty-first 559 676 944

Totals 4,381 5,217 6,024

Gains. 1902. 1903. 1904.

First 62 102 103

Second 15 10 16

Third 3 28 24

Fourth 20 30 24

Fifth 80 65 35

Sixth 101 75

Seventh 104 139

Eighth 42 30

Ninth 39 40

Tenth 36 40

Eleventh 58 24

Twelfth 79 70

Thirteenth 106 91

Fourteenth 84 84

Fifteenth 121 81

Sixteenth 79 59

Seventeenth 76 60

Eighteenth 76 0

Nineteenth 90 67

Twentieth 128 88

Twenty-first 214 174

Totals 1,645 1,333

Loss in one year—310, or 19 per cent.

The S. L. P. had 1,711 votes in Brooklyn in 1900 and 2,860 in 1902.

OFFICIAL FIGURES FROM EIGHT STATES.

RUTLAND, Vt., Nov. 26.—Full official returns give the Socialist Party 859 votes in Vermont. Most of these are in the industrial centers, Rutland contributing 201, Barre 65, Burlington

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other Societies will be inserted under this heading at the rate of \$1 per line per column.

LABOR SECRETARIAT.—Office, 320 Broadway, Room 701; Office hours on week days, from 9 a. m. to 6 p. m. Delegates' meeting every last Saturday of the month at 64 N. Fourth street, at 8 p. m. Board of Directors' meeting every second Monday of the month, at 320 Broadway, Room 701. Address all correspondence to the Labor Secretariat, 320 Broadway.

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE
INT. UNION NO. 90—Office and Em-
ployment Bureau, 64 E. 4th St.
The following Districts meet every Sat-
urday: Dist. I (Bohemian)—531 E.
71st St. 8 p. m.; Dist. II (German)
—85 E. 4th St. 8 p. m.; Dist. III—
Clubhouse, 200 E. 60th St., 7:30 p. m.;
Dist. IV—342 W. 42d St. 8 p. m.;
Dist. V—3300 Third Ave., 8 p. m.;
Dist. VI—1097 Third Ave., 8 p. m.;
Dist. VII—1432 Second Ave., 8 p. m.
The Board of Supervision meets
every Tuesday at Fainhaber's Hall,
1551 Second Ave., 8 p. m.

CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICIANS' UNION), meets first Thursday of the month, 10 a. m., at Labor Lyceum, 66 East 4th Street. Secretary, H. Frey, 171 East 81th street.

MUSICIANS' COOPERATIVE UNION, Local 273, A. L. U. of Hudson and Bergen Counties, Meets every Friday, at 11 a. m., at headquarters, 376 Central avenue, Jersey City, N. J.

LOCAL 476, MACHINE WOOD WORKERS AND TURNERS. United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Meets every Tuesday at Bohemia Hall, 222 E. 73d street, New York. **Financial Secretary,** Wm. E. F. Schwartz, a Irish street, Astoria, L. I. **Recording Secretary,** Jim. Kootter, 771 E. 150th street.

7th, 9th and 25th Assembly District meets every 2nd and 4th Friday at No. 633 Eighth avenue.

**THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF NEW
YORK** meets first Sunday of every
month, 10 30 a. m., in Link's Hall,
233 E. 38th street, New York. All
Scandinavians are welcome. Agi-
tation meetings every third Sunday,
at 7 p. m. Secretary, G. Stoholm,
261 Oederdonk avenue, Brooklyn.

UNITED JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION meets every second and fourth Monday in Links' Assembly Rooms, 231-233 East Thirty-eighth street.

Arbeiter - Kranken- und Sterbe - Kasse
(für die Arbeiter von Amerika)

WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884, by workmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and fraternal thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 134 local branches with 21,700 males and 4,000 female members) is rapidly increasing among workmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. It has been in existence 15 years and its work may be confidently

any of the branches upon payment of an initiation fee of \$4.00 for the first-class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of \$50.00 for 40 weeks and of \$150.00 for another 40 weeks, in case of illness or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time \$40.00 and \$30.00 respectively. A burial benefit of \$250.00 is furnished for every member, widow and widowed and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 25 years of age may be admitted in the third class. 1928

payment of an initiation fee of \$1.50. Monthly assessments are levied upon the three different classes of members of 3¢, 15 cents and 25 cents respectively. Members of the large order are to be in all cities and towns to join existing branches. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 15 workmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invited to do so.

Address all communications to William Mayne, Financial Secretary, 1-3 Third Avenue, Room 2, New York City.

Workmen's Children Death Benefit Fund
of the United States of America.

The address of the Financial Secretary of the National Executive Committee is: **WILLIAM SCHWARTZ**, Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, New York City.

WORKMEN'S
Furniture Fire Insurance
Organized 1872. Membership 15,000.
Principal Organization, New York
and Vicinity.
OFFICE: 64 East Fourth Street. Office

hours, daily, except Sundays and holidays,
from 1 to 5 p. m.

BRANCHES. Auburn, Troy, Banghamton,
Clarksville, Albany, Coraids, Tonawanda,
Buffalo, Chester, Newburgh, Edinboro, South
River, Passaic, Truitts and Mahway, N. J.,
Adams, Dunton, Holyoke, Springfield,
Mass.

New Haven, Waterbury, Meriden, Hart-
ford and Bridgeport, Conn.

Pittsburgh, Allegheny, Erie,
Lawrence, Altoona, Scranton, Pa.

Chicago, Ill.

Cleveland, O.

San Francisco, Cal.
Manchester, N. H.
Baltimore, Md.
St. Louis, Mo.
For addresses of the branch bookkeepers,
see "Veracruz."

THE ONLY ONE

TO BE RECOGNIZED ON
SHIRTS, WAISTS, COLLARS & CUFFS
LEARN TO ASK FOR IT

**and also See
that your laundryman has it**

Where to Lunch and Dine

Comrades patronize those who advertise
to your paper.



ABBOTT BROS'.
Lunch Room,
 110 Bleeker St., near Green St.
NEW YORK.
 All Kangaroos are welcome.
 No line drawn on smaller animals.

LAWYERS.
MORRIS HILLQUIT.
Attorney-at-Law,
222 Broadway, Telephone 2375 Franklin

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the wrapper.
The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed.
No bills or receipts sent to individual subscribers.

The Worker.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIV.—NO. 37.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 11, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

OUR INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM.

Pictures of Actual Life Among the Textile Mill Workers of New England.

Written for The Worker by Gustavus Myers.

FIRST ARTICLE.

CHICOPPE FALLS, Mass., Nov. 20.—Literally within a few rods of the old homestead where Edward Bellamy wrote "Equality" a state of modern industrial feudalism subsists. Lacking all the advantages of medieval feudalism, it has most of its exploited tinges. The lords of the mill, who exploit the tenants, are at least bound by a crude code of honor, by self-interest and by custom, to protect them, and they could not afford to be entirely callous to the well-being of the lowly swarms about their castles. It was a feudalism representative of the institutions of the times, neither isolated to one community nor incubated by artificial means. Now in growth, it lasted for ages, for it served its distinct purpose, and when that purpose passed it passed too.

Day and Night Profits.

It may seem an extraordinary anomaly that a system is in force whereby, by absentee industrial magnates are enabled to grind profit out of human flesh twenty-four hours to the day. But resolved out, it ceases to be an anomaly. Once the sole motive is profit it is but a natural sequence that the magnate, wherever he can, will push the plan to its limitations. Two hours in the mills will yield a good profit, but the employee—man, woman and child—is capable of greater possibilities. And so the corporation has bled its hopes where human beings are bled in slambies and the tired laborer, scarce fresh from his work in the mills before, as a rule, he is in his corporation-owned tenement, for the rent of which a great part of his wretched wages are constantly being paid. The cotton mills at Chicopee Falls are owned by the Chicopee Manufacturing Company. The stock of this company is held by a few Boston families, and I shall presently describe what is said to be a deliberate plan by which the large stockholders have traded upon the hunger and the poverty of thousands of human beings in order to depress the value of the stock, drive out the small stockholders, and concentrate the stock in their own hands. In these mills, cheap cotton goods are made—dresses and blouses. The trade is largely one of export to China. The company employs about 1,500 men, women and children. Occasionally some of the stockholders make a hasty visit here and return to Boston complacently satisfied. The real management of the mills is entrusted to a superintendent and to an agent. Until recently these two functionaries lived in rather pretentious houses, owned by the company, on a slight hill overlooking the works of corporation tenements, but so it is said—the environment was not quite fastidious enough and so they moved.

Lords of Land and Water.

The Chicopee Manufacturing Company owns the greater portion of the town of Chicopee Falls. It owns at least 150 tenements. These are nothing more or less than mouldy, disreputable looking two and three story plain brick houses, without the slightest adornment, built half a century or so ago. The land doubtless cost the company nothing, or at least a trifling sum. Those were the days when industrial concerns often received gifts of land free in return for their establishment. The houses were built to accommodate one family and no more; when they were built American labor was almost exclusively employed in the mills. Now some of these little houses are pressed to contain twenty-five families

and it is a rarity to see a house that does not hold at least fifty persons.

They are euphemistically called "tenements"—each floor being a tenement—and there they stretch from the very gates of the mills, block after block of them, ugly, worn, congested, full of poverty and disease.

The Tenement System.

It is an inexorable rule of the company that no one who does not work in the mills can rent its tenements; an employee who quits work must instantly leave his tenement. The underlying reason for this rule is said to be to prevent strikes. Another standing rule of the company is that every family must have at least three members employed in the mills. Otherwise they cannot get employment. The reason for this rule is said to be the insistence of the company upon the certainty of getting its rents. All rents are deducted from the wages before the wages ever reach the employee's hands. The system in force is to rent a house comprising a number of tenements to a certain tenant, called the "boss" of the house. He is held responsible for the general well-being of the house, but the rents, as has been said, are deducted by the company itself from the employee's wages.

"The Good Old Times."

When the company's houses were first built, the American labor in the mills was well paid compared to present wages. The skilled adult made \$1.50 a day and a house could be rented for \$5 a month. About thirteen years ago a company here started to make bicycles, and as those were flourishing times for that article, labor was needed badly, and high wages were held out. Most of the American and Irish laborers in the cotton mills transferred their labor to the bicycle mills. The Chicopee Manufacturing Company thereupon took advantage of this movement to import cheap labor. French Canadians were brought down, and the company's agents secured Poland. One hundred Polish families were coaxed over and their expenses paid, with the contract that the sums advanced were to be deducted gradually from their wages. The French Canadians were somewhat intelligent and soon learned how to go to work. The "Poles" were ignorant and slow. The company instituted a system, which it has adhered to of making work for three or four weeks before giving them wages. Each Polish family had its relatives or friends whom it desired to bring over; and often a Pole would be compelled to pay one of the factory bosses \$10 or \$15 for guaranteeing a relative work when he arrived here. It is to the credit of the company, that when it discovered this scheme of taking advantage of the Poles, it took away from the petty bosses the power they had held, centered it in the hands of the superintendent and stopped this petty extortion.

The influx of French Canadians and Poles has increased to such an extent that they have about totally supplanted all other nationalities in the cotton mills. Out of a total population of 24,000 there are now about 3,000 Poles ("Polanders" they are called here) and 4,000 French Canadians in Chicopee Falls. The balance of the population is made up of Irish and Americans, the laboring part of which, as a rule, work in other kinds of and better paying mills.

Both the Poles and the French Canadians were compelled to accept the same rate of wages. Both have a low standard of living, but the French Canadians are somewhat superior to the Poles, if fine degrees can be drawn. With this influx of cheap labor wages have gone down steadily. The same grade of work that used to pay \$1 a week now pays \$5 a week for a full week's work of fifty-eight hours—that being the maximum number of hours a week, according to state law.

Law Constantly Violated.

Child labor is exploited here, as is every other possible resource of exploitation. Under the state laws, children under 14 years of age are prohibited from working in factories; but it is clear, from the testimony of well-informed observers, that this law is constantly violated and that of the hundreds of children employed in the cotton mills here and in Chicopee, a considerable proportion are clearly under age. The children get on an average, 30 cents a day.

While wages have gone down in ten years, the cost of living, as accurately as could be ascertained, has increased about forty per cent. First of all, rents are higher. Where ten years ago a tenement of three or four rooms could be rented for \$5 a month, the average rental now is from \$6.50 to \$7 a month. Every vacancy is made the pretext for an increase of rent to the new tenant; up goes the rental 50 cents on each of these occasions. Ten years ago beefsteak could be bought for 9 cents a pound; it now costs 23 cents a pound. Bread is dearer, for though the price is the same a smaller loaf is sold. Vegetables and groceries are about 6 or 9 per cent higher. The price of clothing has increased, especially in Chicopee Falls, 75 or 80 per cent in ten years. A pair of shoes that in 1904 could be bought for \$2 now cost \$3. Coal sold for \$5 a ton eight or nine years ago; at the present time, even before the dead of winter has set in, the price is \$7.25 a ton. In brief,

SOCIALIST VOTE.

Official Returns from Several More States.

Full Result Cannot Be Accurately Known for Some Weeks Yet—Status Reporting Quadrupled Vote in Four Years.

The following table shows the vote for the Socialist Party in those states from which we have official reports for the election of 1904, with comparison for 1900 and 1902:

States.	1900.	1902.	1904.
Alabama	928	2,312	583
Arkansas	27	1,819	1,819
California	7,572	9,562	20,535
Connecticut	1,743	2,957	4,243
Delaware	67	140	140
Florida	86	2,237	2,237
Illinois	9,887	20,147	60,223
Indiana	2,374	7,134	12,013
Iowa	2,742	4,300	14,847
Kansas	1,005	4,078	15,491
Louisiana	—	—	905
Maine	878	1,074	2,101
Maryland	908	—	2,179
Massachusetts	9,716	33,429	12,978
Mississippi	—	—	392
Missouri	6,128	5,355	13,043
New Hampshire	825	3,157	7,281
New Jersey	799	1,037	1,037
New York	4,000	8,491	9,582
North Carolina	—	—	124
Ohio	4,847	14,270	30,125
Oklahoma	815	1,063	4,413
Oregon	3,405	3,552	7,415
Pennsylvania	4,831	21,010	21,010
Rhode Island	—	—	789
Tennessee	410	—	1,400
Texas	1,846	8,513	2,707
Utah	717	2,027	5,701
Vermont	371	—	859
West Virginia	286	—	1,574
Wisconsin	7,005	15,057	28,221

The star indicates that in this state there was no state election in 1902 or that the Socialist Party did not have a state ticket nor candidates in all the congressional districts, so that no full count of our vote was made.

The states and territories reported above gave our party 73,431 votes in 1900 and give us 311,782 this year. Aside from Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and North Carolina, where there were few or no Socialist votes in 1900, the highest percentages of gains in four years were made by Kansas, 805; Nebraska, 700; Illinois, 730; Utah, 701; Ohio, 678; West Virginia, 470; Oklahoma, 445; Iowa, 441; Indiana, 400; and Pennsylvania, 332.

OUR VOTE IN COLORADO.

Split of Deception, Blacklisting, Fraud, and More Anti-Socialism. Socialists Hold Over Half of the Vote of 1902 and Six Times That of 1900.

DENVER, Colo., Dec. 3.—Complete figures, not official, but undoubtedly very nearly accurate, show that the national candidates of the Socialist Party received 3,918 votes. Plauton, our candidate for Governor, has 2,498. In 1900 he had 684 votes and two years ago 743.

The R. L. P. has 393 votes for its national and 230 for its state ticket, against 714 in 1900 and 1,340 in 1902.

The Populist vote falls in two years from 6,403 to 780 and the Prohibitionist from 3,916 to 3,200.

The counties giving us the best vote are: Denver, 70; Delta, 390; El Paso, 240; Montrose, 220; Mesa, 300. In the state counties of Las Animas, San Miguel, and Teller we are credited with but 7, 50, and 02 votes respectively.

Of course, a large proportion of our men had been deported or else blacklisted and compelled to seek work elsewhere; but after allowing for that, it is certain that wholesale fraud was practiced in those places, even more than elsewhere, to prevent the Socialist Party from showing its strength.

While the showing for the state is not what we would have desired, it is better than some of us expected. We had a hard fight, with everything against us. The gains in other states will inspire us to renewed activity, and Colorado will make a better record next time.

IN MISSISSIPPI.

BILOXI, Miss., Nov. 24.—I notice in the last issue of The Worker you give "we" and "us" Mississippi 101 votes and say: "It is not probable that the total vote will be over 250."

I am glad to report to you that the company can safely put us down now as 500 strong, as the Secretary of State reports 450 Socialist votes with three counties still to hear from. Taking into consideration that practically there was no campaign in this state beyond the distribution of literature, I think we have done exceedingly well. I did not at any time predict the totality of over 350 votes in our favor.

But I look for great changes during the next four years. Many are coming to us and requesting information as to what Socialism really is, and many are saying, "We are with you next time." The great work now before us is to make all these people who are suddenly interested in our party class-conscious voters, and not only men who will favor "anything" to beat the Republican party.

ONE OF OUR LITTLE VICTORIES.

ARKANSAS CITY, Kan.—Covely County gave 800 votes for the Socialist Party, as against 260 two years ago, and we elect a Justice of the Peace, a Constable and a Road Master.

OUR STRONGHOLDS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—The Socialist Party has votes this year in every county of the state. Our best counties are Allegheny, which gave us 3,438; Philadelphia, which gave us 3,254; Berks, 1,313; Lawrence, 1,000; Luzerne, 983; Schuylkill, 805; Mercer, 730; Erie, 720; Carbon, 601; Lycoming, 547; Westmoreland, 557; Venango, 506; and Crawford, 504. Twenty-three other counties give us over 100 votes each. There are only three counties in which the R. L. P. vote reaches that figure—Allegheny, with 616; Philadelphia, 580; and Luzerne, 100.

THE ITALIAN RAILWAY WORKERS.

—The Italian railway workers have called a congress to discuss why there was not a more general participation in the general strike from their side this year.

VICTORY FOR THE OPEN SHOP.

Court Says Union Shop Contracts Are Unlawful.

Principle of "Sacredness of Contract" Thrown to the Winds When Boss Wishes to Repudiate Agreement with Workmen—Three Republican Judges and One Democrat Agree.

The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York, Second Department, has decided that contracts by which employers agree to employ only union workmen are unconstitutional and void, and that an employer who has signed such a contract has a right to break it and a forfeit of penalty to which he has agreed cannot be collected by the union.

The case in which this decision was rendered was that of the Protective Coat Tailors and Pressers' Union, Local 53, of the United Garment Workers, against Morris Cohn & Sons, clothing manufacturers.

The agreement in question was between the union, the firm, and its employees, and prohibited the firm from employing labor not belonging to the union, and not even to employ a member of the union unless he had a card signed by the business agent of the local.

A money penalty was provided for in this contract, and to secure the payment of the penalty Morris Cohn & Sons deposited with the President of the local a promissory note. They violated the agreement, and the action before the court was brought to collect the amount due on the note. Judgment was obtained in the court below by the Appellate Division sets this aside.

Justice Hirschberg (189) gives the decision, which is assented to by Justices Woodward (189), Jenks (189), and Hooker (189). Justice Bartlett (189) dissents, holding that the contract is lawful and binding.

The decision is hailed as a great victory by Parry and all open-shop advocates, and with some reason. It is certainly a defeat for those unions that have counted upon legal contracts, instead of counting on their own economic and political power, to maintain union conditions of labor.

Really the greatest importance of the decision is that it is one more of a long series of object lessons showing that, in the great majority of cases, the judges dominated by both capitalist parties are distinctly capitalist judges and will hold contracts valid or invalid according as they are good or bad for the interest of the bourgeoisie. When workmen vote to put their own men on the bench it will be different, and not before.

STEEL WORKERS TURNED DOWN.

President Was "Delighted" to Meet Union Officers, but Wouldn't Raise a Finger to Help Settle Their Strike.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2.—President Roosevelt and David Evans of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers called on President Roosevelt today to ask him to use his influence to induce the Steel Trust to submit to arbitration the questions at issue in the strike at Youngstown and Girard, O., which has been on for several months.

President Roosevelt expressed himself as "delighted" to see the labor leaders, gave them all sorts of compliments and good wishes, and told them he wouldn't do anything to help them. He "deeply regretted" that he "could not properly do anything to bring about a settlement of the controversy, being without authority or justification for interfering."

Thus Bluff's mission ends as do the "peace" missions of the President. He "deeply regretted" that he "could not properly do anything to bring about a settlement of the controversy, being without authority or justification for interfering."

It will be understood, of course, that admission is not limited to those intending to speak for the party. All party members will be welcome as pupils, but especially the speakers, actual or prospective, are urged by the City Executive to attend.

ANOTHER GOOD GAIN.

City Elections in Portland, Me., Brings Encouraging Growth of Socialist Vote.

PORTLAND, Me., Dec. 6.—The city election was held here yesterday. The Socialist Party polled 400 votes—an increase of 157 over our record of a year ago.

At the state election in September of this year we had 192. At the national election in November we came up to 333. Now we have 400. The comrades are inspired by this progress.

Our candidate for Mayor, Comrade Lord, is treasurer of the Central Labor Union and a charter member of the Iron Molders' Union.

ANOTHER GAIN IN ENGLAND.

Our British comrades have scored another municipal victory. In the elections at West Ham, the candidate of the Social Democratic Federation, John Jones, was elected by a vote of 1,063 to 963 over the capitalist coalition candidate. This increases by one the list of Socialist city councillors in England. Three wards in West Ham now have a solid Socialist delegation—five S. D. F. men and four of the Independent Labor Party.

THE NATION IS PROSPEROUS.

"The nation is passing through a period of noteworthy prosperity," says President Roosevelt in his message to Congress.

Two weeks ago the Bowers Mission in this city undertook to serve "breakfast" (bread and coffee) free to 1,000 homeless men every day till the first of April. This statement was made by those in charge: "The mission expects a heavy rush for the food offered to-morrow night, and fears that many will have to go away hungry. There is food for one thousand, however, and as long as that lasts the doors will be kept open to all." Truly, an example of noteworthy prosperity.

Last Monday it was announced that the Salvation Army would give free dinners on Christmas Day to 250,000 poor (25,000 of them in this city), and it was expected that 400,000 would apply. The hundred and fifty thousand who go away hungry can bear witness to the noteworthy prosperity of the nation.

The New York "Times" Wednesday morning said:

"Never in the history of the city's charitable institutions have there been so many unemployed men to care for as at present, and some surprising figures compiled by the authorities at Bellevue Hospital and at the Municipal Lodging House indicate an appalling situation for the winter."

"The city certainly faces a serious problem in the care of the unemployed this winter," said William C. York, Superintendent of the Municipal Lodging House at 400 First Avenue last night. "According to my records there are at least 40 per cent more idle men in the city this year than there were at this time last year."

Assistant Superintendent M. J. Richard of Bellevue said last night that he had referred 790 more applicants to the Department of Public Charities during November of this year than during the same month of 1903.

"There certainly seems to be a surprising number of idle men in the city this winter," he said. "We took in 2,276 patients this November, which is 68 more than during November last year. But whereas we turned about 400 over to the Department of Public Charities in November last year, we turned over 1,100 during that month this year. A majority of these 1,100 that we had to turn away were men who were out of work and wanted a bed."

"Superintendent York said that for the first three-quarters of the year he had taken in 49,000 men, as compared with 55,272 last year."

A SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM.

Local New York Will Establish One.

Intended Primarily for Education of Propagandists, Though Others Will Be Admitted—Between Jan. 1 and May 30 Courses Will Be Given in Economics, History, Philosophy, and Application of Socialism.

Realizing the need of more thorough and systematic Socialist education for our comrades, and especially for those who will go out on the street or into the meeting halls next campaign as propagandists, Local New York has decided to establish a School of Socialism to fill this want.

Last year several comrades, among them (George D. Herro, Morris Hillquit, Henry L. Bloch, Courtney Leamon and Algonquin Lee, formed themselves into a voluntary committee for the purpose of establishing such a school, to be conducted under the direction of the local. Much work of a preparatory character was done, but for various reasons action was indefinitely postponed.

It has now been decided to take the matter up for immediate action. What is to be done this season will be a much less elaborate plan than that devised last year, but it is hoped that in another year the work can be expanded and made more thorough and satisfactory.

A sub-committee of the City Executive, with the assistance of some of the comrades already named, has drafted the plans for this year's work, which have been fully considered, revised and approved.

The Board of Instructors will consist of Comrades Hillquit, Lee, Bloch, and Spargo. The school term will extend from the first week in January to the last week in May. There will be one class a week, probably on Tuesday evenings—twenty-one lessons in all.

Five courses will be given, as follows:

1. History of Socialist Thought, by Morris Hillquit, four lectures.

2. Philosophy of Socialism, by Henry L. Bloch, four lectures.

3. Economics of Socialism, by Algonquin Lee, five lectures.

4. Application of Socialism to Social Problems, by John Spargo, six lectures.

5. The Future State, by Morris Hillquit, two lectures.

It is to be understood that this is not to be regarded as a mere course of propaganda lectures, but as a school in the strict sense of the word. The instructors will take great pains in preparing their courses, and it is expected that those who avail themselves of the opportunity offered will realize the responsibility of pupils, will be as prompt and regular in their attendance as they would be at the City College, for instance, and will make an earnest effort to do much reading as may be advised by the instructors and in all ways to make the instructors' efforts fruitful.

It has been decided by the City Executive Committee to prepare for the next municipal campaign an official list of duly accredited speakers, the list to be chosen from among the attendants of the school. We shall need in the city campaign especially speakers who are not only familiar with the basic principles of Socialism, but also, and particularly, with the municipal issues involved, which Comrade Spargo will treat in his course.

The register of membership is now open and those desirous of attending the school will be required to enroll beforehand. Membership cards will be issued and admission to the classes will be strictly confined to those holding cards. A nominal fee of \$1 will be charged for the whole season. Those wishing to enroll are urged to send their names and addresses at once to the Secretary of the Board of Instructors, John Spargo, 23 Belmont Terrace, Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.

It will be understood, of course, that admission is not limited to those intending to speak for the party. All party members will be welcome as pupils, but especially the speakers, actual or prospective, are urged by the City Executive to attend.

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THE ITALIAN RAILWAY WORKERS.

—The Italian railway workers have called a congress to discuss why there was not a more general participation in the general strike from their side this year.

ONE OF OUR LITTLE VICTORIES.

ARKANSAS CITY, Kan.—Covely County gave 800 votes for the Socialist Party, as against 260 two years ago, and we elect a Justice of the Peace, a Constable and a Road Master.

OUR STRONGHOLDS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—The Socialist Party has votes this year in every county of the state. Our best counties are Allegheny, which gave us 3,438; Philadelphia, which gave us 3,254; Berks, 1,313; Lawrence, 1,000; Luzerne, 983; Schuylkill, 805; Mercer, 730; Erie, 720; Carbon, 601; Lycoming, 547; Westmoreland, 557; Venango, 506; and Crawford, 504. Twenty-three other counties give us over 100 votes each. There are only three counties in which the R. L. P. vote reaches that figure—Allegheny, with 616; Philadelphia, 580; and Luzerne, 100.

A SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM.

Local New York Will Establish One.

Intended Primarily for Education of Propagandists, Though Others Will Be Admitted—Between Jan. 1 and May 30 Courses Will Be Given in Economics, History, Philosophy, and Application of Socialism.

Realizing the need of more thorough and systematic Socialist education for our comrades, and especially for those who will go out on the street or into the meeting halls next campaign as propagandists, Local New York has decided to establish a School of Socialism to fill this want.

PARTY NEWS.

New York City.

A regular meeting of the General Committee of the Local New York will take place on Saturday, Dec. 10, promptly at 8 p. m., at the rooms of the W. E. A., 208 E. Eighth-street. Important business will be transacted at this meeting and delegates should not fail to be there in time.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting of the Executive Committee held on Monday, Dec. 5. Present: L. Liebschtein, J. O'Brien, H. Orland, G. Van Natta, Garry Kelly and U. Solomon; absent: E. H. Nathan and E. E. Eberhart. The committee was instructed to inquire from E. P. Clarke whether it is true that he is at present a good standing member of both Local 13, and the 21st A. D. New York. If so, that he must relinquish his membership in one of those locals as he cannot be a member of two locals at the same time.

The Organiser gave a report of the work done during the last two weeks: Semi-annual financial reports were mailed to each assembly district; call for election of new officers in the assembly districts was issued. The financial report for a period of three weeks ending Dec. 4 was as follows:

Income: Dues stamps, \$27.75; new members, \$10.40; campaign fund, \$115.97; literature, \$302.67; balance, Nov. 11, \$702.84; total, \$1,400.50.

Expenses: State Committee, on account of campaign, \$67.16; speakers, \$28.50; buttons, \$8; Co-operative Press, \$37.25; postage, \$35.50; office expenses and sundries, \$43.42; total, \$322.93.

The 10th A. D. will have a special meeting on Friday, Dec. 9, at Lafayette Hall, 8-10 Avenue D. All members are urged to attend this meeting, as there is very important business to be transacted.

Mrs. Bertha M. Frazer, of Brooklyn, will lecture on the question, "Shall We Accept the 'Trusts'?" at West Side Headquarters, 533 Eighth-avenue, on Sunday evening, Dec. 11.

All members of the 21st, 23d, 31st, and 34th (Fourth Side) A. D. branches are urged to attend a meeting to be held at 67 W. One Hundred and Twenty-first street, Room 44, Sunday, Dec. 11, at 2:30 p. m. The business will be: First, to decide on the establishment of club rooms; second, to provide for raising money to secure such rooms; third, to devise plans for raising money for other expenses—rent, furniture, gas, etc.; fourth, such other business as may properly be brought forward at the meeting.

Many Socialists will be interested to know that Eliza Barker will give a recital of selections from her poems on Friday evening, Dec. 10, 8:30 p. m., at the hall of the Professional Woman's League, 108 W. Forty-fifth street. Admission is \$1. For tickets address: Mrs. Eleanor Whitten, manager, 113 W. Forty-fourth street.

FEUDALISM.

(Continued from page 1.)

There has been an increase in the cost of all necessities and a decrease in wages.

The average Polish family is large. The Pole usually has a wife and seven or eight children to support. Even when the wife is operated on full time, it is hard enough to sustain his family on the scanty wages which the two or three members working in the mills received. The expenses of their immigration had to be paid and the secondary and unescapable payment of rent also. The little that was left over went for provisions and clothing.

The Workers' "Homes."

The strain upon his trifling income was so extreme that to subvert the Pole had to resort to the system of taking in boarders. This sounds simple enough, but to see the actual process is a painful, and were it not actually seen an almost unbelievable, sight. The average Pole not only supports a wife and seven or eight children in a tenement of three or four rooms, but takes in on an average of ten or twelve boarders. In this limited space they somehow manage to sleep. In the summer they sit on the river bank, dry it and either use that, or later on corn husks, as a bedding, cover it with a sheeting and each sex hangs beds in different rooms. Few have beds, although occasionally that luxury is observed. It is anything but unusual to see thirty persons living in a tenement of three and four rooms. Every available space in the house is put to use from cellar to attic. In the damp, ill-ventilated cellars it is customary for at least ten persons to sleep. "Shall We Accept the 'Trusts'?" at West Side Headquarters, 533 Eighth-avenue, on Sunday evening, Dec. 11.

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BROOKLYN.

On Sunday, Dec. 11, Henry L. Stodol will lecture on "Some Questions Answered" at 315 Washington street. Admission is free.

At a recent meeting of the Kings County Committee it was decided to form a speakers' class. The class meets in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum which have proved quite successful. The exercises will take the form of debate, general discussion and question box. Occasionally one of the speakers will be selected to review some current economic or related work which may be serviceable to the speaker. The object of the class is to develop new speakers and to correct the defects of the older ones. So far no class except by selecting a critic who will correct errors in grammar, pronunciation, etc. There is no restriction in regard to the membership of the class; anyone may join. All those comrades, men and women, who feel a desire to speak for the party cannot do better than begin in this way. An effort will be made to give an equal opportunity to every member. The class meets Friday evenings from 8:30 to 10:30 p. m.

The 10th, 17th and 18th A. D. branch will meet on Sunday, Dec. 11, at J. C. Holzer's house, 73 Truxton street. Election of officers will be held, and a full attendance is desired.

Ella Reeve Cohen will lecture on "Our Purposes and Our Methods" at Buffalo Hall, Buffalo avenue, Fulton street, Sunday evening, Dec. 11, on Dec. 18, L. A. Malkiel is to speak.

"Recent Economic Development and the Socialist Theory" is the subject upon which L. B. Bodin will lecture before the William Morris Educational Society in Toback's Hall, Thirteenth and Fifth avenues, on Friday evening, Dec. 10. Admission free.

Branch 1, 21st A. D. meets on the second and fourth Wednesday evenings of each month at Wohlfahr's, 673 Glenmore avenue.

New York State.

At its last meeting Local Peekskill admitted five new members, all workmen and all satisfied that they have had enough capitalist "prosperity" and now want a change. The members are taking an active interest in the party organization by attending the business meetings of the local. More new members are expected at the next meeting. The comrades are anxious to start their lectures and hope the local throughout the state will accept Comrade Chase's proposition. It was decided to charge an admission fee of ten cents to defray the expenses. It is easier to talk to workmen about Socialism now, and the comrades should get in and hold lectures this winter.

(Continued on page 4.)

CORRESPONDENCE STUDY.

The Institute of Social Studies now offers courses in the following subjects by correspondence:

AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL HISTORY. By A. M. Simons.

SOCIALISM. By May Wood Street.

POLITICAL ECONOMY. By May Wood Street.

Each course consists of twenty lectures, which become the property of the student and constitute a large book on the subject. The most important part of the work, however, consists of the instructions for systematic reading, the correction of papers, answering of questions, and suggestions as to methods of work. The cost of each course is five dollars.

CLASSES.

Many classes are being organized in which one person is chosen to lead in discussion and read the lecture to the other members of the class, while the reading and preparation of papers is assigned to different members of the class. Special topics with lists of reading are prepared for different members of the class. These topics are first reported on to the class, then after discussion by the class, are sent to the instructor for criticism and suggestions. For each class five dollars are charged for each set of lectures furnished, and fifty cents for each member. All correspondence for such classes must be conducted through one person and all postage paid by the class, as these terms are at the point of absolute necessity. Further information address A. M. SIMONS, 55 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Since April the average man employee has been able to make only about \$2.75 or \$3 a week for the four days a week work. He has found it impossible to continue contributing dues to the Union. Moreover, many Union members left for other places. The Union was almost wiped out, and six weeks ago it was compelled to sell its co-operative bakery at a great loss because of lack of funds to run it adequately.

Since April the distress among the cotton mill employees in both Chicago Falls and Chicopee has been acute. In both places the economic conditions are identical, although in Chicopee they are more enlarged and away from the river. The Lowell Manufacturing Company, which, as has been pointed out, is owned practically by the same element that owns the Chicopee Manufacturing Company's mills, employs about 1,800 men, women and children, and it owns about 300 tenements. The same rules hold force and the same scenes of congestion and squalor are seen in both places. The employees get the same wages and have to pay the same rentals for the companies' tenements in both Chicopee and Chicopee Falls.

The companies' contrivances of exploitation do not end merely with the labor in the mills or with the rentals. They extend even to a form of recreation popular with the Poles. The Poles are excessively fond of dancing parties; in the winter it is their one great social relaxation. For every dance in any of the companies' tenements the participants must collectively pay to the company owning the tenement the tax of \$5, though why it is imposed is not clear. While, also, the companies exploit their labor to the fullest on the one hand, they exploit the municipality on the other. They never make any decided improvements in their tenements. Their tenements, in fact, are in such a deplorable condition that were they in New York City they would be condemned immediately by joint action of the Board of Health and the Building Department. On the plea of no improvements the additional plea that they are the largest property owners the companies invariably succeed in securing a comparatively trifling rate of taxation. The burden of taxation falls upon the city's individual property owners.

An Army of Paupers.

Pauperism here has increased from 80 to 85 per cent since last April. Recently the City Almshouse notified the cotton mill companies that, if they continued running their mills on slack time, he would have to ask a larger appropriation for the pauper department. There are now at least 1,000 paupers, mainly Poles, dependent upon the city. When the mills run on full time the employees had barely enough to live upon; now many of them cannot live independently with the cheapest kind of living. You see groups of men, women and children sitting around a table on rough, improvised benches; they cannot afford to buy chairs. You see barefooted young women and children stealing over to the coal-laden cars on the railroad tracks and hurriedly bearing away armfuls of their precious fuel, fearful that any second they may be detected.

The rate of mortality in these tenements is extremely high. Syndemic diseases are prevalent; and the stench in summer is said to be foul beyond conception.

Waste Land and Crowdedhovels.

Vacant land stretches in every direction, but perverted economic necessity ordains that human beings must huddle in these shambles. The ox has the fresh field to lie upon and the horse the change of straw and they have pure, fresh air and sunshine and moonlight. Human beings must take their chances. They must lie on dried grass and corn husks that are changed once a year; two hours a day they must breathe the vitiated air in the mills and breathe worse in their dull sleeping hours. If they do not get enough wages to nourish their bodies with proper food—if they do not have anything to eat at all—if they grumble at their existence—they, being free human beings, have the choice of quitting. The more savage has the wild freedom of the woods or plains; and if his existence is precarious or he is destitute the Government steps in and rations him. He, however, is a savage. Here we behold a form of civilization. Work is given this civilized herd as a privilege—a boon to be thankful for, and if, perchance, a flash of spirit animates them to seek better wages, they must be taught through fear and semi-starvation the lesson that it is their duty to accept what is given. A grateful herd, not a free citizen.

The real reason for this action of the companies are said to be twofold. The first was to anticipate the Union's move and wholly disrupt the Union by financial difficulties. The second reason is said to be the aim to force out the small stockholders. The price last year of the stock of the companies was \$75 or \$80 a share. Both companies paid an average of 6 per cent dividends. The stock at the present time is selling at seven \$100 a share.

The first result of the companies' action was to break up the Union.

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WHY CHOOSE THE HARDEST WAY?

What does it avail for me to strive against the man who owns my bread? Is he not my master, and will I not have to go on my knees to him at last? Why should men strike for a few cents more a day when it is easier to strike for all they produce? Why should you not work and strike to the limit of suffering to win a strike when by the use of a slip of paper called a ballot you can take into your own hands the key that locks you out of your opportunities—Franklin H. Westworth.

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Most beautiful, and many varieties, German and English. Cards for Birthdays, Engagements, Gold and Silver Weddings, Ball Programs, Scrap-book Pictures, Calendars for souvenirs and advertisements. Postal cards with views of cities. View of New York with Photo etched, for framing, 15c. Jos. Mosler, Import & Manufacturer, 150 Park Row.

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R. Lowenthal, List 81; F. Schmidt, List 75; Adolph Bohr, List 74; John Mrs. Julia Braun, List 107; J. Groh, List 119; J. J. Belkovich, List 142; 50c; Samuel Kramer, List 204; H. S. Lieberthal, L. Gruberthal, List 104; Jacob Schiele, List 183; J. Jacob Ucker, List 184; S. Chas. Scholander, List 220; F. Scherer, List 200; 50c; Henry Grob, List 291; 75c; Paul Hochstein, List 283; H. L. Krotz, List 302; 41c; Louis Weiss, List 71; J. P. Schwartz, List 103; 15c; Gustave Hain, List 408; 50c; J. Dymalinski, List 467; 15c; P. Feilhaber, List 518; 25c; David Pomeroy, List 519; 25c; Julius Gahler, List 523; 51c; Franz Marek, List 545; 50c; Elias Wolf, List 550; 25c; Martin Kramer, List 549; 50c; Dr. Louis Lieberthal, List 554; 50c; Gottlieb Michel, List 560; 25c; Wm. Schaff, List 548; 45c; G. E. Volk, List 528; 15c; J. L. Laskapack, List 510; 62c; Chris. Dittman, List 610; 45c; David Minkowsky, List 284; 50c; Louis Schaff, List 71; 25c; John Hartman, List 712; 51c; Hans Hansen, List 714; 50c; G. Morris, List 720; 10c; A. G. Adam, List 722; 51c; Fred Hefner, List 729; 51c; Peter Hattman, List 737; 52c; Ernst Springer, List 740; 52c; Fred Jagger, List 700; 50c; G. B. Starling, List 771; 51c; H. 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The Worker.

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NEW YORK, DECEMBER 18, 1904.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

OUR INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM.

Pictures of Actual Life Among the Textile Mill Workers of New England.

Written for The Worker by Gustav Myers.

SECOND ARTICLE.

HOLYOKE, Mass., Dec. 3.—In many of the cities of New England the church preceded agriculture and trade; and where the religious motive of the pioneer settlers was not altogether the predominating one it was admitted with economic aims. Holyoke is one of those cities which sprang from the establishment of the mills. Church spires look down upon the vast array of factories, but the whirl of the loom antedated churches and stores and all the other sequences that inevitably group themselves where industry is to be assuredly supported and where money is to be made and spent. Impressive in their size and ugliness, the huge piles of factories stretch, block after block of them, vast life of plain brick masonry, unbanked close together, one mill no sooner ending than another begins, until the outskirts of the town are reached. They are the life-blood of the town. Thousands of men, women and children pour hurriedly, fresh from a hasty breakfast, into the mill gates at dawn; they give up their energy for a day and when darkness falls pour out again. The stores and the churches, the professional man and the minor industries all depend upon their spendings; if the mills were to close ministers would go without their salaries and stores into bankruptcy. The interests of the mills overshadow all else; to criticize their methods is to defame the fair name of the city and its interests too; to seek a better and higher social and industrial order of things is to draw down the opposition of the average layman and the priesthood; and even now that these aspirations are making themselves heard, though somewhat humbly as yet, it is true, the power of a portion of the priesthood here is being exerted to suppress this dangerous discontent. The system must not be disturbed.

How the System Works.

And what is this system? Blood tells and so does the spirit of origin. Holyoke began as a centre for exploitation and with the progressive improvement of machinery, the enlargement of its mills, the growth of population, the importation of cheap labor and the concentration of industry, the methods of exploitation have progressively increased. Seventy years ago the site where Holyoke is now was but farm and woods; where now, in whole blocks, mill lands herd in the dusk of noisome tenements, the grass then grew, the foliage waved and the sunshine had its free play. It was reserved for men to decide that which even animals are not denied—the cunning grouping of human lairs where the following sun is astutely cut down to its briefest limitations. Near by flowed the Connecticut River, fed by capricious Nature, now black and again overflowing, at all times a pleasing stream.

Cheap Power.

Nature must be tamed and its resources turned to positive use, even though that use is primarily a selfish one and even though that which inherently belongs to all is diverted to the benefit of a few. That is plain business, and it was also a stage of industrial evolution. A few men saw the possibility of great profit in the waters of the Connecticut River. With great dam and a system of canals, water power for many factories could be furnished for generations. A company was formed and the work began in 1817, but failure caused. Some years later the Holyoke Water Power Company was formed to renew the work; and, as its financial resources were equal to its aims, the great dam and the canals were finished shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War. The first successful mills to establish in Holyoke were the Lyman cotton mills. Then came other industries—thread, paper, machinery, silk and other mills—a diversified grouping. The Holyoke Water Power Company, by reason primarily of its control of the waters here, became a powerful corporation, with a rather multifarious offering of monopolies. Until 1871 it had a monopoly of the entire water system of the city, and until 1902 a monopoly of the gas and electric lighting business. From the date of its operation it has had and now has a monopoly of the business of supplying water-power to the mills and to the city. While on the one hand, it pays to the state merely a nominal corporation tax for its vast, valuable franchise, it arbitrarily, on the other, fixes its discriminatory rates as it chooses. It has two classes of contracts. The one form is styled "original contracts." These are perpetual. Those mills which first began to patronize the company have "original contracts" and are charged \$5 a year per horse-power for water used. If the water in the dam runs low the holders of "original contracts" must get their water before the holders of the other form of contract—the "non-permanent." The "non-permanent" are the more recent comers and must not only pay \$20 a year per horse-power for water used, but, perforce, must take chances at getting water in seasons or times when the river is low. The Holyoke Water Power Company has a capital of \$1,200,000; it merely pays the state the regular corporation tax and nothing for its franchises, which has been and is worth thousands of millions of dollars; and what its vast profits have been since it first started operations none but the few "insiders" who hold its stock really know. So

long as rain falls and water flows, the Holyoke Water Company has a franchise which brings perennial returns and entails, for maintenance, trifling expenditure.

Cheaper Labor.

The rentals, however, for water-power cost 50 per cent. less for power than what it would cost to produce the same power by steam. This is the underlying reason why Holyoke has subsisted and grown as a mill town. It began with cheap power and cheap labor and it has continued with cheap power and cheaper labor. The demand for cotton goods during the Civil War gave, as is well known, a tremendous impetus to the cotton mills in the North. The Lyman mills were built and expanded to meet this and future demands. There were no houses to speak of for housing its help; and the Lyman Company built blocks of houses fronting and adjacent to its mills for this purpose—about four solid blocks of houses in all. The land cost almost nothing and the houses were three-storied, as a rule, with an attic, built of plain brick, without decorations. Built nearly half a century ago, these dwellings still house a great part of the help, although the art of getting the utmost from a given space has been developed in the meantime to a superlative nicety beyond which improvement seems impossible. At first the mill employees were American with a sprinkling of Irish, and the men generally earned \$9 or \$10 a week. The houses were designed for, and were then occupied by, two families. One family had the first floor, comprising the kitchen and two other rooms, and the other family occupied the two rooms on the second floor and two or three attic rooms. The tenancy of the cellar was divided between the two families. Gradually the Irish supplanted the American labor. The Americans either migrated elsewhere or engaged in store-keeping and other forms of business in Holyoke. The Irish retained the American method of living and got the same or nearly the same wages. It seemed to be characteristic of many Americans, especially young men and young women, that they preferred to work for even smaller wages, in what they considered to be more congenial and cleaner occupations, with more prestige attached, as clerks or bookkeepers, for instance, in stores or large business establishments, than to remain as mill-hands.

"Assisted Immigration."

French Canadians, in turn, were imported to displace Irish labor. Machinery was constantly being improved and, while the profits correspondingly increased, the new kind of machinery did not call for as much skill as formerly, and the company refused to keep on paying the same grade of wages. The French Canadians worked for less than the Irish, but even they rebelled at their small pay, and about fifteen years ago the mill hands declared a strike.

Up to that time there was scarcely a Pole in Holyoke. The Lyman Company broke the strike by importing large numbers of Poles tagged to their destination. Since then the influx and growth of Poles have increased to such an extent that there are now at least 50,000 Poles in the total population of about 50,000 in Holyoke. Many of the displaced French Canadians, as had the Americans and Irish, went into small businesses on their own score, or got employment in the paper and the silk mills. There are now probably 12,000 French Canadians in Holyoke and they are a considerable factor in political and business. The City Treasurer, several aldermen and other municipal officers are French Canadians; the largest real estate owners are French Canadians, and they are generally to be met with as contractors, store-keepers and in other lines of business.

Employer and Landlord.

The Lyman Company has the same rule as have the cotton mill companies at Chicago and Chicago Falls. None but those who work in its mills can occupy its tenements, and the rents are deducted from the wages. In Chicago and Chicago Falls the usual rule is not to hire a tenement to any family which has not three members employed in the mills. The Lyman Company, it is said, will hire a tenement to a family which has one member employed in its mills.

The great proportion of the employees in the cotton mills are now Poles, with a slight scattering of French Canadians and scattered still of Irish and Americans. The Lyman mills have been running on full time and the intense distress which is so palpable at Chicago Falls and Chicago is not so evident here. But the wages the employee gets here are about the same as those in cotton mills elsewhere. The average Pole is lucky if he can earn \$3 for a week of 58 hours. For unskilled adult labor, such as trucking, an average of 20 cents a day is paid. Women employees make an average of \$4 or \$5 a week, though the company claims that some of them, especially those at weaving, make \$10 or \$12 a week. Children are paid from \$0 to 50 cents a day. All the factories in Holyoke indignantly deny that they employ children under 14 years of age, but it is learned that not infrequently it is the practice, when notice is received that a factory inspector is due or coming, to hurry all children under

FOR THE DAILY.

Effort to Fill an Urgent Need in Labor Movement.

Now That Election Is Over, Work for the "Call" Is to Be Pushed with Renewed Vigor.

A joint meeting of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association and the New York "Call" Office was recently held at the Labor Lyceum.

It was decided that as it is absolutely necessary that the organized Socialists of New York and vicinity take up the work of agitation, for the New York "Call," they be called upon to do all in their power to bring the establishment of a workingmen's daily newspaper in New York City to a successful issue.

After some discussion it was decided to lay over the employment of a paid secretary indefinitely. Proposals to send out circulars to speakers soliciting their services and the calling of joint meetings to receive reports were referred to the Board of Management. It was decided that a series of articles in behalf of the New York "Call" be written and published in the "Worker" and the New York "Volksstimme" and that these papers be asked to make a feature of the "Call" in order to maintain interest in the same.

It was decided that speakers make their reports to the Board of Management.

A proposition from the State Committee, B. D. P., to co-operate with them in sending a speaker through the state was referred to the Board of Management for action.

The Board of Management was instructed to secure all speakers possible who are to visit all organizations in behalf of the "Call," and for the purpose of soliciting contributions, be authorized to incur such expenses as may be necessary and confer with J. C. Chase to assist in the work.

Comrades and co-workers are urged to put forth every effort in their power, unitedly and with renewed vigor, to bring about the establishment of the "Call" at an early date.

The New York "Call" is to be published as a workingmen's daily newspaper when the fund has reached the \$50,000 mark. There is now on hand \$15,000—which can be increased to the desired sum necessary to successfully launch the "Call" by harmonious and united action on the part of every Socialist Democratic Party member of New York and vicinity to agitate in its behalf from now on. The success of the enterprise means a victory in the Socialist cause as well as in the cause of the workers on the economic field. Hence every party member will realize that it is for the advancement of the Socialist movement that he zealously aid in a systematic campaign for the "Call." Now that we have witnessed a healthy growth of the Socialist movement at the recent national election, let us continue the good work by doing our duty to help establish, own and control a daily newspaper, for it is the most powerful weapon we can possess in our struggle. The daily papers now in the field, the so-called public press, does not do justice to labor in its struggle with its masters; they do not publish labor's side of any differences that arise between labor and capital; they do not support labor in strikes on the economic field; they do not support labor in boycotts; they do not advocate the union label and they do not support labor on the political field; they always support the capitalists in their use of blackmail and blacklist, lockouts and injunctions. In the face of these facts, it is clear to every party member, and should be to every workingman, that the need of the hour is a daily newspaper to voice the interests of labor, such as the "Call" is to be.

It is up to you to do your share in this enterprise! Decide now! Now is the time to act! Do it now!

At a meeting of the Board of Management of the "Daily Call" it was decided to request Comrade Chase to take charge of the work of organizing the speakers to be sent to the trade unions. Comrades Gerovitz and Hannemann were appointed to render him such assistance as may be necessary.

At another meeting of the board this committee will submit instructions to the speakers. A committee was also elected to visit Local New York, Kings and Hudson County. Otto Wegener was instructed to collect facts in connection with the paper which will be useful to speakers. These facts will be printed in a cheap form so that they may be added to from time to time until a sufficient amount of material has been collected to print in pamphlet form. It is to be hoped that the comrades will take hold of the enterprise wherever they have an opportunity and help to make it a success. With every increase in the Socialist vote the necessity for a good daily Socialist paper grows and we are deluged in our duty if we fail to render it whatever assistance we can.

All contributions and payments on pledges should be addressed and money orders or checks made payable to Julius Gerber, Financial Secretary, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

COST OF LIVING STILL GOES UP.

The cost of living continues to go up, while enormous numbers of workmen are unemployed and living up their scanty savings. According to "Dun's Review," prices were about 1 per cent. higher on Dec. 1 than on Nov. 1 and about 2 per cent. higher than they were a year ago. Ah, of which goes to show that "we" are

IN RUSSIAN POLAND.

A Sketch of the Horrors Which War, Added to the Normal Evils of Tyranny, Have Brought Upon the People.

A Polish society in this city has given out for publication a letter written to one of its members by a woman in Russian Poland. We quote in part:

It is false that necessity compels Russia to war. The natural and moral necessity was to evacuate Manchuria at a date set by herself, according to the obligations publicly stated and accepted. It is false that the interests of Russia require a further occupation. Russia already has enough waste land, which she manages so badly that poverty and typhus (caused by hunger) are the constant visitors.

Not the interest of the people is here at stake, but the interest of a clique which surrounds the court of the Tsar—a handful of titled and untitled parasites, who live upon the sweat and the blood of the people, and are now sending the people to the front to be massacred, in order to protect their monetary speculations, forests, lands, mines, and railway grants, all the plunder of other people's property. . . .

It is false that voluntary contributions are given by the Poles. These "voluntary contributions" are deducted from the salaries of officials without their consent or obtained from citizens by threats. Even the contributions of the Russians themselves were given unwillingly. They knew that it would instead disappear into the pockets of official thieves. . . .

It is not enough that our brothers are perishing by thousands in a foreign land, paying with their blood for the perjury of that government which tore from them their freedom and their fatherland. It is not enough that the government fills our remotest homes with orphan and mourning. Our people are brought to the last stage of misery. Tens of thousands with out work, fathers who cannot feed their children, with the streets of Warsaw and Lodz. Our papers daily chronicle deaths upon the streets from starvation, and charitable institutions bewail the sea of misery with which it is impossible to cope. . . .

You cannot imagine the savage and horrible despair which overpowers the masses torn from the plow, from the hearth, from wife and children. "If we are going to perish, let us perish in our own country. Let us die by the hands of those who are our enemies!" is the unanimous cry of the reserves (the men now being called out for military service). . . .

You do not know that women throw themselves under the wheels of trains that carry their relations to the Far East; that cases of sudden death and madness occur every day; that in the cities of Pultusk, Czarnochow, and Lodz soldiers have fired upon the people and killed many. At Gostynin, when the order was given to disband the soldiers, the soldiers shot at the unarmed men, in order to intimidate the rest into obeying the orders to go to the front, the colonel, Dvorkowski, a Pole, shot him self in front of his regiment. . . .

To you, free people, I direct my appeal. How long shall the principles of humanity be the laughing-stock of triumphant militarism? How long are we to measure culture by the improvement of deadly weapons?

THE RESULT IN ITALY.

Italian correspondence to the New York "Evening Post" gives larger figures for the Socialist vote at the recent Italian elections than those we took from the German papers two weeks ago. According to the "Post" our party has mustered 310,000 votes this year, as against 164,970 four years ago, 134,502 seven years ago, and 70,350 nine years ago. It fought quite independent and alone this year, while it had the support of Republicans and Radicals in many districts in all the earlier contests. The coalition of the government parties to down the "red terror," with the adhesion of a large number of Catholics who had previously abstained from voting, succeeded, in spite of the increase of our popular vote, in reducing our representation in Parliament from 32 to 31. The Republicans and Radicals lost 10 seats. The whole Extreme Left, comprising these three parties, now has 95 members, instead of 107 as in the last Parliament. As the "Post" correspondent remarks: "There is not much comfort here for the united enemies of the 'subversives'." The most remarkable feature of the election, aside from the increase of the Socialist popular vote, was the quiet abandonment of the "non ex pedit"—the rule adopted by the Papal authorities that no candidate for good Catholics should not recognize the "sacrosanct" Italian government by participating in elections. The progress of the Red International has at last compelled the Black International, even in the Eternal City, to give up its irreconcilable attitude toward the secular bourgeois monarchy, and even to become its active ally. Now we watch for the "quid pro quo."

RUSSIAN MEETING.

On Thursday evening, Dec. 22, a mass meeting will be held in Cooper Union under the auspices of the Friends of Russian Freedom to set the recent developments in Russia before the working people of New York. Ekaterina Breznevskaya of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Russia will speak. Comrade Breznevskaya has spent twenty-two years in Siberian exile for her activity in the fight against absolutism, and her services to the cause must command the admiration of every Socialist, whatever may be his opinion on the policy of Terrorism. Other speakers will be Charles Belkovich, Mrs. Samuel J. Barrows, Robert Hunter, and Robert Brinkley. An admission fee of 25 cents will be charged. Tickets can be had from the Prison Reform Association, 125 E. Fifth street, the League for Political Education, W. Forty-fourth street, between Fifth and Sixth avenues; B. G. Smith, 674 Broadway; the University Settlement, 184 Eldridge street; or the Nurses' Settlement, 205 Henry street.

"TRADE SCHOOLS."

As Now Planned, Better Name Would Be "Strike-Breaker Schools."

Experiments Made With College Students as Books Encourage Capitalists to Establish Regular Technical Schools for Education of Men to Fight Unions—What's to Be Done.

The "Social-Democratic Herald" of Milwaukee takes up editorially a question of considerable importance to the organized workingmen of the land—the question of trade schools, engineering colleges, and polytechnic institutes to supply scale in time of a strike from among their undergraduates and to train their students in opposition to the principles of the labor movement.

Many instances will be recalled of students being mobilized to break strikes. We mention only those of the Columbia students sent into the New Jersey machine shops and electrical works four years ago with the open approval of President Low, afterward Mayor of New York, and of the Yale students enrolled to break the street-car strike in New Haven more recently, with the sanction of President Hadley.

We quote the "Social-Democratic Herald" editorial in full:

The New Trade School Scheme.

"The Trade School" is the latest triumph which the broad-shouldered play in their game with the workers. It is being agitated in Milwaukee by the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, backed by the Barry people and the street railway company, which has become alarmed for the future and is anxious to help on anything that will give labor a black eye and tend to discipline it for daring to touch the political apple. The Superintendent of Schools also has a finger in the pie, for no very particular reason save that he wants to be a good fellow with the master class.

"The Trade School," of course, doesn't mean what the name implies. It should be called a "School to Graduate Strike-breakers," and is born of the broad-masters' inherent desire for low-wage workmen. The workers, through organization, have been able to increase their wages almost up to the decent living point, and now the masters are agitating for "open shops" and against the "tyranny" of trade unions, the so-called Trust School idea is one of the manifestations of this. They want four or five men for every job so wages will drop. The particular grievance the masters have against the unions in this regard, was recently voiced by a Mr. Jeremiah J. of Milwaukee, who laid the trade unionists limited the number of apprentices in order to keep a monopoly of the jobs for themselves. To the uninformed reader this would sound plausible and it might seem as if the unions were opposed to the industrial development of society. But what is the other side? Bishop Fallows, the other day, said that "unionism is the salvation of labor," and that means the salvation of society also. Let us see if the unions are not banding this apprenticeship question wisely and in the public interest? Frank J. Weber, the progressive business agent of the progressive Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, has answered the question so lucidly that we cannot do better than quote his words:

"Trade unions limit the number of apprentices in order that each one shall be given a chance to complete his training in the trade. If a factory be employer of labor is permitted to have any number of apprentices he will have a large number when work is rushing, but the moment work slackens up these boys will be turned out with just a little training in the trade and when they start in for some new line they will have to begin all over again. We limit the number and equip the employer to give the apprentices permanent work for the regular term, in this way avoiding the ill effects of labor with incompetent men."

What's to Be Done?

The question arises, What can the trade unions do to counteract this move of the enemy? They have not the funds to establish schools of their own, in which the principle of the solidarity of labor should be taught along with the technique of the various trades. It would be idle to dream of that.

What they can do is to make a vigorous effort to put their own men in the Boards of Education and the City Councils—not only workmen who are individuals, are known to be loyal to their class, but men nominated by a party of the working class and pledged only to its interests—to see to it that, so far as the graded and high schools of the cities are concerned, proletarian ideas and not capitalist prejudices shall be instilled into the minds of the pupils. In many states the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the University Regents are chosen by popular vote, and here the same course can be followed, to bring the state educational institutions directly under the control of the working class, who constitute the majority of the population. In other states the same pressure must be brought to bear by the election of Socialist workmen to the Legislatures.

In the present stage of development, it is a legitimate function of the public educational system to give free training in trades and professions. If the public institutions of this sort are enlarged and improved, Party's private schools cannot compete. But it is imperative that the principles of the labor movement shall be taught hand in hand with necessary and mechanical and other technical branches.

ANTI-CHILD LABOR LAW IN ILLINOIS.

Court Sustains Law Forbidding Employment of Boys in Mines—Eternal Vigilance of Labor Organizations Will Probably Be Needed to Compel State Officials to Enforce It.

CHICAGO, Dec. 9.—Beginning next Monday, the Child Labor Law of Illinois, it is said, will be enforced in all the coal mines of the state. Under the interpretation of the law made by Factory Inspector Edgar T. Davies, and sustained by the courts, no boys under sixteen years of age will be permitted to work in the mines. It is estimated that the enforcement of the statute will take 2,500 boys away from employment under ground.

If this promise of enforcement is kept, it will be cause for rejoicing and, incidentally, for surprise. The removal of 2,500 boys from the mines would, on the one hand, give them a better chance for health and education and, on the other, would give employment to at least 1,500 or 2,000 of the men now unwillingly idle, and at wages higher than the boys could get. It is to be hoped, however, that eternal vigilance and agitation by the Socialists and trade unionists will be necessary to compel the state authorities actually to enforce the law.

NEW LABOR LAW IN MONTANA.

HELENA, Mont., Dec. 10.—A proclamation has been issued by Gov. Toole declaring the adoption of the amendments to the state constitution relating to child labor and the eight-hour law voted on at the recent election, and these are now legally in force.

It remains to be seen whether the new provisions, so necessary to the welfare of the working people of the state, will really be put into effect or whether, as has been the case in Colorado, the employers will refuse to obey them and the old-party state officials neglect to enforce them until the unions are compelled to go on strike against capitalist lawlessness.

U. M. W. OF A. SUEB.

Victor Fuel Company Asks \$491,000 Damages from Mitchell's Union for Causing Strike in Colorado.

TRINIDAD, Colo., Dec. 7.—Sueb was filed in the District Court today by the Victor Fuel Company against the United Mine Workers of America, John Mitchell and eleven other officers of the organization, for \$491,000 damages alleged to have been sustained by the company during the strike of coal miners.

This suit does not take the place of the suit for \$85,000 filed about a year ago and still pending.

These suits are in line with a new species of legal attack on trade unions inaugurated about two years ago in the Taff Vale case in England, when the courts awarded damages to the employing company against the railway workers' union, and the precedent was quickly followed by courts in the United States and Canada. Only a few such suits have been brought to a conclusion in this country, but many are pending against various unions, and the evident tendency of the courts is favorable to the employers.

W. F. OF M. WILL APPEAL FROM RUSSIAN DECISIONS.

DENVER, Dec. 7.—The executive board of the Western Federation of Miners has decided to carry the case of the Center Star Mining Company against the Board of B. C. miners' union, to the highest court in Canada, and, if necessary, to take it before the Privy Council of England, in order to obtain a reversal of the decision of the lower court awarding the plaintiff damages because of a strike of its employees.

THE SEAMEN'S DEMANDS.

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 10.—The convention of the Seamen's Union has adopted a long list of resolutions asking for legislation to better the admittedly bad condition of maritime wage-workers. Among the most important are the demands for a United States law abolishing the imprisonment penalty for "desertion" by seamen in port and for another to prevent American vessels from leaving port undermanned. The convention voted to send a delegate to Washington immediately to promote, if possible, the passage of the proposed measures. Past experience of trade-union lobbying in Congress does not give much hope of good results from this method. So much may be said for the seamen, however—few of them have a chance to vote, and so they are not so much to be blamed as other unionists for neglect to use political power at the ballot-box.

STEEL WORKERS' WAGES.

CHICAGO, Dec. 3.—When the plate mill of the Illinois Steel Company reopens Monday, an unusual rearrangement of the workers' wages will be put into effect. Those of the highly paid men will be reduced and those of the unskilled men raised. The equalizing process, it is expected, will be carried later all through the great plant in South Chicago.

At the shutdown a year ago the pay of all workers was cut, but not in the same proportion. The men receiving large wages lost 30 and 50 per cent, and those getting small pay were cut a smaller percentage. The present rearrangement means practically a restoration of the old scale for the common laborers and a new cut for the highly skilled men.

—Ask for the union label when you buy clothes, hats, cigars, tobacco, bread, or any thing else.

SOCIALIST VOTE.

Official Returns Come in Very Slowly.

Full and Fairly Reliable Figures Now Given for Nine More States—Wholesale Fraud in the South.

The figures given in the following table, as the officially recorded vote of the Socialist Party, are partly received by The Worker from National Secretary Mallory and partly from other trustworthy sources. The Massachusetts and Texas figures are corrected from those given last week. The others are new. The vote in all cases is that cast for the national ticket.

Alabama	510	1,085
Colorado	684	7,431
Georgia	104	101
Idaho	1,900	4,949
Massachusetts	3,716	33,629
Montana	708	3,131
Nevada	125	975
North Dakota	318	1,245
South Dakota	100	2,738
Texas	1,340	3,513
Wyoming	552	1,574

The states so far reported, last week and this, gave our party 75,510 votes in 1904 and gave us 337,225 this year.

Leaving out of account those states or territories in which no Socialist votes or fewer than 500 were cast in 1904, the largest proportionate gain in four years have been made by Kansas, with 845 per cent.; Nebraska, with 700; Illinois, 730; Montana, 702; Utah, 701; Ohio, 678; Colorado, 520; Oklahoma, 446; Iowa, 441; Indiana, 400; Pennsylvania, 352.

Wholesale Fraud.

National Secretary Mallory writes: "The reports from the Southern states show that the most shameful frauds have been perpetrated against the Socialist Party. It is incredible that the Socialist vote in Texas and Alabama has decreased in two years, when the increased strength of the party organization and the activity of the campaign are taken into consideration. A vote of 21 is reported for the Socialist Labor Party in South Carolina, though that party had no ticket in the field and the Socialist Party had none. Southern comrades write that votes were not reported at all in some places, and in other places a much smaller number was reported than was known to have been actually cast."

Connections.

Comrade Clarke calls our attention to the fact that the vote of the Socialist Party in Connecticut, according to the official records, was 1,029 and that in 1902 it was 2,807, instead of 1,741 and 2,837 as we have reported it. The discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that we knew of and counted certain votes in those years which were not officially recorded. On the state records our proportionate gain is so much the bigger.

New York.

The state canvass at Albany is still unaccountably delayed and we are not able to give full official figures for the Socialist vote in the state. From County Clerks we get reports for two more counties.

Queens gives 1,288 votes for Debs and Hanford—1,032 in the 1st A. D., 229 in the 2d A. D., 7 in the 3d A. D. In 1902 we had 644; two years ago we had 1,637 and last year 1,110. The R. L. P. has 301, as against 144 four years ago, 370 two years ago, and 203 last year.

Richmond gives us 152 votes. In 1902 we had 109, two years ago, 129, last year 143. The R. L. P. has, as against 144 four years ago, 123 two years ago, and 80 last year.

In the forty-six counties thus far reported we have 33,077 votes. The same counties gave us 11,108 four years ago, 14,545 two years ago, and 24,023 last year.

The R. L. P. has 7,001 in these counties, as against 9,080 a year ago.

South Dakota.

SIOUX FALLS, S. D., Dec. 8.—The official canvass of South Dakota's presidential vote shows 3,138 votes for Debs and Hanford. In 1902 our national ticket got 100. In 1900 we had 2,738 for our state ticket. The R. L. P. has never been in the field here. The Populists have 1,248, as against 330 in 1900.

Colorado.

DENVER, Dec. 8.—There will be a long wrangle before the vote for Governor is known. The State Canvassing Board has, however, announced the result for the national ticket and for Congressman-at-large.

Debs and Hanford got 4,304 votes. This is five hundred better than the unofficial figures sent us last week. Four years ago

The Worker.

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(Known in New York State as the Social
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14 per week, one year, \$1.60.

16 per week, one year, \$1.80.

18 per week, one year, \$2.00.

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22 per week, one year, \$2.40.

24 per week, one year, \$2.60.

26 per week, one year, \$2.80.

28 per week, one year, \$3.00.

30 per week, one year, \$3.20.

32 per week, one year, \$3.40.

34 per week, one year, \$3.60.

36 per week, one year, \$3.80.

38 per week, one year, \$4.00.

40 per week, one year, \$4.20.

42 per week, one year, \$4.40.

44 per week, one year, \$4.60.

46 per week, one year, \$4.80.

48 per week, one year, \$5.00.

50 per week, one year, \$5.20.

52 per week, one year, \$5.40.

54 per week, one year, \$5.60.

56 per week, one year, \$5.80.

58 per week, one year, \$6.00.

60 per week, one year, \$6.20.

62 per week, one year, \$6.40.

64 per week, one year, \$6.60.

66 per week, one year, \$6.80.

68 per week, one year, \$7.00.

70 per week, one year, \$7.20.

72 per week, one year, \$7.40.

74 per week, one year, \$7.60.

76 per week, one year, \$7.80.

78 per week, one year, \$8.00.

80 per week, one year, \$8.20.

82 per week, one year, \$8.40.

84 per week, one year, \$8.60.

86 per week, one year, \$8.80.

88 per week, one year, \$9.00.

90 per week, one year, \$9.20.

92 per week, one year, \$9.40.

94 per week, one year, \$9.60.

96 per week, one year, \$9.80.

98 per week, one year, \$10.00.

100 per week, one year, \$10.20.

102 per week, one year, \$10.40.

104 per week, one year, \$10.60.

106 per week, one year, \$10.80.

108 per week, one year, \$11.00.

110 per week, one year, \$11.20.

112 per week, one year, \$11.40.

114 per week, one year, \$11.60.

116 per week, one year, \$11.80.

118 per week, one year, \$12.00.

120 per week, one year, \$12.20.

122 per week, one year, \$12.40.

124 per week, one year, \$12.60.

126 per week, one year, \$12.80.

128 per week, one year, \$13.00.

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132 per week, one year, \$13.40.

134 per week, one year, \$13.60.

136 per week, one year, \$13.80.

138 per week, one year, \$14.00.

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294 per week, one year, \$29.60.

296 per week, one year, \$29.80.

298 per week, one year, \$30.00.

300 per week, one year, \$30.20.

302 per week, one year, \$30.40.

304 per week, one year, \$30.60.

306 per week, one year, \$30.80.

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316 per week, one year, \$31.80.

318 per week, one year, \$32.00.

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418 per week, one year, \$42.00.

420 per week, one year, \$42.20.

422 per week, one year, \$42.40.

424 per week, one year, \$42.60.

426 per week, one year, \$42.80.

428 per week, one year, \$43.00.

430 per week, one year, \$43.20.

432 per week, one year, \$43.40.

434 per week, one year, \$43.60.

436 per week, one year, \$43.80.

438 per week, one year, \$44.00.

440 per week, one year, \$44.20.

442 per week, one year, \$44.40.

444 per week, one year, \$44.60.

446 per week, one year, \$44.80.

448 per week, one year, \$45.00.

450 per week, one year, \$45.20.

452 per week, one year, \$45.40.

454 per week, one year, \$45.60.

456 per week, one year, \$45.80.

458 per week, one year, \$46.00.

460 per week, one year, \$46.20.

462 per week, one year, \$46.40.

NEW YORK "CALL."

A DAILY TRADE UNION AND SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER to be published in the interests of the working class. TRADE UNIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS are invited to send two delegates each to the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of New York, meeting every second Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, New York, or the NEW YORK "CALL" CONFERENCE of Brooklyn, meeting every fourth Thursday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 940 Wiloughby, Brooklyn.

WORKINGMEN, THIS IS TO BE YOUR PAPER. Organized by workingmen and controlled by the delegates to the conference and the WORKINGMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, which meets every first Monday in the month at Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

PARTY NEWS.

National.

Through an oversight the national party news was omitted last week. The portion which is still "live" is now incorporated with this week's report.—Ed.

During the week ending Dec. 2 the National Secretary received for the campaign fund \$223.73, of which \$10.40 was half-day's pay contributions, making a total of \$234.13. The account for this fund closes Dec. 15. The Quorum will meet on Dec. 14 for important business relative to future agitation and organizing work.

The issue of the "Official Bulletin" for November is exhausted. Comrades must look to their local and state secretaries for copies. None should be allowed to lie in a secretary's closet unread.

NOMINATIONS MADE.

The National Committee members are now making nominations for the National Executive Committee (to take the place under the new constitution, of the present Quorum) and for National Secretary. Nominations close Dec. 22. Between Jan. 1 and Jan. 22 the election will take place. The new term begins on Feb. 1.

The National Executive Committee will consist of seven members, not more than three from any one state. Nominations have been made up to Dec. 10 as follows:

By National Committee members of Alabama—John W. Hay of Tennessee, A. W. Ricker of Kansas, May Wood Simons of Illinois, Max B. Hayes of Ohio, Geo. E. Bigelow of Nebraska, Geo. H. Lockwood of Kansas.

By Lewis of Arkansas—Henry L. Robinson of New York, Wm. Mally of Illinois, Chas. G. Turner of Kentucky, B. Herlyn of Illinois, John M. Work of Iowa, S. M. Reynolds of Indiana, John Kerrigan of Texas.

By Herlyn of Illinois—Robert, Randolph of Ohio, Wm. W. G. Gaylord of Wisconsin, Rhodora, Reynolds, Towner.

By Towner of Kentucky—Mally, Berlyn, A. M. Simons of Illinois, Bandier, Reynolds, Work, John C. Chase of Massachusetts.

By Lamb of Michigan—Hayes, Chas. Erb of Michigan, Ira Cross of Wisconsin, A. M. Simons, Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, Wm. L. Bennett of Michigan, Jos. LaBarge of Michigan.

By Hilgert of New York—Rhodora, Chas. Erb, Berlyn, Reynolds, Bandier.

By Caldwell of Ohio—Alfred King of Ohio, Fred O. Strickland of Indiana, Berlyn, Berger, A. M. Simons, Ernest Untermyer of Illinois, Wm.

The following have accepted: Work, Reynolds, Rhodora, King, Berlyn, Bandier, Towner, A. M. Simons, Strickland, Mally.

Nominations for National Secretary have been made up to Dec. 10, as follows:

Robert Bandier, by Lewis.

William Batscher of New York, by Work.

Frank H. Taylor, by Caldwell.

Frank A. Kulp of Michigan, by Lamb.

Jack London of California, by Andrews.

William Mally, by Berlyn, Reynolds, Work, O'Neill of New Hampshire, and Hilgert.

James Owsel of Indiana, by Towner.

William Mally has declined the nomination in the following statement dated Dec. 3:

To the National Committee: I appreciate thoroughly the token of confidence reposed in me as expressed by the comrades who have nominated me for another term as National Secretary, but I have to decline the nomination, as I am not a candidate for reelection. Fraternally yours,

WILLIAM MALLY.

In the matter of the complaint entered by National Committeeman Turner of Missouri, against National Secretary Mally, on account of certain alleged acts of his assistant, W. E. Clark, already reported, National Committeeman Lowry offers the following motions, the vote on which will close Dec. 22:

Referring to Special Circular dated Nov. 25, 1934. From best information at hand, it appears that the matter referred to in above circular was "aired" at the meeting of the Quorum held April 29, 1934, and that decided Comrade Clark not guilty. Afterwards the record of the case was expunged from the report of the meeting, and to this Comrade Turner assented. Therefore I move—

That the complaint filed against the National Secretary on account of the alleged action of Comrade Clark, about Oct. 28, 1933, regarding election of National Committeeman from Missouri the being a member of a local in the state, and complaint being made by Comrade Geo. H. Turner, be dismissed.

I deem it unwise that any portion of the record of any meeting of the Quorum should be expunged, for the National Committee should know concerning every matter brought to the attention of the Quorum. Therefore I move—

That no portion of the record of any meeting of the Quorum or Executive Committee shall be changed, altered, or expunged.

TIE UTAH MATTER.

The National Secretary submits to the National Committee the following letter and exhibits:

Dear Comrade:—The State Committee of the Socialist Party of Utah held a special meeting in Salt Lake City on Nov. 26 to

consider the relations existing between the Utah organization and the national, and in accordance with Article V, Section 1 of the state constitution—paragraph marked Exhibit A—which empowers them to represent the party of the state in its relations with the national organization, the demands of the national organization are complied with. By reason of a plurality vote of the National Committee, the Socialist Party of Utah is compelled to duplicate in their state constitution Art. XII, Sec. 8 of the national constitution, and as in view of such action there is no alternative but to duplicate the Utah state constitution is to be complied with, which declares that:

"The Socialist Party of Utah shall be affiliated with the Socialist Party of America," the State Committee, at the meeting aforesaid, and by reason of the powers above enumerated, have caused to be incorporated into the state constitution of the Socialist Party of Utah, Art. XII, Sec. 8 of the national constitution, and the same is hereby entered upon the minutes and becomes part of the organic law of said organization.

In the event, however, that the National Committee may question our right to act in this matter, we have submitted our action to all the local which took part in the organizing of the state for their rejection or ratification. The letter sent to them is herewith attached and is marked Exhibit B. As soon as the returns are in, we will forward the same for your inspection.

Having complied with all the constitutional requirements and, in addition thereto, acceded to the terms imposed by a plurality vote of the National Committee, the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Utah once again demand that a charter be issued to the Utah state Socialist Party or that proper and sufficient constitutional reasons be forthcoming for the withholding of the same.—Fraternally yours, STATE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY OF UTAH.

By C. L. Spigel, State Secretary.

Exhibit A.—From Art. V, Sec. 1 of Utah state constitution: "The duties of the Committee shall be to represent the party of this state in its relations with the national organization."

Exhibit B.—Letter sent by State Committee, Nov. 26, to the secretaries of Local Committees, Bingham, Mt. Pleasant, Murray, Ogden, Salt Lake City, Kureka, Plateau, and Logan, as per Mally's letter of Aug. 15.

"Dear Comrades:—The National Committee of the Socialist Party of America has refused to grant the state Socialist organization of Utah a charter on the ground that the referendum on the state constitution in rejecting Art. VIII, Sec. 8, virtually repudiated Art. XII, Sec. 8 of the national constitution, which reads as follows:

"No person shall be nominated or endorsed by any subdivision of the party for candidate unless he is a member of the party, and has been such for at least one year; but this provision shall not apply to organizations which have been in existence for less than one year."

"Your State Committee has, therefore, incorporated in our state constitution the above clause, in order that we may become affiliated with the national organization."

"Have your local call a special meeting at once, and vote to ratify or reject the action of the State Committee in this matter. We must result as soon thereafter as possible to the National Committee, C. L. Spigel, Box 67, Salt Lake City, Utah."

M. J. Konikow will speak at Home-stand Hall, 724 Washington street, Boston, on Sunday evening, Dec. 19. Subject: "Merits and Demerits of Co-operation."

Local Hartford has changed its meeting night from Friday evening to Thursday evenings. The meetings are held at 294 Asylum street, Room 10. A good speaker will attend each meeting and a debating club has been formed, which any one is welcome to attend.

New Jersey.

The Hudson County Committee admitted twenty-six new members at its December meeting. Arrangements are to be made for from two to five festivals, at which appropriate playlets, treating the working class struggle, are to be produced. These festivals will take place in March to commemorate the Paris Commune. The Union Hill Schuetzen Park will again be engaged for the labor festival of the local and kindred organizations. This affair will be held on the Sunday before Labor Day. If the park can be secured, Branch Arlington will introduce the reading of chapters from standard Socialist books at the meeting. After the reading the chapters read are thoroughly discussed.—The lectures in the North Hudson Clubhouse, 511 Hackensack Plank Road, West Hoboken, are to commence on Sunday, Jan. 5, when John C. Chase will lecture.—A discussion is to take place at party headquarters, 375 Central avenue, Jersey City, on Sunday, Dec. 18, at 2:30 p. m. The subject will be: "Why Are the Socialists in the United States Divided Into Two Factions?" National Committeeman Chas. Ufert will open the discussion.—The next meeting of the Hudson County Committee has been called for Sunday, Jan. 8, 10 a. m., instead of Jan. 1.

Local Cumberland County, N. J., will publish for the following resolutions adopted at its regular meeting in Vineland, Dec. 7:

Whereas, the practice of the "Appeal to Reason" in accepting and printing advertisements of a doubtful character, and especially the editorial endorsement of a certain co-operative scheme, are bound to increase the cause of Socialism, and hurt the reputation of the Socialist Party; and

Whereas, we consider it the duty of the

Socialist Party to protest against such practices, which may cause confusion and misapprehension, and be to the detriment of the cause of Socialism; and

Resolved, That we condemn the action of the management of the "Appeal to Reason" which, for monetary consideration, has opened its columns to such unworthy and disreputable advertisements; and be it

Resolved, That we heartily commend The Worker for its open and prompt condemnation, and for publishing editorially such time and well merited rebuke.

At the State Committee meeting on Dec. 12, Comrade Reilly of Hudson County was seated in place of Comrade Burrows, resigned. Reports showed locals either preparing or already engaged in winter propaganda. A proposition from "Wilshire's Magazine" to send Comrade Wanhope through the state as an agitator with the object of increasing the magazine's circulation, was discussed at length and acceded to, with the proviso that a list of subscribers so obtained shall be given the State Committee for organization purposes. It was decided that a list of applicants for party membership be kept by local secretaries and application cards of those admitted each month be sent to the State Committee. The Organization Committee was instructed to take steps to get Comrade Reilly to New Jersey with the object of increasing the magazine's circulation. Local Union County reported resolutions condemning the "Appeal to Reason" for publishing certain misleading advertisements.

Colorado.

State Secretary Crumpton's financial report from Aug. 15 to Nov. 30 shows receipts of \$100.10, expenditures of \$102.94, and a cash balance of \$37.22; liabilities (mostly an old account due the National Committee) of \$32.02 and collectible accounts of \$134.03. During the month of November \$114.00 was received, \$43.30 of it dues from locals.—H. C. Darrach has been engaged for two weeks organizing work in the Pueblo region, and other parts of the state will be attended to later.

California.

Local San Francisco has moved to larger and better equipped headquarters at 230 Van Ness avenue. New members are coming in rapidly since election. Arthur Morrow Lewis will give twenty-six lectures, in five courses, dealing with the philosophy of Socialism and the classics of Socialist literature. These lectures will be given every Thursday evening at the Academy of Sciences, 810 Market street. Tickets cost 25 cents for each course or 10 cents for single lectures. All the 400 tickets for the first course have already been sold.

During the A. F. of L. convention the San Francisco Socialists had a mass meeting in Alhambra Theatre, 2,000 seats. Police refused to admit more than 800. Speakers were Victor Berger, Max Hayes, J. Mahlon Barnes, E. T. Behrens and Comrade Lewis. Chairman, Arthur Morrow Lewis. Collection, \$116.75. Gompers, Duncan, et al, held a meeting in same theatre, place one-third full, meeting ended.

Here and There.

J. W. Shynston has become editor of the Youngstown, O., "Labor Advocate."

J. H. Normandin has been appointed by Local Pawtucket, R. I., to represent it as agent for The Worker.

New York State.

Local Schenectady held the first of its winter propaganda meetings on Dec. 4, when Howard H. Caldwell of Ohio was the speaker, talking for his subject, "The Future of the 'Appeal to Reason'." His talk was well received, his remarks being frequently interrupted by applause, and at the conclusion of his address a number of those present applied for membership in the party.

A large audience, including many ladies, fairly filled the Yonkers Turn Hall last Sunday afternoon, to hear John Spargo reply, on behalf of the local Social Democrats, to the recent O. M. C. A. lecture of Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, on "The Labor Problem—Is There a Solution?" Spargo's address made a deep impression, and will do much to stimulate the study of Socialism in Yonkers and the vicinity.—A People's Forum has been organized for the discussion of social problems. Its meetings will be held on Sunday, at 3 p. m. in the Turn Hall. On Dec. 18, Rev. James H. Hogan of Nepera Park will lecture on "Politics and its Relation to Religion." A general discussion will follow.

The locals have been very slow in taking up with the plan of holding regular monthly lectures through the winter. Only ten locals have so far signified their willingness to undertake the work. This makes it impossible for the State Secretary to give out any definite statement of the plan of lectures and the probable cost to the locals. The state of New York is so large that we cannot tour a lecturer without a big expense to each local unless we have a good number of places for the speaker to speak in. It is earnestly hoped that more locals will respond at once and make it possible for the State Committee to send out a speaker at least once a month. As soon as a few more locals are heard from a full statement of the expense to each local taking a speaker will be sent out. The locals that have thus far agreed to take a speaker once a month at least are: Schenectady, Buffalo, Watertown, Rome, Albany, Glens Falls, Corning, Jamestown, Peekskill, and Port Chester.

Charters have been applied for since the last meeting of the State Committee for local meetings in Patchogue, L. I., and in East Aurora.

Again the State Secretary requests that all subscription lists in the hands of locals be sent in at once.

Howard Caldwell of Ohio speaks this week in this state as follows: Dec. 18, Utica; Dec. 16, Rome; Dec. 15, Rochester; Dec. 14, Buffalo. Comrade Caldwell

will make these dates while passing through the state to his home.

The State Committee has arranged for a reading in Cooper Union for Thursday, Jan. 12, when Marion Craig Wentworth of Massachusetts will read Hauptmann's "Sunken Bell." It is hoped that this affair will prove a success, as the proceeds will go to the State Committee to use in organizing work.

Every local secretary is requested to send in to the State Secretary at once the names and addresses of all members in good standing in his local. It is desired to have a full list of party members in the state as the constitution provides.

Several locals have written to the State Secretary regarding a change in our party name. Some have sent in resolutions requesting that the State Committee at once proceed with the proper steps to make the change. The State Committee is considering this matter and locals should remember that such a move carries with it many legal problems that have to be considered well before any action is taken. The locals will be fully informed of the facts in the matter when the Committee is in a position to give them. In the meantime the comrades should be patient.

New York City.

At the meeting of the Social Democratic Educational Club of the 32d A. D. on Dec. 4, Comrade Steiner explained the purposes of the organization, which are: To subscribe for as many Socialist papers as possible in order to supply all the citizens of the 32d A. D. free of charge, for one year; and to secure headquarters. Subscription lists will be given out to raise the fund for these purposes. Nine new members were admitted. A committee was chosen to frame constitution and by-laws. An invitation to debates was received from the West Side Agitation Committee. Their plan is that one week the comrades of this club should visit them and take the capitalist side and they defend Socialism and the next week they visit the club and take the capitalist standpoint and the club defend Socialism.

At the last meeting of the 18th and 20th A. D. Comrade Paulitch was instructed to hire music and talent for the New Year's entertainment and other comrades were chosen to visit various branches and organizations with tickets.—Two dollars were voted for prizes and Comrades Kramer, Bauer and Schroder authorized to buy them. Comrade Kramer was given charge of the tickets and all comrades who have none can get them at his house.

George H. Headley of Newark will lecture on "Socialism or Democracy, Which?" at West Side Headquarters, 333 Eighth avenue, Sunday evening, Dec. 16.

Regular meeting of the 24th A. D. was held on Dec. 5. The following officers were elected for the next half year: Comrade Wellenbeck as Organizing Secretary, Comrade Garthausen as Recording Secretary, Comrade Ertel as Financial Secretary and Comrade Dietrich as Treasurer. Comrades Jarvis, Nicolaus and Wellenbeck as delegates to the General Committee. The election of delegates to the Murray Hill Agitation Committee was laid over to the next regular meeting on Dec. 19.

An entertainment will be held by the 24th A. D. on Tuesday evening, Dec. 20 at its headquarters, 1023 First avenue, proceeds to be devoted to the agitation fund of the district. Admission, ten cents. Any comrades willing to assist with the program by song or recitation should make it known to the district at the above address. If this affair is a success the district proposes to vigorously push the agitation and endeavor to make itself the banner district of New York if possible.

The last meeting of the 10th A. D. held on Friday, Dec. 9, was the best attended and most encouraging meeting the 10th has ever had. Upward of sixty good standing members of the district were present. The book about eighty members in good standing. The new recruits are reliable and energetic comrades and the finances of the district are in a flourishing state. It was decided to open permanent headquarters at once and a committee of seven was elected for that purpose. To start with, a collection was taken up and \$8.25 was realized. After the business meeting the floor was thrown open for discussion, in which several comrades participated. With a vote of 900, with a host of sympathizers and with eighty good standing members the 10th A. D. enters upon a new era of its existence. The district now intends to commence a campaign of organization and of agitation such as will place it in the foremost ranks of the militant Socialist organizations. The next meeting will be held on Friday, Dec. 10, at Lafayette Hall, 8-10 Avenue D. All readers of The Worker in the district should make it a point to be present.

A last meeting of Branch 2, 35th A. D., three new members were admitted. Comrade Neppel was granted permission to organize Branch 3 of the 35th A. D. in the High Bridge district. John Johnson was elected as secretary and agent and the sale of The Worker is to be energetically pushed. At the next meeting of Branch 2 on Dec. 22 the election of officers will take place.

A meeting of the Bronx Borough Agitation Committee was held on Dec. 7, Comrade Hanson in the chair. Organizer reported that he had sent out letters with application blanks to comrades; also, according to instructions, appointed Comrades Elges, Heller, Spranger, Dresler and Koerner as committee to look for a suitable place for arranging a course of lectures in the Bronx; also asks delegates to notify secretaries of their branches to furnish him a correct list of the names and addresses of members. Discussion as to what to do to increase the circulation of The Worker was laid over until an agent for the paper can be secured. The literature agent was instructed to keep the sale of The Worker subscription cards separate and at the end of each month to pay the proceeds of the month's sale of cards to the Worker on the account of the district. Comrade Mayer reported that he has turned over to the treasurer \$20 on sales since he has been literature agent, and that there is about \$25 worth of literature on hand, also that the south side of 84th A. D. has \$3.50 worth not yet accounted for. The lecture committee reported that the only

suitable place they could find is a hall in the Metropolitan Theater building, the rent of which, for Sunday evenings, would be \$37.50 from Jan. 1 to April 1, also that a sympathizer offered to donate \$25 for the purpose of a series of lectures in the Bronx. It was decided to adopt the report of the committee and hold a course of lectures in the Metropolitan Theater building on Sunday evenings, beginning Jan. 8 and ending March 25. The committee was made permanent and instructed to make all arrangements for the lectures, and its request for \$30 for immediate use for advertising was granted.—Ed.

The second annual concert arranged by the Down Town Young People's Social Democratic Club, which was held on Saturday, Dec. 8, at Grand American Hall, was a grand success, as far as the social side was concerned. But, although the hall was well filled, the receipts did not show much financial success. The concert program was furnished by the New York Letter Carriers' Band. The concert was opened and closed with the "Marseillaise" and the other numbers on the program were well filled. The band certainly took great pains to provide a fine concert, and their services were appreciated by all those present. The president of the club thanked the band and their leader, Mr. Frank E. Houts, for their services. John Spargo delivered one of his eloquent addresses and appealed to the young people present to join the Socialist movement by being active in the Young People's Club, so that a short time a national organization could be formed. The program was short but to the point, and the appreciation of his audience was shown by ringing applause. After the concert, the hall was cleared for the grand march, to be then followed by the numerous dances, which kept the young people there until the early hours Sunday morning. All the comrades attended to their respective work properly and all members deserve credit for the work they did. Now that the affair is over and nothing remained so far, the club would like to mention a few expressions of appreciation. As the tickets on hand that it was decided to turn over 90 per cent of the net proceeds to the Social Democratic Party. Secretaries should bring this before their organizations and see what can be done. All moneys should be forwarded as soon as possible to Henry Waldinger, Treasurer, 64 E. Fourth street.

On Saturday evening, Dec. 17, at National Hall, 414 E. Fifth street, an interesting gathering will be held to further the Polish Socialist movement and to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Russian revolution. An admission fee of \$1 will be charged. Comrade Delaski has played a very important part in the Socialist movement among the Polish people in Europe and in the United States. He was graduated from the philosophical gymnasium at Plock and entered the physico-mathematical department of the University of St. Petersburg in 1870. There was then the beginning of an active propaganda among the Polish students there, which was divided into two tendencies—the one nationalist and the other social revolutionary. Delaski allied himself with the latter group and became very active in its work. On account of this activity it was impossible for him to graduate from the University. He afterward went to Warsaw and led in the formation of the first Socialist organization in Russian Poland. In 1881 this group was broken up by the police, many members being arrested and several sent to Siberia. Delaski escaped and went to Zurich, where he edited the Polish paper, "Le Drapeau" and the "Eclair Socialiste." In 1888 he was wounded by the accidental explosion of a bomb—that was the time when Terrorism was the accepted policy of the Russian and Polish revolutionaries—and he was ordered to leave Switzerland. After a short sojourn in Paris he was expelled from France at the request of the Russian government and went to London. There he remained for some time, continuing to edit "Dawn." In 1890 he came to New York and has been incessantly active during the last five years in the service of the Polish Socialist Alliance.

Leonard A. Abbott will speak at the Manhattan Liberal Club, 230 E. Fifth street, Friday evening, Dec. 10, on "The Religion of Socialism."

THE RUSH FOR WORK.

Thankful for the working class has much to be thankful for is evidenced by the crowd of idle men that throng Fifth Avenue, Chicago, in front of the "Daily News" office every day. Between three hundred and six hundred workers wait from two to three hours for a chance to read the "Help Wanted" ads. When the boys come out of the building they are almost torn to pieces by the hands eagerly reaching for papers. The paper secured, it is glanced over hurriedly and the eyes light on a situation that the work the reader can do. Immediately there is a rush for the place, sometimes ten or a dozen men running frantically for the same job, each knowing that only one can get it. This, taken in connection with the conditions in Seattle, helps to show the widespread prosperity of America, and is abundant reason for every worker to give himself to the cause.

The 10th A. D. has decided to adopt the following method of winter campaign, as suggested in an article by Comrade Leffingwell. A small circulating library of cheap Socialist books and pamphlets will be started. An agitation committee of all members willing to do something will be organized, each member of this committee to pick out ten or more of the registered old-party voters in the district, visit them and try to induce them to read some pamphlet or book on Socialism which he will lend them, making a note of their name and address and the name of the book lent, then visit them again a week or so later, ask them what they think of the book and lend them again.

Regular meetings of the Queens County Committee was held Dec. 8, at Organizer Hahn in the chair. Branches Madison, Westchester, Lehigh, Jamaica, and Fresh Pond reported progress; Glendale donated \$10 to the committee and is going to have a festival in the near future; College Point, Corona, Winfield Bohemian Branch, Long Island City Bohemian Branch, Woodside, Evergreen, and Woodhaven were absent. Long Island City reported progress by a written report. The County Organizer reported that he had visited the various branches throughout the borough and found that, although some of them should be in better condition, the outlook was bright. It was decided to request the borough meeting to take action in regard to organizing branches in as many districts as possible and to ask comrades who live in districts where there is a branch of the party to join that branch instead of a branch in another district; also to request the borough meeting to arrange a systematic method of finances throughout the county. Comrade Prouse, chairman of the picnic committee of May 23, made the following financial report: Receipts, \$286.45; expenditures, \$240.11; net proceeds, \$146.34. Branches Woodhaven and Woodside had not as yet made good for their tickets and the borough meeting was requested to take action in the matter. The Turn Verein Vorwaerts of Brooklyn and the International Maennerbund had not yet made account for tickets and the organizer was instructed to ask them to kindly settle. Letters read by Comrade Hahn and Koepke, on behalf of the agitation committee for 1935, were laid over to the borough meeting.

Regular borough meeting of Queens County was held last Sunday, in Manhattan, with Comrade Hahn in the chair. Financial Secretary Heller reported the following for the first year of the year period from Jan. 1, 1934, to Dec. 11 as follows: Dues stamps bought, 900; stamps sold, \$12; total delivered to treasurer, \$390; and turned over to treasurer from Kranken Kasse festival, \$150. Treasurer Doeller reported \$54.10 on hand Dec. 11. County Organizer Hahn rendered the following financial report for the recent campaign: Receipts, \$319.70; expenditures, \$315.70; balance on hand, \$4. Campaign Treasurer Hill reported receipts, \$240.11; net proceeds, \$146.34, 26 cents. All these financial reports were referred to the auditing committee. Organizer Hahn's report on the condition of the party throughout the borough was heartily received by the comrades. Edward Meyer of New York was given the floor in behalf of the Co-operative Press, and after considerable discussion it was decided to ask the Co-operative Press to bid on printing work hereafter done by Local Queens. The organization of the party by districts was left to the County Committee and the line in districts where the party has an organization were requested to join the branches in their own districts. The committee was instructed to procure uniform account books for the various branches. The branches were instructed to have signs made and hung outside their respective headquarters. Branches Woodhaven and Woodside promised to settle for the picnic tickets at the next meeting of the County Committee. Comrade Koepke, in behalf of the agitation committee, reported on the condition of the party throughout the borough was heartily received by the comrades. 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TO SUBSCRIBERS.

The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the wrapper.
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The Worker.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

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NEW YORK, DECEMBER 25, 1904.

OUR INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM.

Pictures of Actual Life Among the Textile Mill Workers of New England.

Written for The Worker by Gustavus Myers.

SECOND ARTICLE.

(Continued from last week.)

HOLYOKE, Mass., Dec. 2.—Learning the cotton mills, other large industries are the writing paper and thread mills. Nearly all the writing paper mills are in the combination called the American Writing Paper Company. This combination has 28 mills in all—13 in Holyoke, two at South Hadley Falls and the remainder in various other places in the United States. The three mills owned by the Whiting Paper Company are independent of the combination. The combination was formed on July 25, 1899, with a capital of \$17,000,000 five per cent. bonds and \$25,000,000 of combined preferred and common stock. The probability is, according to expert authority, that the bonds represent fully the value of the property. The preferred and common stock is largely "water." The interest on the bonds has always been paid, but no dividends have ever been paid on the stock. The bonds and stock were largely distributed among former owners of the mills now in the combination. The bonds were put on the market at 95; they have fallen as low as 80; and are now at 80. The stock, as much as practicable, has been unloaded upon the public, care being taken, of course, to retain a majority for voting power. The preferred stock bears a cumulative 5 per cent. interest—35 per cent. is now due. At one time its value fell to 10 or 15 and common to 2 or 3, but upon the prospect, slim as it is, of the declaration of a small dividend, the preferred has gone up to 25 and the common to 6. None of the stock was sold to employees. Although the general offices of the combination are here, the large stockholders live in New York, Boston and other cities.

"When I started in making writing paper," said an old manufacturer, "every employee was an American. Now not more than one-half are Americans. They are chiefly Irish, French Canadians and a few Poles. The displaced Americans went to store-keeping, bookkeeping or other occupations more to their taste. Many young Americans preferred to earn \$500 a year in what they thought a genteel position as clerk in a store than \$750 a year in a mill. The French Canadians have been the most successful. The Irish and the Poles are now beginning to displace the French Canadians."

The Abject Toiler.

The same state of affairs is, in fact, either already in force or it is a rapid tendency in nearly all the large factories here, although in the thread mills mostly French Canadians and few Poles as yet are employed. Beginning with American labor, which represented the highest standard of living and ideals, the factory owners have graded down the quality and nationality of their labor, until, in the Pole, the lowest standard, except the coolie, has been reached. Submissive, pliable, with either no labor or the consciousness of none, accustomed to bare existence and accepting it as the regular, ordained method of livelihood, capable of existing in a way that would repel the American and of sustaining life with food which most other nationalities would turn away from in disgust, the average Pole is willing enough to work for the very smallest wage and from these he performs the miracle of saving something. If you are inclined to doubt that the Pole is as prosperous as many of the apologetes for the system here represent—if you point to his herding and his coarse, meagre food—they refer you exultingly to the savings banks which, say they, are full of "Polander" accounts. The mean abjectness of an adult in a supposed civilization—a husband and father—being forced to deny himself, his wife and children many of the common, almost indispensable necessities of life in order that he might save a few cents a week to provide for times of stress or other objects—the abjectness of it all is lost on these complacent apologetes. Once in a while, as at Chicopee and Chicopee Falls, the C. & S. steamer, determined, more intelligent spirits will shake the torpor out of the Pole's mind and heart and organize him into a mood for a strike, but few weeks of bitter drive will drive him back into his old crushed, resigned state. And what severe economic necessity does not do, the priesthood, with its control over the ignorant, will do, by telling him that it is his lot, by the Lord's will, to be content with his condition. He must not arouse the wrath of the Almighty. Even the makeshift strike, which sometimes betters matters a little, and sometimes makes them worse, but at times aims at a scientific, enduring social reconstruction, is frowned upon by the priesthood.

Personal Element Gone.

While the cost of production with more improved machinery has been lessened and the cheapest labor employed, another change in the industrial evolution has come. Each, for example, of the former independent paper factories now in the American Writing Paper Company, had its separate owner or owners who took a personal, direct interest in his or their mills. The era of severe competition forced the owner to give the mills his close, incessant attention, for he was engaged in warfare, the warfare of business, but none the less warfare, and he had to be prepared for battle every working day in the year. His tools were his machinery and his employees; and if he suffered a depression

in either, a circle of watchful foes were ready to gain by his loss. The necessities of his position forced him to come in contact with his employees, to know their varying degrees of skill and production and to conciliate them when occasion arose. He could not, as the Trust now does, limit or increase production. If his mills closed because his men demanded the adjustment of certain grievances, other mill-owners were instantly prepared to profit by the cessation of his mills. The number of his employees was comparatively small and if they had grievances they could go direct to him. There was no automatic intermediary of a syndicate agent or clique of subalterns bent upon exercising a petty tyranny which personally cost them nothing and intent upon pleasing absentee employers by turning in as glowing and as profitable reports as possible.

Absentee Exploiters.

As the system is now in many of the industries here, the great stockholders live elsewhere and depend upon a few or sub-officials to manage matters for them. Away from the scene, they either do not know or they do not care how their army of employees fare; their only concern is that the yearly balance shall yield the desired per cent. The particular methods used in extracting the per cent. do not interest them. The agent or others in charge answer for the methods.

The difference between the former and the agent system was well illustrated in a strike three years ago. Until that time the system was to work the firemen in all the paper mills on two shifts to a day of 24 hours. A fireman would work alternately 13 hours one night and eleven hours the next. The firemen demanded an eight-hour day, and notice was given that if the demand was not granted a sympathetic strike would be declared by all the employees of all the mills, including those of the Whiting Paper Company.

The Whittings are types of some of the old-time competitive employers, shrewd, kindly in their sense of things, just in their sense of justice. Their business was founded in a small way over forty years ago, and it has resisted all the efforts of the combination to get it.

"I found," said one of them, "that the Trust had made a combination with the outside mills except ours not to grant the demand. I investigated the conditions under which the firemen worked and made up my mind that their hours of work over a hot furnace were too much. I granted them the eight-hour day. The American Writing Paper Company was then notified that if the demand were not granted, all the employees would walk out. The general offices of the Trust assumed a defiant attitude and looked upon this threat as a bluff. All the employees did walk out, however. The great stockholders, evidently, had received misrepresentations. They became alarmed at the insistence of the strikers, and about a month later the Trust granted the strikers' demands."

What the Trust Does.

A second strike was declared in the summer of 1903. This strike, substantially involved all the mills except those of the Whiting Paper Company and one small one. The demand was for an increase of from 10 to 20 per cent in the wages of the rag room girls. The strike was poorly supported by the Paper Makers' Union and it collapsed. There was considerable talk of the union's leaders, or some of them, selling out.

The average wage in the paper mills is higher than the average wage in most other kinds of factories, and, in fact, higher wages are paid in the independent paper, than in the Trust's mills. The tendency of the Trust is to have less skillful help and to pay less wages. This comparison shows the difference.

of the Thread Trust (The American Thread Company), the silk and some other mills, would be slurred off and pigeon-holed. Unionism apparently does not see that it fights upon the archaic lines of a well-high bygone era while the Trust or combination has improved its offensive and defensive methods, concurrently with its methods of exploitation. Unionism does not yet see that the Trust that so skillfully and malodiously limits or increases production, can choose and hide its own time for attack or reprisals; or if unionism does see this, it still balks at political action. Essential lessons of bitter experience escape it. With pauper labor came cheaper labor and surplus labor; there is plenty of both and the industrial magnates can well afford to smile contemptuously at the mention of a unionism which they no longer fear and which they have left the ghostly remnant of its former self. For decades unionism has sweated and struck; now it finds an "open-shop" town, falling wages in many industries, higher prices for necessities, and above, or below it all, its own decay. The painfully widening gap between dominant industrialism and the worker points out to it no moral, nor does unionism, or such as survives of it, seem to learn from changed conditions.

One need not look deeply into conditions to note the resemblance existing between some growths here and some old feudal institutions of France, for instance. The monopoly of water-power is reminiscent of the time when hunting and fishing privileges and the revenue of streams, woods, roads and whole provinces were the morsels of noblemen or particular court favorites. The more of corporation tenements do they not carry one's mind back to the hatches of vassals who crowded outside the lordly walls? The absentee industrial magnates—do not they seem a modern type of the feudal lord who left the management of his estates to a steward and who luxuriated on the spoils at a distant court all, or most of the year? A portion of the priesthood—some of whom are interested in corporation properties—either blanch at the outside mills except ours not to grant the demand. I investigated the conditions under which the firemen worked and made up my mind that their hours of work over a hot furnace were too much. I granted them the eight-hour day. The American Writing Paper Company was then notified that if the demand were not granted, all the employees would walk out. The general offices of the Trust assumed a defiant attitude and looked upon this threat as a bluff. All the employees did walk out, however. The great stockholders, evidently, had received misrepresentations. They became alarmed at the insistence of the strikers, and about a month later the Trust granted the strikers' demands."

The increasing pauperism, this, too, is a striking resemblance of the times before the French Revolution when the poor were reluctant to bear too many children to live, as they did, upon black, sour bread.

Enforced "Race-Suicide."

From 35,637 in 1891 the population of Holyoke has increased, according to the school census of 1904, to about 50,000. Marriages have increased, but births have decreased, as is shown by this table:

	Marriages.	Births.
1894	380	1,620
1895	464	1,712
1896	456	1,715
1897	417	1,731
1898	406	1,718
1899	428	1,700
1900	464	1,735
1901	460	1,702
1902	432	1,573
1903	504	1,559

The record of the marriages is absolute, but according to the city clerk, who has charge of the vital statistics, the system of registering births until 1902 was defective and he states that some of the entries from 1894 to 1902 are duplicated. However this may be, there is no doubt, from what could be gathered from various authentic sources, that while the population and the number of marriages are increasing, the number of births is decreasing. The increasing pauperism, this, too, takes one back to the times when mendicants thronged the cities and roads of France. Of a population of about 50,000, 2,332 persons, representing about 583 families, were so destitute that they were thrown upon the city of Holyoke for partial support in 1903. The overseers of the poor have not completed their report for 1904, but the fact that a larger appropriation

	TRUST MILLS.	THIRD MILLS.
Machine tenders and engineers	\$2.75 to \$3.25 a day	\$2.50 to \$3.15 a day
Skilled help (men)	\$2.50 to \$4 a day	\$2.30 to \$2.75 a day
Women	Average \$1 a week	Average \$1 a week
Young girls	Average \$1 a day	Average 90 cts. a day

Unions Losing Power.

Labor unionism has steadily declined in power and prestige, as it might have been foreseen that it would. In the era of indiscriminate competition it had only so many disconnected cut-throat units, bound briefly and insecurely by temporary expediency of self-interest, to fight against. In the Trust or combination it has encountered a foe marshalled on more compact and unassailable lines. With all unionism's years of effort and its spasmodic threats of self-sacrifice, what is the result? Holyoke, on the whole, is an "open-shop" town. Labor, whether union or non-union, is freely employed and no resistance is offered. It is an ideal "open-shop" town and the results are ideal from the capitalist's view. Most of the labor unions, formerly so powerful, have either gone to pieces or have become so skeletonized that they are negligible and excite either pity or derision as the beholder may be disposed. Only in the building trades does unionism really count, and even in them it is disintegrating. Years of agitation, years of organization, years of contention and consider the outcome. A slight victory gained here and there, but, after all, unionism stands almost disrupted and bankrupted. Unionism's decrees, if heeded in now in the cotton mills, the paper mills, the mills

What Are They Doing.

Confronted with these social and industrial conditions what do the great majority of the voters think and do? If to seek and apply a remedy through the power of the ballot signifies thinking and doing, then they do nothing of either. Perhaps, however, it is unjust to say this, for the city of Holyoke presents a contradiction of the application of progressive thought. The same city which voted for and which has taken over the municipal ownership and operation of the gas and electric lighting plants, clings to the old political parties. Of a total vote of about 6,000 nearly the whole vote consistently for either Democratic or Republican candidates. In all Holyoke there are about 300 Socialist voters. The rich or subaltern priests of the Roman Catholic Church here as elsewhere have begun a militant campaign against the Socialists.

THE SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM.

Through The Worker Secretary Spargo Answers Questions.

Only a Beginning Is Made This Year, and It Is Hoped That the Scope of the Work Can Be Much Extended Next Time—The Democratic Spirit in Which the Task Is Undertaken.

Comrade Spargo, Secretary of the Board of Instructors of the School of Socialism which is to be started under the auspices of Local New York next month, writes as follows: "To all interested in the Social School."

Dear Comrades—So many have written me, concerning the Social School that it is impossible for me to reply to them all individually, much as I would like to do so. Will you, therefore, permit me to address them briefly through The Worker?

"In the first place, to all who have asked for details concerning the different courses, as to what subjects will be taken up and the method of treating them, let me say that an elaborate syllabus of the whole course has been prepared for publication. This, I hope, will soon be ready, and each member will be provided with a copy. I believe that the syllabus will have a permanent value as a guide and help to students.

"There will be no separate course in statistics, but in the courses on government and on the present condition of the world, as well as in the course on the history of the working class, will be included a study of the statistics of the world, and of the statistics of the working class. The course on the history of the working class will be a study of the history of the working class from the beginning of time to the present day. The course on the present condition of the world will be a study of the present condition of the world from the beginning of time to the present day. The course on government will be a study of government from the beginning of time to the present day. The course on statistics will be a study of statistics from the beginning of time to the present day.

"Applications for membership are entered as received. Comrades need not expect to receive letters in answer to their inquiries. When the syllabus is issued they will receive copies by mail.

"A number of comrades have written suggesting 'something else'—plans, other than those which have been formulated by the Board of Instructors in conjunction with the committee appointed by the City Executive for the purpose. I cannot waste time discussing these, since the whole matter has been thoroughly gone into and the present plan decided upon as the best and most expedient in view of all the circumstances. It is a beginning only, and we hope it will develop.

"There will be no paid officials or instructors. The comrades will be best informed of the progress of the work by reading The Worker carefully.

"Finally, may I add that the members of the Board of Instructors have undertaken this work not as 'intellectuals,' arrogantly assuming that they know all, or that they alone are competent to state the Socialist position accurately, but as comrades willing to serve the movement to the best of their ability, just as other comrades serve it in other ways. In a spirit of comradeship, and not of leadership, they have decided to devote their time and their best thought and energies to the preparation of their respective courses for the mutual good of all in the movement. They themselves will learn much in the research and study necessary to that preparation, and merely offer to share their gain with whoever will share with them in the true spirit of comradeship—fraternal unity.

"JOHN SPARGO, Secretary.
23 Belmont Terrace, Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.

propaganda. The principal priest here is Father Harkins; his service in Holyoke is about as old as the city itself. He, it is said, is considerable of a capitalist and it is further said that he owns stock in some of the mills and in street railways and steam railroads. Some of the minor American and Irish priests are in sympathy with the Socialist propaganda, although they dare not openly avow it. The opposition of the American and Irish priests is done in a quiet, effective way; that of the Polish priests openly and furiously. The American and Irish priests have a more intelligent class of parishioners; they cannot well describe from the pulpit, as do the Polish priests, every drunkard, thief and murderer as a Socialist and vice versa. The two different lines of campaign are effective at present and perceptibly retard the spread of Socialism.

But does not every progressive movement thrive in the long run upon opposition? Better this than silence.

THE CLERK'S LIFE.

Type of "the Worker with a Capitalist Mind."

Driven as Hard as Any Laborer and Paid as Poorly, He Calls Himself a "Gentleman." Hopes to Be a Boss, and Looks Down on "Common Workingmen"—Yet Even He May Awake.

In the New York "Times" last week appeared the following letter:

OVERWORKED BANK CLERK.
To the Editor of the New York Times.
Many thanks for your editorial "A Peril for Bank Clerks."

As a member, I am glad when Sunday comes around to have my son at dinner with me. He comes home nightly exhausted with work at a bank between the hours of 9 a. m. and midnight. When a brass adding machine gives out they send and get a new wheel. No bonus can ever replace the worn-out eyes, straighten the stooping shoulders, or relieve the aching chest. Why don't the clerks band themselves into a union and demand the same rights legislated to animals? Surely the intelligence and honesty required from bank clerks demand decent treatment.

A MOTHER.
The Worker appealed to an office worker who is interested in the Social movement, for an opinion on the question raised in this letter and got the following response:

"The clerk is on a level with the day laborer, with the unskilled laborer. He is a wage slave of the lowest order. He does not realize this. He looks with haughty men upon the 'ordinary' workman. He feels himself on a level with his employer. He imagines he enjoys all the rights under the sun. 'Dear Mother' do not expect him to organize into a union with his fellow clerks. He is too much of a hypocrite—too much of a 'gentleman,' whatever he means by that appellation. He works without grumbling, and he does not mind this, because he is not one of those ordinary workmen who are always kicking and never satisfied."

"The Manhattan Life Insurance Company of this city has followed the example of some Western concerns and posted a notice that no clerk shall carry unless his salary be one thousand dollars and they see to it that a good part of the clerks never get that princely sum. So the clerk is doomed to 'race suicide,' although he voted for his gentleman friend, Teddy."

"The young ladies employed in that corner market dress as the lower social class. They are not allowed to step into the elevator in groups of three or more, as that 'looks too much like a factory.' So said the boss.

"No, dear 'Mother,' there is no need of organization for the clerk, because his destiny is to be a millionaire or a tramp or a scab, with the chances largely in favor of the millionaire, and when all clerks have become millionaires it is plain that unions will have become superfluous."

"But, joking aside, dear 'Mother,' your son voted for the conditions both he and you are suffering under. The Socialists have told him that he is a slave, that he is owned body and soul by the employing class, by those who own the means by which he gets a living. He would not listen. He called you crazy. His insanity makes him unconscious of his miserable condition. Tell your son, your brother, your husband, your father, to read The Worker. Tell them to subscribe for it and you will soon find them agitating for a state of society in which there shall be no overworked clerks, no overworked men and women in any occupation, no masters and no slaves. This sounds utopian; but read Socialist literature systematically, persistently, and be convinced."

BETTER NOT TAKE THE BAIT.
A dispatch from St. Johns, N. B., dated Dec. 9, says:

The Canadian government has appointed Thomas Herterington, formerly a member of the New Brunswick Legislature, immigration agent, and has authorized him to open an office in Boston. It is proposed to carry on a campaign in New England agricultural districts to induce farmers to locate in the Canadian Northwest. A special effort will be made by the government to get former Canadians residing in New England to settle in the new region or else return to the Eastern Provinces.

If we may trust reports in the labor papers of Manitoba and British Columbia, as well as private correspondence from these regions, New Englanders who follow the advice of this Canadian agent will greatly regret it, finding that they have spent their little savings and not bettered their chances of earning a living. In the Canadian Northwest, as well as all over the United States, we are credibly informed, there are now large numbers of unemployed men, suffering from hand to mouth and often suffering great hardships.

Harry Evans "Rag" says it has "no policy but progress." Might as well say it has no aim but goal. What is the goal, and how does it propose to reach it? Progress is not a policy, but the object of a policy—Brisbane Worker.

Just think of the miserable demagogue, called home, waiting to be broken up by Socialism—Chicago Socialist.

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON.

NEW YORK'S VOTE.

Socialism Nearly Triples Strength in Four Years.

Social Democratic Party Registers a Gain of 10 per Cent Over the Somewhat Abnormally High Vote of Last Year—S. L. P. Loses Official Standing.

The official canvass of the vote of the state of New York is at last completed. The subjoined table shows the result for the Social Democratic Party, by counties, in comparison with its vote in 1900, in 1902, and in 1903. The vote given for 1900 and 1904 is that cast for the national ticket; that of 1902 is for Governor and that of 1903 for Judge of the Court of Appeals—the head of the ticket in each case.

Counties.	1900.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Albany	64	123	609	330
Allegany	12	15	60	86
Broome	21	21	104	108
Cattaraugus	22	17	126	200
Cayuga	32	30	106	171
Chautauque	42	39	539	601
Chemung	26	304	378	
Chenango	18	41	87	68
Clinton	5	18	23	
Columbia	19	60	45	
Cortland	5	25	20	
Delaware	7	2	23	25
Dutchess	20	14	118	102
Erie	506	1,112	1,534	
Essex	44	68	47	75
Franklin	12	8	40	61
Fulton	198	405	403	493
Genesee	29	33	125	100
Greene	27	74	180	87
Hamilton	1	1	6	2
Herkimer	163	234	280	189
Jefferson	174	368	521	410
Kings	2,331	4,381	5,217	5,598
Lewis	8	7	28	34
Livingstone	6	3	39	40
Madison	68	56	103	150
Monroe	1,019	2,198	4,104	2,263
Montgomery	24	28	57	85
Nassau	23	24	69	39
New York	6,160	10,885	12,320	10,472
Niagara	26	51	251	163
Oneida	147	580	391	
Orangetown	336	367	475	700
Ontario	16	57	31	
Orange	142	220	314	
Orleans	20	11	77	53
Oswego	23	17	95	114
Otsego	11	10	91	56
Putnam	23	14	12	
Queens	644	1,037	1,110	1,248
Rensselaer	88	253	1,035	323
Richmond	109	129	445	134
Saratoga	40	86	62	
Schenectady	136	432	432	
Schoharie	4	5	13	9
Schuyler	2	2	9	13
Seneca	4	10	63	37
Steuben	47	185	226	216
Suffolk	35	45	150	143
Sullivan	4	5	22	30
Tioga	4	19	14	
Tompkins	34	105	88	
Ulster	5	39	68	92
Warren	11	50	47	101
Washington	24	117	109	112
Wayne	11	20	60	74
Westchester	225	700	701	803
Wyoming	6	6	20	31
Yates	4	15	11	

Totals... 12,880 23,400 33,300 30,883
Gains, per cent. 81.5 43.2 10.1
Our gain in four years is 187 per cent.

Our candidate for Governor, Fendergast, runs slightly behind the national ticket, receiving 36,250 votes.
The S. L. P. national ticket received 9,127 votes, and De Leon, candidate for Governor, received 8,970. In 1900 the S. L. P. had 12,002; in 1902 it had 15,885; in 1903 it had 10,677. It loses official recognition by falling below ten thousand.

The Populists polled only 7,450 votes for their national ticket and 6,015 for their gubernatorial candidate.

IN OTHER STATES.

The Socialist Party in a Few More States is Now Officially Reported.

The following table shows the vote of the Socialist Party as officially reported in the states named in 1900, in 1902, and in 1904.

States.	1900.	1902.	1904.
Alabama	928	2,312	853
Kentucky	700	1,886	3,450
Maryland	908	8	2,247
New York	12,880	23,400	30,883

The star indicates that in this state there was no state election in 1902 or that the Socialist Party did not have a state ticket nor candidates in all the congressional districts, so that no full count of our vote was made.

The states thus far officially reported gave our party 89,100 votes in 1900 and give it 377,836 this year.

Leaving out of account those states or territories in which no Socialist votes or fewer than 500 were cast in 1

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THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic
Party in New York) has passed through
several general elections. Its growing power
is indicated and its speedy victory fore-
shadowed by the great increase of its vote
as shown in these figures:

7300 (Presidential) 97,730
1002 (State and Congressional) 229,702

In the state of New York, on account of
certain provisions of the constitution, the
Socialist Party is officially recognized under
the name of Social Democratic Party, and
its candidates in the state and county are
shown as follows:

The Socialist Party for Social Democratic
Party in New York City has been con-
fused with the so-called Labor Party.
The latter is a small, insignificant party
organization, which bitterly opposes the
trade unions and carries on an abusive
campaign of slander against the real Socialist
movement, which supports the trade unions.

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG.

The Socialist movement appeals
with special force to the young people,
who have to face industrial conditions
different from those of the older genera-
tion grew up under and whose minds
are open to new ideas.

Under present conditions it is al-
most impossible for the young man of a
working class family to rise out of
his class, and it is almost sure that
the young man of the middle class will
be forced into the ranks of the work-
ing class to struggle for a job. Mate-
rial "success" can now be attained by
very, very few and the few who do
achieve this "success" can do so only
by ignoble and degrading methods, by
mean and brutal selfishness and by
disregard of all finer feelings and
higher interests. Most of the people
must continue to be wage workers as
long as the present industrial system
lasts, and the young man who would
like to devote his best energies and
most earnest endeavors to one of the
professions, or to business, must face
overwhelming chances of failure un-
less he is willing to degrade his mind
and character by the use of unscrupu-
lous means of climbing to the top
over the prostrate bodies of his fellow
men, unless he is willing to "succeed"
at the expense of others by meanness,
swindling and corruption.

Instead of this sordid idea of suc-
cess—this greedy and conscienceless
clash in which even the most care-
less have so little chance of win-
ning—the Socialist movement gives a
much greater hope and a far nobler
ideal to the young people of the work-
ing class. The purpose of the Social-
ist movement is to establish a condi-
tion under which all will have the op-
portunity to work and to enjoy the
full product of their toil, so that po-
verty, misery and crime will disappear
and there will be happiness and plenty
for all. The Socialist movement is
the movement of the working people
against the capitalist class and the
capitalist industrial system which en-
slaves and robs them. It stands for
the emancipation of the working class,
for industrial freedom and social jus-
tice.

The young man or young woman,
seriously facing life for the first time,
must form some idea of what will be
the most important thing in life to
them, what will give them inspiration
and hope and be the source of their
deepest feelings and the object of their
highest endeavors and most earnest
thoughts. Socialism is the only thing
worthy of such devotion. If the young
people will study the principles of So-
cialism they will soon see the truth
and, having once absorbed the So-
cialist truths, their minds will be up-
lifted, their intellects will be illumined
and their hearts will expand with
ennobling devotion to the great cause
that stands for the interests of the
working class and for the emancipa-
tion of humanity from the tyranny
and sufferings of capitalism.

NICHOLAS AND THEODORE.

President Roosevelt, it appears, where-
ever he goes, is surrounded with a
troop of secret service men, de-
tectives, spies, ex-Pinkertons, and
other choice companions, to protect his
precious life.

Can anyone imagine a Washington,
a Jefferson, a Jackson, or a Lincoln
thus watched and guarded? No, nor
any other self-respecting chief magis-
trate of a republic. The greatest of
our Presidents would have preferred—
nay, did prefer—not the chance, but
the certainty, of assassination to
such monarchical bulwarking against
fate—as would any really brave and
not merely blustering man.

But another consideration suggests
itself. If this army of guards are
needed, why are they needed? Is it
not a most sure sign that "something
is rotten in the state of Denmark"—
or of America, rather? With the ex-
ception of T. S. Nichols and the Turk-
ish Sultan, it is safe to say that no
monarchs in the world are treated in
quite this hot-house fashion. Those
two have reason, for they are tyrants.
And Theodore the Great has reason,
for he is the chief representative agent
of capitalist tyranny in the greatest
of capitalist despots.

And yet he has not the moral cour-
age to remove the danger, as he could,
by putting himself heartily on the
side of the oppressed. "Oh, the pity
of it!"

UP THE STATE.

Frankly, the Social Democratic vote
in the state of New York is a disap-
pointment to us. We ought to have
had at least 40,000, instead of 36,883.

Comparing this year's vote with that
cast a year ago for Charles H. Mat-
chett for Judge of the Court of Ap-
peals, we have gained only 3,481 votes
in the state—hardly over 10 per cent.
A fairer comparison—considering the
fusion of the old parties last year in
support of Denis O'Brien—would be
with our vote in regular state election
of 1902. But even so, the result is un-
satisfactory: our increase in two years
is 13,483—a little less than 57 per cent.
That is too little. The country as a
whole, spite of the losses in Massa-
chusetts and Colorado and the frauds
in the South, has gained about 50 per
cent. in the same time. The Empire
State is not keeping step as it should
in the march toward Socialism.

It may be worth while to separate
the vote of New York City from that
of the up-state counties. For that pur-
pose we give the following table:

Year.	City.	Up-state.	Total.
1900	9,521	3,348	12,869
1902	10,432	6,968	23,400
1903	18,833	14,596	33,429
1904	24,536	12,347	36,883

During the three periods covered—
1900 to 1902, 1902 to 1903, and 1903 to
1904—the city gained 73 per cent., 15
per cent., and 30 per cent., respective-
ly, or 158 per cent. in four years. The
rest of the state gained 108 per cent.
in the first of these periods and 103
per cent. in the second and lost 15 per
cent. in the third, making a net gain
of 200 per cent. in the four years.

The Worker has said in another con-
nection that when an abnormally large
gain is made in any region at one
election and a part of it is lost at the
succeeding election, the loss is not a
due occasion for surprise or alarm;
that it is to be regarded as a warning
of the necessity for earnest work on
the lines of education and organiza-
tion; but that, if the loss is repeated,
it is a sign that something is seriously
wrong. Our up-state vote of last year
was somewhat abnormal, a considera-
ble part of it being, not a class-con-
scious vote for Socialism, but a vote
of protest against the capitalist fusion
of O'Brien. It is not surprising that
we have lost this year. In the up-state
counties, over a quarter of what we
gained last year. There is no ground
for alarm in the fact. But there is
cause for serious consideration. The
necessity for vigorous work in those
counties should be obvious to anyone
who will scan the figures.

This work cannot be done from state
headquarters alone. The locals in New
York City have contributed liberally
to the funds for agitation and organiza-
tion in other parts of the state, and
will continue to do so. The State Com-
mittee will do all in its power to carry
on that work. But it must have hearty
and steady support and co-operation in
its efforts from the comrades outside
of New York City, or its efforts will
be practically thrown away.

It is a pity that, when the State
Committee makes a serious effort, im-
mediately after election, to arrange for
sending "good speakers" through the
state at frequent intervals, as it is
now doing, it should meet with a half-
hearted response. Up to a week ago
only ten locals up the state had sig-
nified their willingness to arrange
meetings once or twice a month for
such speakers. With so few active
centers in so large a state, it is evi-
dent that the touring of a speaker
must be a very costly affair. It costs
as much in railway fares—the largest
item of expense—for a speaker to go
the length of the state to reach a sin-
gle local as it would for him to travel
the same distance and address a hun-
dred meetings on the way. It is nec-
essary that at least twenty locals should
take up the work in order that a sin-
gle speaker may be put in the field
without very great waste. With sixty

locals active in such circuit work,
three speakers could be kept in the
field and, by a judicious arrangement
of tours, the expense to each local
could be made still lower than with
twenty locals and one speaker.
We would earnestly advise the com-
rades throughout the state to consider
these facts and to communicate with
the State Secretary at once, so that,
before another month has passed, we
may have an active campaign going on
all the way from New York City to
Buffalo. Every day that we wait we
lose something of the golden opportu-
nity that our successes in November
and the popular interest aroused there-
by offers to us. Now, not next sum-
mer, is the time to act, in order to
make sure that, at the next state elec-
tion, a good gain shall be registered
for our party up the state, as it assur-
edly will be in New York City.

NOTE, COMMENT AND ANSWER.

The New York "Times" devoted
nearly a column of its editorial space
last Sunday to the task of proving, to
its own satisfaction, that the Socialist
Party is going to be swallowed up by
the two old parties, because Bryan is
going to reorganize the Democracy on
"radical" lines and Roosevelt has com-
mitted the Republican party to the
control of railway freight rates. "So
what is there left for the Socialists to
preach and do?" asks the "Times,"
and predicts that we will go the way
of the Populists. We would remind
the "Times" that Socialism has been
in the field through nine successive
Presidential and Congressional elec-
tions, beginning in 1888; that in each
election it has increased its strength,
spite of the competition of Populist,
Cotton Labor, and other radical par-
ties; that its voting power has grown
not suddenly but steadily, from 2,600
to nearly 500,000; that the average
rate of increase has been 95 per cent.
for each two years; and that the last
two biennial periods give no indication
of a decrease in this ratio of growth.
We would refer the "Times" to the
experience of Germany, where a much
more serious attempt has been made
by the conservative parties to take the
place of the Socialist party in the
adoption of some plank from the So-
cialist platform, and where, neverthe-
less, the Socialist vote has gone on
steadily increasing, with the exception
of the two elections of 1878 and 1881,
and has grown from 125,000 thirty-
three years ago to 3,008,000 last year.
So we cheerfully invite the old par-
ties to steal as many of our planks as
they dare. If they carry them into
effect honestly, so much gained for us;
we shall accept the concessions and
demand more; and if they fail to do
so, their failure will be so much grieve
to our mind.

It is the *unanimous* opinion of The Work-
er that comrades make a great mis-
take when, before election, they in-
dulge in extravagant predictions about
the increase of our vote, and when, im-
mediately after election and before the
official figures are known, they pub-
lish and glow over the highest esti-
mates that can possibly be made. Dur-
ing the late campaign many of our en-
thusiasts talked confidently of a mil-
lion, fifteen hundred thousand, or even
two million votes. For a fortnight
after election some of them recited
figures claimed from seven hundred and
fifty thousand to a million. Even our
cautious National Secretary was liter-
ally compelled, by the injudicious rep-
resentations of those who reported to
him from the various states, to give
out an estimate of 600,000. Nay, even
The Worker, while refusing to publish
that report, was deluded into claiming
half a million. Now, having official re-
ports from all but a few of the states,
we know that our vote will not ex-
ceed 450,000.

That in itself is a very satisfactory
figure—an increase of 90 per cent. in
two years and of over 300 per cent. in
four years. But on those who had ac-
cepted in good faith the higher esti-
mates before and immediately after
election, the news has a disappointing
and depressing effect. It is always
better—not for the old parties, per-
haps, but certainly for us—to "say
nothing and say well," to claim little
and to surprise the public by more
than realizing our own predictions.

Let us have no two-million talk for
1906. With the best of work on our
part and with the most favorable con-
ditions we cannot reasonably expect
more than 500,000 votes two years
hence. Much more probable will be
700,000. Seven hundred thousand votes
would probably mean one or two Con-
gressmen and a dozen members of
the Legislatures. But even this we
cannot count upon, for it will depend
upon the distribution of our gains and
on possible coalitions or divisions of
the old parties. Let us, at the most,
not predict more than seven or eight
hundred thousand votes in the elec-
tions of 1906, and let us work to outdo
our claims if possible.

A reader of The Worker in Wal-
tham, Mass., writes us that, in his
opinion, the reason for the falling-off
of the Socialist vote in that place this
year was the interference of the State
Committee. He says:

When they suspended our local
placard on our ballot box was a
member of the militia, they presumed to
interfere with our authority. We returned
our ballot box, and they gave us
our right to vote. We Socialists, first, last,
and all the time, second, to name our can-
didates, provided they were Socialists.

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

IV.—The Capitalist System—A Chapter Which Should Have Preceded That On Value, But Now Comes In as a Par- entheses.

[This is one of a series of articles, be-
gan in The Worker of Dec. 4, as an at-
tempt toward a systematic and correct
yet popular statement of the fundamen-
tal principles of scientific Socialism for the
benefit of those who really wish to
study (not merely to read something new)
and who have too little time to undertake
larger and more complete treatises. Those
who find any points not made clear or who
have pertinent questions suggested by
these articles are invited to write to the
Editor of The Worker, and are assured that
an earnest attempt will be made to answer
them.]

IV.—The Capitalist System.

From some comments and questions
elicited by the preceding article I see
that I have begun this series in
just the right way. Let me attempt
to right the mistake now, postponing
for a week the chapter on "The Value
of Labor-Power."

I should have said, before taking up
the definition and law of value, that
the economic laws which we should
set forth are distinctly the economic
laws of capitalism, of the modern sys-
tem of production; that many, perhaps
most of these laws would be applica-
ble to the facts of production and
distribution in a primitive communist
society, nor in a feudal society, nor in a
slaveholding society, nor even fully
in a society of independent small pro-
ducers such as existed (approximately)
in the northern part of the United
States a century ago. It is the domi-
nant capitalist system that we study
—its essential nature (involving, of
course, some account of its origin and
of the reasons for its preceding sys-
tem) and the tendencies of its devel-
opment.

Now just as the physicist, in formu-
lating the law for the motion of a
falling body, assumes it to be falling
through a vacuum, without friction,
and then, in applying that law to defu-
sion problems, makes allowance for the
resistance of the air and for deflection
by the wind, according to the special
conditions actually existing at the
time, just as the chemist, in working
out the formula for a certain com-
pound, assumes his materials to be ab-
solutely pure, and then, in applying
the formula in practice, makes allow-
ance for the presence of certain impuri-
ties, in small quantities, which will
slightly affect the working of the for-
mula—so we, in studying the economic
laws of capitalist society, assume a
typical state of capitalism, which never
exists in absolute perfection, any
more than an absolute vacuum exists
for the physicist, and make allow-
ance for the practical conditions for the
practical chemist. We formulate our laws
for this typical society; then, in applying
them, we make allowance for certain
modifying circumstances which exist,
to a greater or less degree, in every
actual society. The law first, formulat-
ed from the generalization of ab-
served facts; then the application of
the law to special cases, subject to
the qualifications that in the ap-
plicable method, in economics as well as
in other branches of study.

What, then, is the essential nature
of the capitalist system which we
study? What is it that distinguishes
it from other economic systems that
have preceded it or that may follow?
We lay down our general defini-
tion now and shall elaborate and jus-
tify it as we go on. By the word
"capitalism" we mean—

A system of competitive production
of commodities by wage-labor operat-
ing privately owned means of produc-
tion.

The word "competitive" does not
need explanation here. Everyone
knows what competition is. Likewise
everyone will readily understand what
its meaning is "wage-labor" and the fol-
lowing words. We must explain the
phrase "production of commodities."

When we speak of commodities we
mean things which are commonly pro-
duced, not directly for use, but for
sale.

In a primitive state of society there
are no commodities. Various articles
are produced, but they are not com-
monly bought and sold. The savage
catches fish or kills game, directly for
the sake of the fish or game—for con-
sumption by himself or by the mem-
bers of a communistic family group.
Such products cannot be said to have
value in the strict economic sense, be-
cause, as there is no regular purchase
and sale, there is no definitely ascer-
tainable purchasing power. In the
course of economic development, how-
ever, with the specialization of differ-
ent productive industries, barter be-
comes common and later money-ex-
change arises. It comes about that a
larger and larger proportion of
things are produced, not for the use of
the producer, but for the purpose of
exchanging them for other things
which he wants and which other peo-
ple are producing. This change from
production for direct production for ex-
change is a very slow process. Begin-
ning in prehistoric times, it had made
considerable progress in the ancient
Greek and Roman civilization; with
the barbarian conquest of Europe
there came a reaction and then
through the Middle Ages the system of
production for exchange gradually
gained ground again; the geographical
discoveries of the sixteenth, seventeenth,
and especially the eighteenth century
hastened its growth and it is now the
dominant form of production all over
the civilized world.

The capitalist system is essentially
a system of commodity production,
of production for sale. This marks a
fundamental difference between mod-
ern society and all earlier forms. The
varying extent to which production for
sale has displaced production for use
marks the fundamental difference be-
tween the more advanced and the
more backward nations and between
the industrial and the agricultural por-
tions of the same nation—differences
which are rapidly growing less wide,
but which are still noticeable. The
difference between these two general
forms of production involves a thou-
sand and other differences in the charac-
ter of society—differences of political
organization, of law, of relations of man-
ner, of art and literature, of science,

and even of religion—just as certainly
as, among animals, the difference be-
tween wings and legs involves corre-
sponding differences in the stomachs,
the lungs, the circulatory, nervous,
and reproductive systems of the flying
and the walking animals.

Now to return to our definition of
capitalism. We know, of course, that
there do not and never did exist a
state of society in which absolutely all
production was production of commodi-
ties; there is always some production
for use—as in the case of the farmer
already mentioned, or of the housewife
who bakes the family's bread and
makes her children's clothes. Again,
we know that not all production is
carried on by wage-labor; there is still
a considerable number of small pro-
ducers owning their own means of pro-
duction and producing partly for their
own use and partly for the market.

Finally, we know that absolutely free
competition does not exist and never
has existed; competition is limited by
tariffs, by immigration laws, by pat-
ents, by legal monopolies; it is ham-
pered by habit and custom and by the
impossibility of any buyer or seller
knowing at any moment all the condi-
tions of the market; it is restricted by
trusts and by trade unions.

These represent the qualifications we
have to make, though some of the
modifying circumstances we have to
allow for, in applying our economic
laws. The most important of these
modifying circumstances are the trust
or capitalist combination. Of this we
shall speak later.

But, subject to these qualifications,
capitalism as it exists and is develop-
ing to-day is fundamentally what we
have defined it to be. We must for-
mulate our laws for a typical capital-
ist society and then apply them to the
society which actually exists, which is
essentially but not absolutely in con-
formity with that definition.

So far as the law of value is concern-
ed, that qualification is already made,
in distinguishing between value and
price. If competition were absolutely
free and fluid, we should not have to
make this distinction. If everyone al-
ways sold at the highest price he could
get and bought at the lowest price ob-
tainable, regardless of the habits of
trading in a certain place or any other
consideration of habit or sentiment; if
every buyer and seller had instead of
only an approximate estimate of the
amount and quality of all the commodi-
ties in the market; if all commodities
could always be reproduced or dupli-
cated, as most of them can be; if, finally,
there were no combinations of buyers
or of sellers—then every commodity
would always sell at its true
value, and price and value would be
identical. As a matter of fact, none
of these four conditions exists abso-
lutely, though all of them prevail to a
great extent. It follows that price
tends always to approximate value,
but constantly fluctuates, sometimes
below value, often above value, be-
cause the most important of these
qualifications are the relatively im-
perfect knowledge of buyers and the rel-
atively stronger combinations of sellers.

We shall now proceed to a consid-
eration of "The Value of Labor-Power,"
which will involve, of course, the
distinctions of its price—wages.

NOTES FROM GERMANY.

The "Volksstimme" of Magdeburg
tells of a recent Agrarian congress
which was held in that city to discuss
the question of forming a landown-
ers' chamber as a part of the legisla-
tive machinery. In the course of the
discussion some one raised the question
of the number of Social Democrats who
might be land owners. One member de-
clared that every landowner who had
less than one acre was also an industrial
worker and was sure to be a Socialist.
Another speaker declared that all
those who owned less than eight acres
were exclusively Social Democrats,
and unless the line was drawn above
this point the delegates committed them-
selves in their new legislative cham-
ber. Finally one member suggested
that ten acres be made the limit, as
that would exclude most of the Social
Democrats. To their horror, however,
they found this would also exclude
two members of the Agrarian party
for whose benefit this legislative
chamber was largely to be erected.
Under these conditions it was finally
decided to set the limit at one acre
and the delegates committed themselves
with the hope that they might be able
to convince the Social Democrat land-
owners of the error of their ways.

The question of the relation of the
trade unions to the Socialist Party in
Germany is again up and it now seems
certain that all official connection be-
tween the two will be dissolved. Bebel
has been advocating this for many
years. It is worthy of note in this
connection that the same movement is
starting even in Belgium, a country of
the closest identity to the trade unions
and Socialist movement—Internation-
al Socialist Review.

"THE DIGNITY OF LABOR."

The poems that are perpetually sung
to the dignity, honesty, and worth of manual
labor by our ministers, teachers, and po-
liticians are natural, and in a way, clever
enough; for it is recognized that if there
were none to do the hard labor there would
be no case and comfort for the retailers.
But for all the dignity, dignity, and worth
of his toil, the manual laborer is commonly
looked upon as a socially inferior being—
W. J. Ghent in "Mass and Class."

WE WANT ALL TO BE FREE.

When one man is overburdened by luxury,
another man must be starved to death.
When one man is satisfied with op-
portunities there is somewhere another man
whose life is incomplete. I protest against
a society which is so hideously out of harm-
ony that the starved live in the
world, the free without rest, without sun-
shine, without art, without music, without
travel, without any opportunity to rise
above the level of vulgar mediocrity. I
want all men and women to be free, free
to develop the whole human nature of man-
hood and womanhood. I want a com-
plete life for every human being. I want an at-
mosphere of justice, liberty—Franklin D.
Westcott.

IN THE BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

The Circulation Manager's Talk to Readers of The Worker Who Wish to Extend Its Field of Service—Statement of Circu- lation for Last Two Weeks.

In order to put The Worker on a self-sustaining basis, its list of sub-
scribers must be brought up to the 25,000 mark. To this end, all comrades
are urged to send in lists containing the names of all the men they can
think of, who are most likely to become subscribers. The names should
be selected with intelligence and care, as the work of this department will
necessitate the expenditure of considerable sums of money, and we wish to
secure the largest possible results from the amount spent. Members of trade
unions, men who have talked to about Socialism, those who you know voted
the Socialist ticket, but who are not subscribers to the paper—in fact every-
body whom you have reason to believe interested in Socialism—are the sort of
names we want. We want 50,000 of them.

Write out your list on plain paper, using only one side, and paying special
attention to getting the addresses correct. Every name on your list must be
checked systematically and followed up and the question squarely put:
"Don't you wish to subscribe for The Worker?" We are certain of the re-
sult, if the comrades will respond enthusiastically and promptly. Ad-
dress all lists to

CIRCULATION MANAGER,

184 William St., New York City.

"There is a tide in the affairs of
men which, taken at its flood, leads
on to fortune," as the late lamented
William Shakespeare says. We are
glad to report that the names request-
ed are coming in like a flood. Just
at present, which is in the highest de-
gree encouraging to the Circulation
Manager and ought to be equally so
to all the comrades who have the in-
terests of The Worker at heart, and
entertain an adequate appreciation of
its importance to our movement.
Every mail brings in further lists. You
cannot, however, send us more names
of possible subscribers than we can
keep so busy with the good work. Let
the flood tide continue to roll in.
A number of comrades have sent
with their lists a request for sample
copies. We wish to explain that we
have adopted a definite plan for sol-
iciting subscriptions from the names
sent us, and that part of this plan is
to mail sample copies; but letters, cir-
culars, and other printed matter are

also to be sent, and in order to make
our campaign as effective as possible,
the other literature should be mailed
at the same time the sample copies are
dispatched. Accordingly, comrades,
don't get impatient if your friends do
not receive the samples you ask for
immediately upon receipt of your let-
ter. They will all get samples—several
copies, in fact—but there has been
a little unavoidable delay in getting
some of the "follow-up" literature
ready for the printer, and it may be
the middle of next week before we
can actually turn on the current and
start the wheels moving. Keep your
eye on the report of the circulation,
then, and watch it grow. Your satis-
faction with the growth will be great-
er if you have had a hand in bringing
it about—if you have sent in a list. It
is so little that we ask that all the
comrades ought to respond generously,
as so many already have. Lend a
hand! Help swell the tide! Boom The
Worker! And let us all help.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

By Peter E. Burrows.

Capitalism is a system by which the
products of human labor are con-
fiscated and appropriated by an armed
class. By the word system I mean
a methodical order of operations, self-
arranged, self-controlled and self-sup-
ported, just as we speak of the human
system not as a chart of the human
body but as an economy of action, an
arrangement, a control and a supply of
active self by active self. There are
other institutions in society of a sys-
tematic or semi-systematic kind such
as the legislatures, the armies and the
churches, but because this capitalist
system deals with a thing fundamental
and necessary to them all and controls
it, that is labor, this system encloses
them all in its grasp, so that they and
everything else in civilization are not
only included in capitalism, but as a
matter of fact every one of them, and
every man, woman and child in every
one of them, cannot do anything which
does not contribute to and nourish the
capitalist system. All are subordinate
to its purposes, all save the mind and
will of the man whom it
subdues into resentment and re-
sistance. He alone is free who is
demanding the overthrow of the sys-
tem itself. Others it may hurt, and
others besides labor it may provoke
into protest, but the half measures
they take and the failures they in-
vite only nourish and cherish the system;
all things go to the help of capitalism
save only the class-conscious opposi-
tion which comes from the ranks of
organized labor marshalled under the
banner of militant international So-
cialism. And this is so because cap-
italism's whole blood and marrow is
derived from its vampire use of the
laborer's life force. From that source
it draws all its ability to include and
control all the other elements of so-
ciety by allowing them to become
sharers in the sordid life of the prole-
tariat. Therefore in all classes of the
world capitalism has but one natural
enemy, and it is itself the natural
enemy of but one class, and that is the
class of men who have nothing to sell
but their labor.

It is a system which will endure
just so long as it can arrange, control
and supply its own life's activities, and
no longer. It can arrange its own ac-
tivities so long as the world gives it
free labor and open markets; it can
control its own activities so long as
it can use the law courts and ar-
mies of the nations; and it can supply
its own activities so long as the work-
ers themselves supply it with a class
of propertyless workers who have no
other way of living but by selling their
own lives for pieces of money and who
have no institution to sell those lives
to, or from which to receive those
pieces of money, but the capitalist
class.

So long as this supply does not fail,
so long as the self-sufficing laborers
come up every day to the capitalist
gig economy machinery to have their
labor force chopped up into a few use-
less values for themselves and a large pro-
portion of exchange commodity values
for the system, the system can go on
supplying itself from

PARTY NEWS.

The following is the complete list of nominations made by the National Committee, received at the national office up to noon Saturday, Dec. 17:

FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

By Andrus, Alabama: John W. Slattery, New Castle, Pa.; John M. Riker, Murfreesboro, Tenn.; A. W. Ricker, Gilard, Kans.; May Wood Simons, Chicago, Ill.; Max S. Hayes, Cleveland, O.; Geo. E. Bigelow, Lincoln, Neb.; Guy H. Lockwood, Kalamazoo, Mich.

By Lowry, Arkansas: H. L. Stobod, New York, N. Y.; William Malloy, Chicago, Ill.; Charles G. Towner, Newport, Ky.; B. B. Beryn, Chicago, Ill.; John M. Work, Des Moines, Ia.; S. M. Teyndin, Terre Haute, Ind.; John Kerrigan, Dallas, Tex.

By Floaten, Colorado: Reynolds; Ernest Untermyer, Chicago, Ill.; A. M. Simons, Chicago, Ill.; John Collins, Chicago, Ill.; Caleb Lipscomb, Liberal, Mo.; E. Sedel, Milwaukee, Wis.; Frederick Heath, Milwaukee, Wis.

By White, Connecticut: Stobod; Beryn; Reynolds; Bandlow; Towner; Newport, Ky.; Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee, Wis.; Work; Malloy.

By Carter, Idaho: Berger; George H. Goebel, Newark, N. J.; Beryn; Reynold; Stedman, Chicago, Ill.; Collins; Untermyer.

By Beryn, Illinois: Bandlow; Work; W. L. Gaylord, Milwaukee, Wis.; Stobod; Reynolds; Towner.

By Towner, Kentucky: Malloy; Beryn; A. M. Simons; Bandlow; Reynolds; Towner; John C. Chase, Haverhill, Mass.

By Chase, Massachusetts: Stobod; Beryn; Reynolds; Bandlow; Towner; Malloy; Work.

By Lamb, Michigan: Hayes; Chase, Erls, Detroit, Mich.; Ira Cross, Madison, Wis.; A. M. Simons; Berger; Wm. L. Bened, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Joseph LaBarge, Pine River, Mich.

By Holman, Minnesota: Berger; Reynolds; Work; Eugene V. Debs, Indiana; Stedman; Collins; Untermyer.

By Ufert, New Jersey: Work; Debs; Jas. S. Smith, Chicago, Ill.; Beryn; Stedman; Berger; Towner.

By Hillquit, New York: Stobod; Chase, Beryn, Reynolds, Bandlow.

By Caldwell of Ohio: Alfred Swing, Cincinnati, O.; Frederick G. Strickland, Indiana; Beryn; Berger; A. M. Simons; Untermyer; Work.

By Floyd of Rhode Island: Berger; Beryn; Reynolds; Bandlow; Towner.

By Lovett of South Dakota: A. M. Simons, Work, Reynolds, Stobod, Gaylord, Towner.

By Kerrigan of Texas: H. W. Balld, Cleveland, O.; Geo. H. Strobel, Newark, N. J.; Hillquit; George H. Turner, Kansas City, Mo.; J. Mahlon Barnes, Philadelphia, Pa.; Stedman; Heath.

By Boomer of Washington: H. F. Titus, Seattle, Wash.

By Berger of Wisconsin: Stedman; Work; Carl D. Thompson, Minnesota; A. M. Simons, Thomas J. Morgan, Illinois; S. M. Holman, Minnesota; Heath.

The following have accepted the nomination for National Executive Committee: Robert Bandlow, B. Beryn, George E. Bigelow, Frederick Heath, John Kerrigan, Guy E. Lockwood, William Malloy, John M. Riker, S. M. Reynolds, A. M. Simons, May Wood Simons, John W. Slattery, Hon. F. L. Stobod, Frederick G. Strickland, Alfred Swing, C. G. Towner, Ernest Untermyer, John M. Work.

The following have declined the nomination for National Executive Committee: W. L. Bened, John C. Chase, John Collins, Ira Cross, Eugene V. Debs, Max S. Hayes, Caleb Lipscomb, James S. Smith.

FOR NATIONAL SECRETARY.

Robert Bandlow, Cleveland, O., by Lowry of Arkansas.

J. Mahlon Barnes, Philadelphia, Pa., by Berger of Wisconsin.

William Butcher, Brooklyn, N. Y., by Work of Iowa and Holman of Minnesota.

W. E. Clark, Chicago, Ill., by Ufert of New Jersey.

Winfield R. Gaylord, Milwaukee, Wis., by Caldwell of Ohio and Floaten of Colorado.

Max S. Hayes, Cleveland, O., by Kerrigan of Texas.

Frank A. Kulp, Battle Creek, Mich., by Lamb of Michigan.

Jack London, Oakland, Cal., by Andrus of Alabama.

William Malloy, Chicago, Ill., by Beryn of Illinois; Reynolds of Indiana; Work of Iowa; O'Neil of New Hampshire; Hillquit; Beryn; Towner; Ufert of Washington; Floyd of Rhode Island; and Ufert of New Jersey; and Lovett of South Dakota.

James O'Neil, Terre Haute, Ind., by Towner of Kentucky, and Beryn of Illinois.

M. W. Wilkins, Oakland, Cal., by Carter of Idaho.

James O'Neil has accepted the nomination, Robert Bandlow, William Butcher, Max S. Hayes, Frank A. Kulp and William Malloy have declined the nomination. This leaves the present nominees for National Secretary: Barnes, Clark, Gaylord, London, O'Neil, and Wilkins.

Dec. 22 is the last day upon which the nominations for National Executive Committee and National Secretary can be received at the national office. The time between Dec. 22 and Jan. 1 is allowed for final acceptance and declarations.

New York State.

About fifteen locals have decided to adopt the plan of winter lectures as proposed by State Secretary Chase and the State Committee at its last meeting decided that State Secretary Chase should be the first speaker to go out.

To give him the opportunity to see up the situation in the state at large, for his guidance in arranging tours for other speakers; second, to enable him to inform the locals he will visit about arranging and conducting propaganda and business meetings. In order to make the first tour as successful as possible under the circumstances and the least expensive, the State Secretary has mapped out a route beginning Jan. 1 and continuing until Jan. 25. Dates have been assigned to those locals that have decided to have a regular course of lectures and also to some that have not entered into the lecture circuit. It is hoped that each local

that has been assigned a date will do its utmost to arrange a meeting, as it will enable the speaker to get through the state and to those locals that are badly in need of a speaker. The proposed tour of Secretary Chase, which will be followed if the locals will arrange meetings, is as follows: Jan. 1, New York; Jan. 2, Port Chester; Jan. 3, Yonkers; Jan. 4, Middletown; Jan. 5, Albany; Jan. 6, Glens Falls; Jan. 7, Schenectady; Jan. 8, Gloversville; Jan. 9, Utica; Jan. 10, Rome; Jan. 11, Watertown; Jan. 12, Oneida; Jan. 13, Syracuse; Jan. 14, Rochester; Jan. 15, Buffalo; Jan. 16, West Aurora; Jan. 17, Springfield; Jan. 18, Salamanca; Jan. 19, Jamestown; Jan. 20, Hamlet; Jan. 21, Corning; Jan. 22, Peekskill. This route may be changed somewhat, as some of the locals may not be able to get meetings place on the dates named. A goodly number of locals desire speakers on Sundays, but there are not Sundays enough to go around and locals should do their best to arrange meetings for dates assigned.

Now that the official vote has been given out, locals will undoubtedly renew their inquiries about a change in our party name. The State Secretary will issue a statement regarding this matter in a few days, and until that time it would be well to withhold resolutions or petitions for a referendum upon the matter.

Application for a charter has been received from Geneva.

STATE COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting of the State Committee was held on Tuesday, Dec. 13. Present: Solomon, Bartholomew, Phillips, Chase, and Stobod of New York County; Koenig, Maer, and Atkinson of Kings; Goeller of Queens County; Chairman, Phillips.

Communications were received as follows:

Patchogue, Suffolk County, application for charter signed by sixteen applicants and enclosed \$10.00 initiation fee; granted.

East Aurora, Erie County, with an application for a charter. Among the applicants being one who is president of the village. State Secretary was instructed to communicate with the committee organizing this branch and ascertain the nature of the applicant's office; if same is an appointive or elective office, and if the latter, whether elected as a candidate of one of the parties. Pending this information the lecture was referred to the next meeting. Among the applicants is the name of Elbert Hubbard.

Schenectady, asking for a full report of the proceedings of the International Congress. The local will gladly cooperate in touring a few lecturers through the state and has decided to hold at least one lecture a month. The local is in very good condition and has taken in over forty new members in the last three months, the majority of them active trade unionists.

Howard H. Caldwell, giving information about meetings he addressed while passing through the state. He had very good meetings in Buffalo, Rochester, Utica, Cohoes, Schenectady, Rensselaer, and Albany; organized a branch in Rensselaer.

Buffalo—Local has taken up the matter of organization very seriously and hopes to build up in the near future; has taken in about fifteen new members; decided to hold lectures and discussions and will soon rent more suitable headquarters; asks information about the lecture tour arranged by "Withers' Magazine" and whether State Committee has any objections to it.

Albany, about local conditions; will hold lectures during the winter and decided to take one of the lectures toured by the State Committee every month; has taken in twelve new members and will undoubtedly do better work and obtain better results in the future; requests the State Committee to pay bill of expenses amounting to \$12 incurred during state convention. The bill was ordered paid.

Fred. M. Dennis, reporting the meeting arranged by Caldwell, also that C. H. Pierce of Albany is working hard to increase the circulation of The Worker, and is selling literature in the labor organizations.

New Rochelle, asking that Comrade Chase be sent there to address a meeting arranged by the local to build up the organization.

Jamestown, sending a resolution demanding a referendum vote to change the party name. It was decided to place the resolution on file until such time as the litigation that is now going on is settled. Also a resolution endorsing E. J. Squires as state lecturer and asking the State Committee to make use of him as soon as possible.

Port Jervis, asking the State Committee about "Withers' Magazine" lecture tour and whether the State Committee has any objections to it.

Rome, held two good meetings. Will arrange for two lectures every month. Have elected new officers for the ensuing term. One of the members of the local having been found guilty of connection with the capitalist parties was suspended. The State Secretary was instructed to write for more information in this matter.

Kings County Committee, stating that they persist in their former decision and refuse to furnish the State Committee with the tabulated vote on the election of the three members to the State Quorum and the delegate to the State Committee from Kings County. This matter was held over until the committee from the State Committee appointed to visit the Kings County Committee reports.

The State Secretary was instructed to prepare a booklet containing the new state and national constitutions, the report by county, and other matters, and report at next meeting.

Letters received from several comrades up state endorsing E. J. Squires as state lecturer.

Rome, additional report that they intend to hold four lectures monthly beginning with Jan. 1. The local is very active and the comrades have decided to supplement their vote by systematic educational work.

Peekskill, will hold two lectures monthly on the second and fourth Wednesdays and will try to secure a suitable hall as the Labor Hall is too high. Will make the necessary arrangements for spring village elections.

Troy, cannot arrange any lectures

as the local is in a precarious financial condition; will devote all energies to building up the circulation of The Worker and other Socialist papers.

Waterbury, about local conditions. Are endeavoring to strengthen the organization and hope to get good results, as the comrades have taken up the work in earnest. No action was taken as yet with reference to Comrade Pendergast, who has ceased to come to the meetings. Have arranged for weekly lectures and a series of discussions. Have organized a Socialist quartette.

Wm. Ariand of Corning, giving information as to the prospects in Steuben County and asking that an organizer be sent.

Utica, giving the names of newly elected officers of the local. The comrades have resumed their activity; are holding educational meetings twice a month; have taken in several new members lately; more enthusiastic than ever before. Cornell University has a class on Socialism, attended by twenty-four pupils.

Glens Falls, will make arrangements for holding public lectures once a month and in the meantime supplement lack of meetings by distribution of literature.

A. L. Purdy of Wellsville, describing local conditions and reasons why they did not get a larger vote. A great many of the "Appeal to Reason" readers and other sympathizers were at the last meeting, but were not allowed to vote the old-party tickets, only of them have since openly manifested their regret for doing so.

State Secretary reported arrangements made to have a systematic lecture tour all over the state during the winter; he has written to that effect to the locals, has received some favorable replies, and is endeavoring to secure some of the best speakers; did not succeed in getting John W. Brown to start the course as intended. Under these circumstances Comrade Chase himself will make the first tour. In the meantime he will get familiar with the conditions in each local and make arrangements for further speakers. Efforts will be made to keep down expenses for locals and probably the average cost per lecture will not exceed \$7.50.

The State Committee being in need of funds the State Secretary has undertaken to arrange a reading in Cooper Union on Thursday, Jan. 12, 8 p. m., when Marion Craig Wentworth of Massachusetts, who is known as one of the best lecturers, will read "The Hampton's 'Sunkin Bell'". The State Committee concurred in this recommendation and it is to be hoped that all comrades in the vicinity of New York will do their utmost to make this affair a great success.

The state and financial secretaries were instructed to prepare the financial report in detail by locals as soon as possible.

The State Secretary was empowered to issue a call for the election of an Auditing Committee for the State Committee, the election to take place by referendum vote as prescribed by the constitution.

The State Secretary was instructed to prepare a short leaflet dealing with recent events, as the declaring of the Eight-Hour Law unconstitutional, the Gas Trust, etc., the quantity of the leaflets necessary to be left to his discretion.

The plan of "Withers' Magazine" to send Joseph Wanhope and other well known Socialist lecturers through the state to speak on Socialism, and incidentally to work for the magazine, was thoroughly discussed and the conclusion arrived at was that such plan will not in any way interfere with the work of the State Committee, but on the contrary may result in some advantage to the party, as they will speak in organized as well as unorganized places. The State Secretary was instructed to reply to locals accordingly.

The committee, composed of J. C. Chase and M. M. Bartholomew, appointed by the State Committee to visit the Kings County Committee and explain to them that they should furnish the State Committee with the tabulated vote by branches on the election of the members to the State Quorum and delegate to the State Committee from Kings County, reported that they did their best to explain the position taken by the State Committee.

They failed in their mission, however, as the County Committee decided again not to comply with the request. The entire matter was referred to the next meeting and in the meantime both the Kings County Committee and the State Committee should prepare a statement of their positions.

The Rochester comrades have organized a class to develop speakers. The women comrades have also organized a class which meets every Thursday afternoon to discuss economics. The headquarters will be made more attractive by installing a pool table, which will also bring in a financial return. Literature Agent Moore has put in a good stock of books and pamphlets and will put in more, as there is more demand than ever before for good Socialist literature. Local Rochester meets every Tuesday at 40 State street, and the headquarters are said to be the best in the country. At the Labor Lyceum lectures will be held on Sunday afternoons at 3 o'clock as follows: Jan. 1, Frank A. Steverman, "The Hope of Our Movement"; Jan. 8, G. Herbert Smith, "A Plan for the Conservative"; Jan. 15, Richard Kitchell, "Theology"; Jan. 22, Raymond H. Arnold, subject to be announced; Jan. 29, Philip Jackson, "The Economics of the Republican Party."

The People's Forum which has been established in Yonkers, with meetings every Sunday afternoon at the Turn Hall, has started out very auspiciously. Last Sunday's meeting, at which John Spargo presided and Rev. J. C. Hogan spoke, was well attended and an interesting discussion followed the lecture. No meeting will be held on Christmas, but the work will be resumed on Jan. 1.

Motion carried that the committee on hall for school be instructed to engage a hall against which any union has objections.

Motion carried that giving of \$5 prize to pupils of Harlem Evening



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sumed on Jan. 1. John C. Chase is expected to speak.

New York City.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting General Committee, Dec. 10. Wolf, chairman; Lewis, vice-chairman.

Eighty-five new applications for membership received, including eight from 35th St. D. Branch 3 (new branch). All applications approved, except those whose application blanks were not properly filled out. Letter received from Louis Jaeger, motion carried that applicant be admitted to membership. Delegate from 21st A. D. raised question of status of Chase. W. Reed; motion carried that applicant be admitted to membership in 21st A. D.

Comrade Fraser granted floor on behalf of daily "Call." Stated that Board of Managers desire as many members of party as possible to take shares in organization; that members of assembly districts who have not already made pledges be requested to do so; that all assembly districts be represented at "Call" Conferences. Further said that speakers would appear before labor organizations to appeal for support. Motion passed instructing delegates to bring matter before their respective assembly districts.

Organization of Branch 3, 35th A. D. mentioned.

Report of Executive Committee: Plans consummated for school. Recommended that each assembly district have meeting once a month for general discussion. Matter of demonstration in near future referred back, with statement that it is sense of Executive Committee that no meeting prior to May 1 will be successful. Plan of Worker Club in each assembly district recommended. Resolution passed to effect that only such clubs should be organized as come within complete control of agitation or assembly district organizations. School Committee recommended that lectures on trade unionism and Socialist Party organization be dispensed with, owing to lack of time and that a separate course of such lectures be made a separate order for all party members, commencing in January. Committee recommends hiring of Logelinge's Hall, Fifth Avenue, for school purposes, and for school lectures. John Spargo selected to write circular letter to enrolled S. D. P. voters. Committee appointed by safe for local. Financial statement for three weeks ending Dec. 4. Action in regard to demonstration in near future was not concurred in, and matter of hiring Logelinge's Hall was referred back. Otherwise the report was concurred in.

Delegate from 32d A. D. stated that district had requested that Organizer be sent into district to organize Italians therein, and request was granted.

Roll Call: Forty-eight present. Absent, excused: Miellenhauen, Skriver, Volkmar, McPartland, Abner, unexcused: Searing, Gilles, Harris, Edelstein, Babitz, Barondess, Stobod, Korn, Lubowski, Josephson, Meyer, Goepfert, Weick, Harth, Dressler, Paulitsch, Schaefer, Peter, Kussrow, Mayes, Harter, Knoll, Haupt, Burgwald, Fischer.

Motion carried that no arrangements be made for demonstration in near future.

CITY EXECUTIVE.

Regular meeting City Executive, Dec. 12. Chairman, Lichtscheidl. Present: Edwards, Elbert, Flick, Fishman, Lichtscheidl, Nathan, Orloff, Obriest, Solomon, Staring. Absent, excused: Egerton, Miellenhauen. Absent, unexcused: Kelly, Lane, Spindler, Van Ness.

Letter received from E. P. Clark stating that he is a member in good standing of the 21st A. D. and that he is no longer a member of Local Mystical.

First Agitation District: No report. Second Agitation District: No report.

Murray Hill Agitation District: Report of Comrade Flick: 18th and 20th to hold entertainment on New Year's Eve; 22d A. D. report progress. Good results obtained from speakers' circle; sixteen or seventeen members.

West Side Agitation District: No delegate present; no report.

Yorkville Agitation District: No meeting since last report.

Harlem Agitation District: Delegate not present. Reported that Harlem Socialist Club has been organized by four Harlem districts, and committee appointed to draft constitution and by-laws and secure club rooms.

Bronx Agitation District: Report of Comrade Staring. New branch organized, covering High Bridge territory, Branch 8, 85th A. D. Lecture course in Metropolitan Theater Hall to commence Jan. 8.

Motion carried that the committee on hall for school be instructed to engage a hall against which any union has objections.

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